The background of the cover is a photograph of a traditional Nepalese Buddhist monastery. The building features a multi-tiered, dark tiled roof. Below the roofline, there are several levels of stone carvings and architectural details. A small, square portrait of a Buddha is visible on the wall. In the foreground, there are stone structures, including what appears to be a small stupa or shrine on the right and a larger, more complex stone structure on the left. The overall scene is set against a clear blue sky with some light clouds.

# BUDDHIST MONASTERIES OF NEPAL

John K. Locke



# **Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal**

A Survey of the Bāhās and Bahīs  
of the Kathmandu Valley

by  
John K. Locke, S.J.

Photographs by  
Hugh R. Downs

SAHAYOGI PRESS PVT. LTD.



1st Printing: 1985  
Copyright: John K. Locke, S.J.

Published by  
Sahayogi Press Pvt. Ltd.  
Tripureswar, Kathmandu  
Nepal

Price: Rs <sup>Raina Pustak Bhandar</sup> 1000-0

Vinodini  
International Research  
Institute 12800

Printed In Nepal  
at Sahayogi Press Pvt. Ltd.  
Kathmandu  
Phone: 211489



## P R E F A C E

The three ancient cities of Patan, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and a number of the villages near them, all within the Kathmandu Valley, contain a large number of Buddhist vihāras, known in Newari as bāhā or bahī. That many of these institutions are very ancient and nearly all of them more than two hundred years old has long been known and commented upon by nearly everyone who has written about the history and culture of the Valley. Lists of these institutions have been published, the earliest being Hem Raj Sakya's Nepāl Bauddha Vihāra va Grantha Suci. The two volume Kathmandu Valley, a survey of the principal cultural monuments of the Valley published in 1975 listed many of these vihāras, but by no means all of them. In 1975 Niels Gustschow and Hem Raj Sakya published a list of the vihāras of Patan with a map, and more recently Mary Slusser has published lists and maps of the vihāras in all three cities in her Nepal Mandala. In 1983 Ratna Kaji Vajracarya and Bijaya Ratna Vajracarya published a small book entitled Nepā Deya Vihārāya Tācā ("A Key to Viharas in Nepal") which lists all of the vihāras of the Valley (but without maps) and gives some data on the history of a few of the major foundations. Yet, so far no systematic attempt has been made to identify all of these institutions, describe them and their inter-relationships and trace their history. This present volume is a first attempt in that direction.

The first task which faced me when I began this study ten years ago was to find the vihāras. None of the lists published up to that time were accompanied by maps and all of the lists, taken from old handwritten manuscripts, contained the names of many institutions that no longer existed. We started in Patan where knowledgeable informants were able to show us the vihāras they knew about or had connections

with. It soon became apparent that none of the informants knew of all of the vihāras, and the only way to make an accurate survey was to go from house to house in the old city asking questions and looking for anything that resembled a vihāra. In Kathmandu the task was made much easier because of accurate lists of the existing vihāras, lists used by devotees who occasionally make a devotional circuit of all these shrines and who were able to locate all the institutions on the lists. In Bhaktapur we found that Samyak Ratna Vajracarya had already made a survey of the few vihāras of that city, and he was able to locate all of these for us. After twelve years of checking and rechecking I am fairly certain that all of the existing institutions have been covered. I am definitely certain that all of the institutions covered herein actually do exist.

The General Introduction explains the terms (Newari or Sanskrit) which recur in the descriptions of each of the vihāras, describes the general physical features of a bāhā-bahī and gives notes on the Buddhist culture of these institutions, i.e., the communities attached to the vihāras, the rituals performed, the festivals observed, the initiation rites, the roles played by various members of the saṅgha and the endowments which traditionally supported these institutions.

The initial aim of the survey was twofold: (1) to find and describe the existing institutions i.e., the buildings and monuments which have survived as well as the communities attached to these institutions and the Buddhist culture which still forms the framework of the daily life of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas who make up the communities, (2) to trace the history of these institutions. This initial aim is reflected in the treatment of each vihāra



which covers first the physical remains, then the present community and their customs and finally the history of the institution. The survey has been far more successful in the attainment of the first aim than the second. Despite the considerable amount of research done by Nepali scholars within the past twenty-five years there is still insufficient material to trace most of these institutions back to their origins. Perhaps the material no longer exists, but one has the impression that there is a wealth of material preserved in the vihāras in the form of manuscripts and old documents. Unfortunately most of the elders of the vihāras extend the tantric injunction of secrecy regarding the rituals and initiations to all of this material and will not show it even to members of their own vihāra who are interested in documenting its history. If the publication of this volume provokes enough interest and discussion to unlock this material and make it available to the many young people who are interested in studying and documenting the history of their own vihāras, it will have gone a long way toward attaining its second aim.

The body of this study is divided into three sections, one for each of the cities of the Valley. Each section begins with a Map List with all of the vihāras of the city listed in order according to the numbers on the accompanying maps. The vihāras are then discussed, but not in the order of the map numbers. First the main bāhās are treated, with each account followed by a treatment of all its branches; then the bahīs are discussed; and finally the vihāras in the adjoining villages are taken up. There is no index, as an index of all the Newari names and their alternates plus the Sanskrit names would have been excessively long. Hence the key to finding one's way in this forest is the concerned map and the map list. The map list indicates the page in the following text where the concerned vihāra is treated. In the text itself the number in brackets [xx] following the name of a vihāra is the map number which should in turn aid one in locating the vihāra on the map and in tracing cross references to other vihāras. There is a photograph of each of the vihāras. The photographs accompany the discussion of the vihāra in the text, hence there is no separate list of illustrations.

All of the photographs in the text were taken by Hugh R. Downs to whom I am immensely

grateful not only for his time and interest in the project but for his friendship.

A list of all the people who have assisted in the collection and verification of this material would be a list of several people from each of the 363 vihāras. They must remain anonymous, but I am grateful for their unfailing courtesy and their help. My only hope is that their time and interest will be rewarded by an accurate account of their vihāra and its traditions.

A few, whose assistance was not only substantial but essential, must not remain anonymous. My first research assistant, Tirtha Lal Maharjan from the Patan Museum staff, was my original guide as we intruded into every courtyard in the city of Patan looking for vihāras and gathering information. My current research assistant, Kundan Sthapit, has returned over the past three years to each of the vihāras surveyed to update statistics on membership and to check other data, often shuttling back and forth from bahā to bahā again and again trying to resolve contradictions which came to light as we began to assemble all of this data. Once that was finished it was he who assembled the manuscript for the press. I am grateful also to David Gellner who shared with me some of the material he has gathered for his more in-depth study of Kwa Baha in Patan and for many helpful suggestions.

Special thanks are due to a number of people from each of the cities, many of them scholars in their own right, all of them men keenly interested in preserving the traditions of the vihāras and willing to give freely of their time and expertise. From Patan: Hem Raj Sakya, Gajraj Vajracarya, Pandit Asha Kaji Vajracarya, Harsa Ratna Dhakwa, Devaraj Vajracarya, Prof. Asha Ram Sakya, Min Bahadur Sakya (former President of the Young Men's Buddhist Association) and his colleagues. From Kathmandu: Ratna Kaji Vajracarya, Puspa Ratna Vajracarya, Ananda Muni Vajracarya, Sapta Muni Vajracarya, Nirmal Vajracarya, Daya Ratna Sakya, Harsa Muni Sakya, Sanu Vajracarya, Sankarman Rajvamsi and Kashinath Tamot. I am especially grateful to Dhanavajra Vajracarya, who let me read and make use of the material he has gathered for his forthcoming work on the Malla period inscriptions. Samyak Ratna Vajracarya of Bhaktapur was most generous with his time and the material he had gathered on the vihāras of



Bhaktapur.

I am especially grateful to Prof. Prayag Raj Sharma of CNAS and Prof. Kamal P. Malla, current editor of the CNAS Journal and professor at Tribhuvan University, both of whom read through the entire text and made many valuable suggestions.

It is hoped that the present volume will be a contribution toward a better understanding of the history and culture of the Kathmandu Valley and an aid to those who are planning for the future. The face of the Valley is changing rapidly and in the years that I have been engaged in this research I have seen some of the old vihāra buildings fall into decay or be replaced by concrete boxes. The life style of the members of the saṅghas is changing rapidly as more and more people move away from their quarters in the vihāras to return only for occasional rituals or not at all. Change and development are the order of the day and one cannot halt this nor would one want to. Yet change must be rooted in the traditional culture and values of a people if it is not to produce disorientation and rootless chaos. People cannot shape their future without reflecting on such questions as, 'Who are we', and 'Where did we come from'. The communities described in this work are the custodians of what is probably the oldest unbroken tradition of the practice of the Buddha's Dharma--a tradition that has undergone many changes as a result of the social,

cultural, economic and political influences the community has experienced over the last 2000 years. Like the traditional Nepali masked dancers, Buddhism in the Valley has worn many faces over the ages and danced to different rhythms. Today a new face is emerging and life has a new rhythm. Yet the tune is the same, that of the Four Noble Truths, and there is little doubt that the Dharma will continue to be the life force of the community as it has for over twenty centuries.

#### Orthography

In the text and in the notes the standard transcription has been used with diacritical marks for all Nepali, Newari and Sanskrit words with two minor exceptions. In Newari words the w has been used in place of v where the letter is pronounced as w. In transcribing Nepali and Newari words the inherent and final a has been omitted where this is not pronounced. A strict transliteration according to the Devanagiri spelling would be misleading in many cases and an injustice to the language. The commonly accepted English spelling has been used for current place names.

#### Dates

In most of the sources used for this work the date is given in Nepāl Sambat and this has usually been retained, especially in the notes. This era began on Oct. 20, 879 A.D.





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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION





## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

There are two words used for the Newār Buddhist institutions of the Valley: bāhā (or bāhāl) and bahī (or bahīl). The term bāhā is a corruption of the Sanskrit term vihāra, the standard term for a Buddhist monastery. If one traces the development of the word through the inscriptions and references cited in this work it becomes clear that the word went through various modifications: vihāra > vahāra > bāhāra > bāhāla > bāhāl > bāhā. In Newāri 'l' and 'r' are constantly interchanged. Furthermore Newāri, as a basically monosyllabic language, has an ongoing tendency to shorten words, especially long, borrowed words. (Thus Avalokiteśvara-deva eventually gets squeezed down to Laska-dya.) In older inscriptions we find bāhāra and bāhāla; gradually the final 'a' disappears and within the last two hundred years the 'l' has also been lost, but comes back in the oblique cases. Some writers have used the older form bāhāl, I have chosen to use what is the current form of the word used by Newārs today: bāhā, often pronounced simply bā. The term bahī or bahīl has gone through a similar evolution. The original Sanskrit term was bahīrī, meaning outside,<sup>2</sup> so it evolved bahīrī > bahira > bahīl > bahī.

A vihāra, of course is a Buddhist monastery, a place where Buddhist (presumably celibate) monks (bhikṣu) or nuns (bhikṣuṇī) live. That there were such Buddhist monasteries in the Valley of Nepal during the Licchavi period seems evident from the references to some fifteen vihāras in the Licchavi inscriptions and in the Gopāla Rājavamsāvalī.<sup>3</sup> The community of monks or nuns in these monasteries was known as a saṅgha. For the period between the end of the Licchavi era in the ninth century and the dawn of the Malla era at the beginning of the thirteenth century we have little detailed information. About all that has come down are occasional references to monasteries and bhikṣus or

bhikṣuṇīs found in the colophons of manuscripts copied in Nepal. By the time of the Mallas when we begin to get abundant information again, a change has taken place. We find an even greater number of vihāras still inhabited by a Buddhist saṅgha who refer to themselves as Bare, a corruption of the Sanskrit term vande or vandanā, a term of respect used from ancient times for the Buddhist monk. However, we also find that those who call themselves Bare, bhikṣu, śākyabhikṣu or śākyavamsā are in fact married. In addition to this, even before the beginning of the Malla period by N.S.213 we begin to get references to some of the inhabitants of the vihāras as 'vajrācārya', (vajra master) masters of the tantric tradition and presumably married. By the end of the Malla period it seems clear that there were no more celibate monks, if there were they were certainly the exception to the rule. The inhabitants of the vihāras still called themselves bhikṣu or śākyabhikṣu and the inhabitants of the bahīs in Patan still called themselves brahmacārya bhikṣu, but we have numerous references to Sakyabhikṣu so-and-so plus his wife (or wives) and his sons and daughters. Because of the continued use of the old terms by married Bare or householder monks it is impossible to say with any certainty that a reference to a bhikṣu or even a brahmacārya bhikṣu indicates a celibate monk.<sup>4</sup>

This is still the case today. Each of the bāhās and bahīs is still inhabited and tended by a saṅgha of initiated sakyabhikṣus and vajrācāryas, called Bare, who are nevertheless married men with families. They and their families constitute the saṅgha of the vihāra. Furthermore, under the influence of a growing ascendancy of standard Hinduism and the Hindu caste system, which all informants date to the time of Jayasthiti Malla, the Bare became in fact a

#### 4. Introduction

caste. In anthropological terms this means that the sangha of the monastery has become a patrilineal descent group. One has to be the son of a Sakyabhikṣu or Vajracarya to be eligible for initiation into the saṅgha, and one joins the monastery of his father. The monasteries are no longer open communities accepting anyone who wants to lead the life of a bhikṣu.

In terms of caste the Bare are the highest caste among the Buddhist Newārs with the Vajracarya, the tantric priest, being considered a slightly higher sub-division of Bare. The Bare who are not Vajracaryas usually use the surname Sakya, an abbreviation of Sakyabhikṣu or Sakya-vamśa. It is common today for Sakyas and Vajracaryas to intermarry, but this seems to be a fairly recent relaxation of ancient customs. Especially in Kathmandu this seldom happened among the Vajracaryas and, if it did, it meant that they would accept a Sakya girl for their sons but would not give their daughter to a Sakya as this would mean a slight degradation in her status.

It has often been said that the present bāhās and bahīs are all former monasteries. This statement is inaccurate on two counts. In one sense they are still monasteries, i.e. abodes of a Buddhist saṅgha of men who have been initiated as Buddhist monks and who still have a round of ritual and ceremony which binds the community together. Secondly, it is true that there were monasteries with celibate monks at one time and that there are now only monasteries with sanghas of married or householder bhikṣus. However, the only existing establishment that we can trace back to Licchavi times with some degree of certainty is the bāhā at the Sankhu Vajrayoginī shrine known in Licchavi times as Guṃ Vihāra and still today called Guṃ Bāhā. At many other places we find Licchavi remains, but the remains alone tell us nothing about a continuity between the Licchavi foundation or community and the present foundation. In fact it is clear that most of the existing bāhās were founded as establishments for communities of married Bare. The assertion that the bāhās are all former monasteries begs a very important question: did the monks at some stage in history all suddenly marry and turn themselves into householder monks? Or, was the custom of married monks introduced at some point and gradually became the acceptable custom with the communities of celibate monks slowly dying out alto-

gether? This is very much a moot point at the present stage of our knowledge.

The term vihāra, or bāhā-bahī in Newāri, refers first to a building, an architectural structure. The traditional style of the vihāra seems to have been handed down from the earliest days of Buddhism, and this can be traced if one looks at the well-preserved cave monasteries of Ajanta and Elora built in western India over two thousand years ago. There one sees the same pattern that can still be found off the streets and alleys of the cities of the Valley: a series of rooms built round an open courtyard with the room opposite the entryway, which serves as the shrine of the monastery, slightly larger than the other rooms. Vihāras in Nepal were built of brick and wood, and because of both the climate and frequent earthquakes there are no existing vihāra buildings which pre-date the late Malla period. Even the oldest foundations have been continually rebuilt, often much more recently than one would suspect by looking at the buildings.

The traditional style of the bāhā has perhaps been best preserved in a branch bāhā in Kathmandu known as Chusyā Bāhā. The present buildings were built in A.D.1649, though the struts supporting the roof may be a hundred years older. Chusyā Bāhā is a two-storied building of brick and wood built round an open and paved courtyard. The courtyard is sunken and the ground floor plinth is a foot or more above this pavement. On three sides of the ground floor are open halls situated in the centre of each arm. One of these is the entrance hall which has two benches and images of Mahākāl and Ganesh set into the wall. On the fourth side, opposite to the entrance is the shrine of the bāhā. The carved doorway has a wooden door of lattice work enabling one to see into the shrine even when the door is closed. The shrine houses an image of the Buddha. In each corner of the quadrangle are two small dark rooms, one with a stairway leading to the upper storey. Each of these four stairways leads to an apartment of three rooms. Each of these four apartments is separate with no interconnecting doors or passageways. Above the shrine is a five-fold window behind which is a room called the digī where the elders can meet and off of which is a door leading to the āgam, the private shrine where the tantric deities of the saṅgha are worshipped. A bay window over the en-

trance projects over the courtyard and the outside of the upper storey is pierced by several windows. The outer wall of the ground floor has no openings other than three doorways. All of the windows and the other woodwork are elaborately carved, and the tile roof is supported by a series of exquisitely carved struts portraying various deities, each of which is named. Above the roof is a bell-shaped finial (actually an inverted kalāśa) known as a gaḷūra. Over the street entrance and also over the door of the shrine is a toraga or tympanum.

The structure of a bahī is similar but has its own distinctive features. The bahī is also a brick and wood structure, usually of two storeys, built round a courtyard. In general it is a simpler structure with less ornamentation than the late Malla bāhās. There is ordinarily only one opening in the entire ground floor, the main entrance; and usually one mounts a flight of stairs up to the entrance. In most bahas the entrance is at ground level. Inside the entrance are usually images of Ganesh and Mahākāl. The entire ground floor, except for the shrine, is usually one continuous open hall. In one corner, usually to the left as one enters, is a single staircase leading to the upper storey. The shrine is a small, windowless room situated directly opposite the main entrance and offset from the rest of the building so that it is possible for devotees to circumambulate it. The upper storey usually has a projecting balcony which enlarges the space, but like the lower floor it is usually undivided and a continuous open hall except for a single blind room directly above the shrine. This is the āgam which houses the secret tantric deities. The outside walls usually have three or five windows except for the side above the shrine which has fewer. The balcony running round the upper storey is frequently enclosed with lattice screens. The upper storey also frequently has another balcony extending over the entrance above the street. The roof is wide and overhanging, and the space under the roof is usually unused. Above the shrine is usually not a gaḷūra but a small temple-like structure, a sort of hanging lantern or cupola.

This seems to have been the traditional architecture of a bāhā and a bahī. However, few today conform to this proto-type. The bahīs, if the buildings have survived at all, have more consistently maintained the traditional archi-

tecture. Many bāhās today consist of a courtyard with residential buildings, most of which have been constructed at different times and often in different styles, with a bāhā shrine opposite the entrance. The shrine has preserved certain distinctive features: a carved doorway with lattice work surmounted by a toraga and flanked by two small, blind windows. Usually the entrance to the shrine is marked by two lions. The first storey of the shrine usually has a five-fold carved window behind which is the diḡi and the āgam. If there are more than these two storeys to the shrine the upper storeys, which usually have living quarters, may have over-hanging balconies, carved windows or even modern glass windows. The roof, which may be of tile or corrugated iron sheeting, is usually surmounted by one or more finials (gaḷūra), often in the form of a caitya.

Especially in Patan, there are places where the shrine is much more elaborate, becoming in fact a modified, multi-roofed temple set into the complex of buildings round the courtyard. Examples of this would be Hekha Bāhā and Kwā Bāhā in Patan. At Bhiñchē Bāhā in Patan the shrine is actually a free-standing temple of three roofs.

There are a few examples of another type which might be called an extended bāhā complex: a very large courtyard (almost as large as a football field and sometimes resembling a park) surrounded by residential buildings with a bāhā shrine located along one side. The courtyard is usually filled with images and caityas. Perhaps the best example of this is Bū Bāhā in Patan. Other examples from Patan would be Nāg Bāhā and Nākhā Cūk, though these two are now residential courtyards rather than proper bāhās. In Kathmandu Te Bāhā and Kayagu Nani of Itum Bāhā would be examples of the same type.

Another type of bāhā is what I have called the 'modern bāhā'. This consists of a courtyard surrounded by residential buildings with a small Buddha shrine somewhere in the courtyard but not a separate section of the buildings. Sometimes the shrine is entirely free-standing, either set to one side or in the centre of the courtyard. Sometimes it is a small plastered shrine set against one wall of a courtyard building. I call these 'modern' because all the ones encountered were founded or built within the past one hundred to one hundred fifty years and seem to

## 6 Introduction

reflect the deteriorating economic status of the bāhā communities. There are no complete bāhā complexes such as Chusyā Bāhā which have been constructed within the past hundred and fifty years. Even renovations of old shrines after earthquakes or the ravages of time tend to be simplified structures or 'modern bāhās'.

Some informants have said that these modern shrines should not be called bāhās at all, and indeed one of the first questions I had to answer was: What is a bāhā? If one is talking only about a traditional architectural style, the modern shrines do not conform to the prototype. But then most of the long-established foundations no longer conform to the type either. For the purposes of this study a bāhā is more than an architectural type. It is a complex of buildings (usually round a courtyard) with a Buddha shrine and an āgam which have been properly consecrated for use by a Buddhist community, a saṅgha. The saṅgha in question is a recognised community of initiated Bare. The Buddha shrine and the āgam are the focal points of the devotion and ritual of the community. The Buddha image enshrined on the ground-floor is referred to as the kwāpā-dya (guardian deity) of the saṅgha and is a non-tantric deity. The āgam deity is always a pair of tantric deities, usually Herukacakraśamvara-Vajravārāhī, but occasionally another pair such as Hevajra-Nairātmā. In some places, especially in Bhaktapur, every courtyard with houses round it and a caitya in the centre is popularly called a bāhā. These have not been included. They do not have a Buddha shrine nor an āgam which have been consecrated as a bāhā, and frequently the people attached to the place are not Bare but other castes. These are properly called nanis. For the purposes of this study then a bāhā (or bahī) is a Newār Buddhist institution with a consecrated Buddha (kwāpā-dya) shrine and an āgam to which is attached a saṅgha of initiated Bare. In general only institutions which fall within the parameters of this definition have been included. However, I have also included for study those institutions which are in a state of decline and have actually been abandoned by their saṅgha and institutions at which regular observances have ceased because the saṅgha has moved away, the kwāpā-dya shrine is in ruins, or the image has been stolen. Strictly speaking they are not active institutions now, but were until recently. A few institutions, called bāhās by everyone and having a Buddha shrine

with a bāhā complex, have been included despite the fact that they do not have a Bare saṅgha, but are the shrine of people of another caste. They have been included because of their close relationship to the Bare saṅgha of another baha. Their inclusion will also perhaps give some clues to the development of the present institutions.

The customs of the bāhās and bahīs and their organization differ somewhat in the three main cities of the Valley. Hence I have treated the bāhās of the three cities in separate sections. The few bāhās or bahīs found in the outlying villages are usually related to foundations in the nearest of the three cities and have been placed in sections following the bāhās of the three cities. The largest number of bāhās are found in Patan, followed by Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. The treatment of each bāhā looks briefly at three aspects: the present physical features of the complex, the status of the community and their activities as a Buddhist saṅgha, the history of the foundation. Following is an explanation of the terms which are found in the treatment of almost every bāhā or bahī in the order in which they appear in the text.

### Name

Each bāhā or bahī has two names, a popular Newari name and an official Sanskrit name. The Newari name given is the current Newari name by which the bāhā is usually known. If an earlier form of the name or an alternate name has come to light, this is indicated. Though every bāhā theoretically has an official Sanskrit name, in some cases nobody was able to give the Sanskrit name, or different people gave different names. I was able to obtain two official lists of the bāhās which are used at the time of the bāhā pūjā, one from Kathmandu and one from Patan, neither of them more than a hundred years old. These lists give Sanskrit names for nearly all of the bāhās, and where there is a conflict I have preferred the name on this list unless there is other clear evidence of a different name. I suspect that some of the Sanskrit names found on various published lists (or given to me by informants) were thought up on the spot for the sake of the researcher. The names on these two 'official' lists may well suffer from the same defect. Hence I have indicated by an asterisk (\*) every Sanskrit name that I have been



able to get written confirmation of, i.e. either the name appears on an inscription at the site of the bāhā, or it is given in manuscript references to the bāhā, or in inscriptions found at other sites. The number which appears in brackets [xx] after the name of bāhās in the text is the map number of the concerned bāhā. These have included to facilitate identification and cross-referencing.

### Toraṇa

In ancient India the toraṇa was a decorated arch or arched doorway leading into a shrine. In Nepal this has become a semi-circular decorative panel over the doorway of a shrine (Hindu or Buddhist) whose main figure usually depicts the deity in the shrine. However it is often another figure as will be evident below. The toraṇa recorded in the text is the one over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Many bāhās have other toraṇas either over the entryway of the bāhā complex or over side entryways or side shrines. Some of these are noted in the text. The outer circle is identical on almost all of the toraṇas found in the bāhās. In each of the lower corners is a makara (a sea monster) facing out. Above the makaras rise swirls of vapour often personified with figures of deities and ending in the coils of two serpents with human heads. The coils of the serpents are held fast by a figure above. The figure above is either a garuḍa grasping the serpents in his talons or a cepu, a sort of Bhairava mask with hands on either side of the face, which grasp the serpents. In the centre are found one or more Buddhist figures. One of the common motifs found on the toraṇas of the bāhās is the five transcendent Buddhas, usually with Vairocana in the central position but occasionally with Akṣobhya in the central position.

Another common motif is the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The Buddha is usually Akṣobhya. The Dharma is a four-armed figure of Prajñāpāramitā with two hands joined before her breast in the bodhyaṅga (or dharmacakra) mudrā and the other right and left hands holding a garland of beads (mālā) and a book representing the Prajñāpāramitā (or the stem of the blue lotus [utpala]<sup>12</sup> on which rests the book) respectively. The Saṅgha is represented by a form of Lokeśvara. This is usually Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara, a four-handed, seated form of Lokeśvara with the two main hands joined in the namaskāra mudrā and the

other right and left holding a garland of beads and a lotus respectively. However it is sometimes a seated, two-handed Avalokiteśvara holding the lotus in his left hand and exhibiting the varada mudrā in his right hand. The term Avalokiteśvara used in this context refers to this seated form.

In several places, mainly in Kathmandu, the Buddha is represented by a tantric deity known as Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara who is assimilated to Mahāvairocana (a tantric form of the transcendent Buddha Vairocana). This is a figure with four faces (though often only three are shown) and eight arms. The two main arms show the dharmacakra (or bodhyaṅga mudrā). The remaining right hands hold a sword, arrow and the vajra; and the left hands hold a book (the Prajñāpāramitā), a bow and a bell.<sup>14</sup> Another form of this same deity known as Mahārāga-mahāmañjuśrī is also occasionally found. This form also has four faces and eight hands. The four left hands hold the arrow, noose, book (the Prajñāpāramitā) and a bell. The left hands hold<sup>15</sup> a bow, an elephant goad, a sword and a vajra.

Another popular motif, especially in Kathmandu, is the figure known as Nāmasangiti, a personification of a text often recited at the bāhās of Kathmandu. This is a single-faced figure with six pairs of hands. The first pair at the heart show the abhaya mudrā, the second pair above the crown show the añjali mudrā, the third pair usually each hold a staff one with the double, crossed-vajra (visvavajra) surmounted by a sword and the other with a khaṭvaṅga. The fourth pair exhibit the tarpaṇa mudrā, the fifth pair the kṣepaṇa mudrā (sprinkling nectar) and the sixth pair rest on the lap in the dhyaṇa mudrā with the begging bowl resting on them. The figure sits in vajrāsana on the lotus seat and wears five ornaments each representing one of the transcendent Buddhas: the cakra -- Akṣobhya, the kuṇḍala (ear rings) -- Amitābha, the kāñthī (necklace) -- Ratnasambhava, the rucaka (bracelets) -- Vairocana, and the mekhala (cincture) -- Amoghasiddhi. This deity seems to be a peculiarly Nepalese creation; it is not found in Indian texts though it is occasionally found in Tibet.<sup>16</sup>

### Kwāpā-dya

The kwāpā-dya is the main, non-tantric image enthroned in the ground floor shrine near-

ly always situated opposite to the main entrance of the bāhā. The shrine is open to the public, which means that anyone who comes to the bāhā when the attendant is there and the door is open can make offerings to the deity through the attendant and look into the shrine. Only the initiated members of the saṅgha (and on some occasions their wives) are permitted to enter the shrine. The earlier form of the current term kwāpā-dya is kwāca (or koca) pāla deva. Kwāca pāla seems to be derived from the Sanskrit koṣṭhapāla used twice in an inscription of N.S.508 at Nhāykan Bahī in Kathmandu. The term is used as a synonym for the Buddha. In ordinary Sanskrit the term means a 'guard, watchman, storekeeper'. This meaning would confirm the interpretation I have often heard for the meaning of kwāpā-dya as 'the guardian of the saṅgha'. This does result in some confusion as the task of guarding would seem to be performed by others: Mahākāl (plus Ganesh and often Hanumān) guard the entryway to the bāhā, and the area inside is guarded by a nameless deity simply known as kṣetra-pāla (guardian of the area) who is represented by a recess in the pavement of the courtyard. As David Gellner notes in a recent article the main deity of the bāhā 'never does anything so lowly as guarding'. Etymologically he would seem to be guarding the koṣṭha (the cell of the Buddha?, the whole monastery?).<sup>17</sup> In Patan the kwāpā-dya is often referred to as the kwāpā-āju (kwāpā-grandfather).

In most bāhās the kwāpā-dya is an image of the Buddha sitting in vajrāsana and showing the bhūmisparsa (earth-touching) mudrā. This is also the iconographic form of the transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya. Some informants have told me that the image is always the historical Sakya Muni Buddha and not the transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya, but in some cases we have inscriptions which clearly state that the image is Akṣobhya (especially in Kathmandu). Whatever the identity of these images, I have for the sake of brevity called them all Akṣobhya, or used the name of one of the other transcendent Buddhas if the iconography corresponds to that form.

Many of the images are of a standing Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and with the left hand raised to the shoulder level and gathering up the ends of the robe in an elegant sweep. This is a popular form of the Buddha in Nepal, very ancient and certainly

pre-tantric. One of the Buddha figures on the seventh century caitya at Dhvākā Bāhā in Kathmandu is of this type. Though this particular form is seldom found in India Pāl surmises that it did originate in India in the Amarāvati region and was popular during the Gupta period.<sup>18</sup> Nepali scholars have called the hand postures shown by this figure the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā and popular devotion identifies the image as Maitreya. There is no justification for this name or the identification of the image as Maitreya in standard iconographic texts, but it is certainly common in the oral tradition of the Valley.<sup>20</sup> Maitreya is of course the Buddha to come in the next age and the term viśvavyākaraṇa could be translated as 'explaining the future'. In the text I have referred to these images as an image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā.

Some of the kwāpā-dya images are one of the other transcendent Buddhas, or Lokeśvara, or Tara. All of the kwāpā-dya images throughout the Valley, except for one image of Mahāvairocana in Bhaktapur, are non-tantric deities.

### Caitya

In the courtyard of every bāhā and bahī is at least one caitya.<sup>21</sup> The caitya or stūpa has from the earliest days been the specific symbol of a Buddhist institution and at least one caitya is an essential feature of every bāhā. Most of these caityas in the courtyards of the bāhā are of stone and small, some only three feet high, and most of them not over six feet. A few bāhās, however, such as Sighe Bāhā, Yatkā Bāhā and Mahābū Bāhā in Kathmandu have been built round large stūpas. Especially in Kathmandu the caitya in the courtyard of the bāhā is often given a lime whitewash with the result that after several centuries it appears as a shapeless white mound or white spire. Such caityas are called 'Aśoka Caityas' in Kathmandu, and there is a popular belief that they were all erected by the Emperor Aśoka. In addition to the official caitya in every bāhā one often finds an array of other votive caityas, i.e. caityas erected by members of the saṅgha, or by lay people, in memory of the deceased.

### Maṇḍala

In nearly every bāhā courtyard in Patan and in many in Kathmandu, one also finds a maṇḍala,

either entirely of stone or of repousse brass (or copper) mounted on a stone base. The maṇḍala in question is the Dharmadhātu Vāgisvara Maṇḍala. This is one of the largest of the tantric maṇḍalas and the central figure is Mañjuṣa, a form of Mañjuśrī considered in this maṇḍala to be of the family of Vajrasattva.<sup>22</sup>

## Type

When I speak of types of bāhās, I am referring to the status of the community. A main (mūl or mū) bāhā means a bāhā to which is attached a separate or independent saṅgha (the Buddhist community) which performs its initiations at the concerned bāhā, has its own elders and is not considered a part of another saṅgha. Branch (sakhā or kacā) bāhā means a bāhā whose saṅgha is not independent but considered a part of the saṅgha of a main bāhā where initiations are performed. In some cases the branch is considered to be 'official', which seems to mean that it has received some official recognition from the main bāhā as an official branch. The case of Kwā Bāhā in Patan is unique as it has a number of 'official' branches which are in fact almost entirely independent foundations. They have separate lineage deities and perform their initiations separately. Many branches are private which seems to mean established by a family for its own private use without any official recognition. Some branches have a clearly defined saṅgha, i.e. a number of families (belonging to the same main bāhā) all descended from a common ancestor and who are considered its members, take turns serving in the shrine, have an annual festival as a group, etc. in the branch bāhā as well as in the main bāhā. Some private bāhās have no such clearly defined saṅgha, the prescribed rituals being performed by whoever happens to live there or by the current attendant in the shrine of the main bāhā.

In addition to the status of the community, main bāhās are also much more important foundations for the public at large. At main bāhās one sees people of different castes and those of different bāhās coming to worship and to take part in festivities. Except in the case of a few popular shrines, like Mahābudha Bāhā in Patan, branches are private shrines seldom visited by the general public.

The term mahāvihāra was used in India for a

cluster of vihāras, or a large vihāra that had many branches, such as existed at Nālandā. In Nepal the term mahāvihāra is used without any discernible rationale, often the smallest and most insignificant foundation is called mahāvihāra and some important and ancient foundations are called vihāra. I have arbitrarily used the term mahāvihāra to refer to main bāhās, and the term vihāra to refer to branch bāhās. The main bāhās are treated in order and the branches are treated in sub-sections immediately following the main bāhā.

The saṅgha is the Buddhist community, in this case the community of initiated Bare attached to the bāhā. The numbers are as accurate as I was able to obtain. Most bāhās in Patan and Kathmandu have accurate records of their membership, some even keeping a check list of the entire membership in the bāhā to record presence at feasts and service in the temple. Some bāhās, especially in Bhaktapur, or those that have very large saṅghas, were able to give only round numbers, 'about 150, about 200', etc. The numbers given are of initiated male members of the saṅgha and hence do not include wives, unmarried daughters or uninitiated sons. Numbers are constantly changing as young boys are initiated and the old pass on. The figures presented were gathered, or checked again in 1983-84.

Most saṅghas claim descent from a common ancestor, or one of several brothers who are considered to be the founders of the bāhā. As membership increased over the generations men who were descendants of one or other of the sons of the founder, or of one of the original brothers, were considered as belonging to one lineage (kawal). These lineages then often have duties as a group. These lineages were further subdivided in subsequent generations, but at some point in time the number of lineages became fixed, and the saṅgha was thereafter considered to be made up of x number of lineages. Families continued to grow, of course, and households continued to divide, but the new divisions were called 'households' (khalak).

Some Bare have moved away from the area of their bāhā and no longer take an active part in the life of the saṅgha. They do not serve in the shrine nor act as elders of the saṅgha. In some cases this seems to make no difference; they are still counted members and could resume active saṅgha at any time. In a few bāhās their

names are struck from the roll and they cannot resume active saṅgha life. It is not always clear whether such inactive members have been included in the numbers given.

From the viewpoint of Buddhism the families attached to a bāhā constitute its official saṅgha; from the viewpoint of the structure of Newar society the members of a saṅgha constitute a gūthī. A gūthī is an organization based on caste or kinship, or occasionally on geographical propinquity, which ensures the continued observance of social and religious customs and ceremonies of the community. Gūthīs in general are social institutions which determine the rights and obligations of a Newar towards his community. Every Newar is a member of several such gūthīs, and membership in religious and functional gūthīs (such as the funeral gūthī--si gūthī) is compulsory and inherited. Such membership defines a person's place in society, and to lose membership in such a gūthī is to lose one's place in society. Each gūthī originally had an endowment, some agricultural land, from which the members obtained an annual income to finance the activities of the gūthī. Whatever money was left over from the specific activities of the gūthī was used for an annual feast. Each gūthī is well-organised and has strict rules and conditions of membership and activities. The senior-most is called thāypā or thakāli and he acts as chairman of the gūthī. His main function is to maintain the discipline of the members. The gūthī passes judgment in cases of dispute among members and takes action against those who violate its rules. A majority vote can levy punishments for infractions or even expel a member. Infractions would include bad manners, irregularity in attendance, failure to fulfill one's assigned role in the gūthī, breach of ritual observance, breach of caste regulations. Every gūthī has an annual meeting when business is conducted and a feast is held. In addition to the thāypā there is a gūthī administrator. The position of administrator of the affairs of the gūthī is rotated through the membership, and it is the duty of the current administrator to make arrangements for the annual meeting and to finance the feast if there is not sufficient revenue from the gūthī lands. In the case of the bāhās the structure of the gūthī has been grafted on to the structure of a Buddhist monastic community.

## Daily Rituals

Every Buddhist monastic community has some common religious exercises each day, brief and simple in Theravāda monasteries, much more elaborate in Tibetan monasteries. One of the main features of this worship was, and still is, Buddha Pūjā--worship of the image of the Buddha enshrined in the monastery.<sup>23</sup> The bāhās of the Valley also have a daily pūjā which is at least a pūjā of the main image enshrined in the bāhā, the kwāpā-dya. It seems that originally the bāhās had a full schedule of rituals throughout the day. This is no longer true except at a very few places like Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu and Kwā Bāhā in Patan.<sup>24</sup> All have a pūjā in the morning (shortly after sunrise, the time depending on the time of year). This is the official, prescribed worship, the nitya pūjā, and consists primarily in the offering of the pañcopacāra pūjā and the recitation of hymns.<sup>25</sup> Most also have an evening service, the main part of which is the offering of a light to the deity, the ārati pūjā. Where the text speaks of 'the usual morning and evening rituals' this means the nitya pūjā and the ārati. If the rituals are different or performed at a different time this is noted.

One of the features of the daily rituals at many of the main bāhās is the sounding of a wooden gong (siñ-qañ). The gong is a sort of hollow log and it is sounded 108 times at the beginning of rituals to summon worshippers. This is an ancient Buddhist custom; and, especially in Patan, a bāhā at which this gong is sounded is considered to be of a superior status.

The daily rituals are performed by the initiated members of the saṅgha in turn. The attendant on duty is called the dya-pālā (or dya-pā), the guardian of the deity. In most bāhās rotation is through the entire roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. However, in a number of the bāhās the rotation is by lineage or household. Within the lineage rotation is usually by seniority, but often today anybody who is available and willing performs the service. In some places it is always done by the same man. Service in the shrine is one of the main rights and duties which is conferred on the members of the saṅgha by their initiation. Until very recent times every member of the



saṅgha faithfully took his turn as dya-pālā. Today many Bare find this inconvenient and get some other member of the saṅgha who has the time to take their turn. In some bāhās failure to take one's turn reduces one to the status of a sort of fringe member and disqualifies one from serving as an elder of the saṅgha. In other bāhās it seems to make no difference. The term of service varies but is most frequently one lunar month or one lunar fortnight. Originally the dya-pālā had to spend the entire period of his service in the shrine at the bāhā and had to follow the monastic rules of a monk for the period. This is seldom the case today. In most bāhās the dya-pālā comes in the morning and evening, opens the shrine, performs the prescribed rituals and returns immediately to his home. In a few of the main bāhās he remains on duty throughout the day, and members of the saṅgha and lay people come for the prescribed rituals.

#### Annual Festival

Theoretically every bāhā (as also every caitya and every other Newār shrine, Buddhist or Hindu) has an annual festival which commemorates the founding of the bāhā and is called busā-dañ, the birthday. The observance of this festival usually involves a pūjā and a feast for the entire saṅgha. From the viewpoint of the structure of Newār society this is the annual meeting and feast (bhwaya) of the bāhā gūthī. In Patan the custom is almost universally observed; in Kathmandu as families have moved away from their old homes and as income from the baha gūthī lands has diminished, the custom has begun to die out.

Another annual observance of the entire Buddhist community is what is known as Guṇlā Dharma. Guṇlā is the name of one of the Newāri months, occurring from mid-July to mid-August (from the beginning of the bright half of Sraavan to the end of the dark half of Bhādra); and the whole month is sacred to the Buddhists.<sup>26</sup> Throughout this month there are special observances at the bāhās and at the homes of the Buddhists. Each day is supposed to begin with fasting; streams of people can be seen each morning going to Swayambhu from Kathmandu, and women and girls fashion countless numbers of clay caityas. At the bāhās it was the custom to recite texts during this month, especially the text of the Prajñāpāramitā, but this custom has

largely died out. Following are three customs that are still rather generally observed at the bāhās during this month.

First is the pañcadāna, the giving of the five offerings. Originally this was the offering of gifts of food to the monks and, the present custom is an adaptation of this custom. It takes place in Patan on the eighth day of the bright half of Guṇlā, in Kathmandu on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month and in Bhaktapur on the thirteenth. On the appointed day the Buddhist lay people prepare a sort of altar at their home adorned with any Buddhist images they have upon it. In front of the altar they place baskets with four kinds of grain and salt. Throughout the day any of the Bare (Sakyas and Vajracaryas) of the city come and collect their share of offerings. Many of the wealthier Sakyas and Vajracaryas no longer make the rounds, but there is still a continuous procession of Bare throughout the day. At the end of the day one Bare known as the Phu Bare comes and touches all the remaining offerings with a vajra. This indicates the end of the ceremony, and the Phu Bare gets whatever is left. In Bhaktapur the ceremony is enhanced by a procession of the five main Dīpaṅkara images of the city. These proceed to a central place where the faithful place their offerings and all the Bare of that area of the city come to receive their offerings. From there the procession goes to the next tole and so on through the whole city area by area. The whole custom is intimately connected with Dīpaṅkara, and in each of the three cities the main image put out on this day is that of Dīpaṅkara. In Patan people say that the custom originated when Dīpaṅkara Buddha came to Patan to seek alms and took the alms offered by a poor, old woman of Guṭa Tole in preference to the rich offerings of the king. A statue of this woman is put out each year on the day of Pañcadāna. Dīpaṅkara is one of the earlier Buddhas who came before Sakya Muni and is supposed to have predicted his coming. He attained a great popularity in Malla Nepal and there are images of him at almost every bāhā or bahī. The images are donated by individuals who have the image consecrated and then usually install it in one of the vihāras. All of these images are brought out in procession at the time of the samyak ceremony which is held every five years at Kwā Bāhā in Patan and every twelve years at Bhuikhel below Swayambhu in Kathmandu. The ceremony is a sort of general pañcadāna to

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which are invited the saṅghas of all the bāhās and bahīs in the area.

The second observance is what is known as bahī-dya-boyegu, the 'showing of the gods of the bahīs.' Traditionally this lasted for ten days, and on the first day the members of the saṅghas of the bāhās and bahīs plus the lay people used to bring whatever images, Buddhist relics, and books they had to put on display in the bāhās and bahīs for the whole ten days. It seems that originally the bahīs had a much more elaborate display than the bāhās, and perhaps the custom first began at the bahīs where they had large open halls suitable for such a display. Now the custom is fast dying out. Most bāhās no longer put anything out for display and those which do, have a rather meagre display for only a day or two. Many reasons are given for this, the most common being fear of theft; but that fact is that a very large number of these ancient images and relics have already 'disappeared'.

Patan has an observance that is not found in the other cities, the matayā or 'festival of lights'. This occurs on the second day of the dark half of the month of Guḷlā and on this day the faithful of Patan, carrying lighted tapers, candles or torches, go in groups to visit all the caityas of the city. In practice this means visiting all the bāhās and the caityas along the way between them. On this day the bāhās are swept clean and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains open for the entire day. Given the large number of bāhās in Patan, to complete the circuit of all of them is a day-long endurance test. This occurs on the day after Gāi Jātrā and those who have lost a member of their family in the past year have a special pūjā to perform at each place. Many people connect the whole ceremony with a commemoration of the dead. The festival is not observed in either Kathmandu or Bhaktapur, but a similar observance known simply as Bāhā Pūjā can be performed by those who wish, at any time of the year. Substantial offerings are made by the participants at each site; the ritual is an expensive one and is seldom performed any more.

Another annual observance at the bāhās is what is known as disī pūjā. Performed twice a year, in Paus and Jyestha, this pūjā is supposed to mark the solstice, the end of the sun's journey north or south. Many people say the

purpose of the pūjā is to stop the sun and turn it back.

### Governing Body

Harkening back to the monastic practice of having a head of the monastery, the mahā-sthavi-ra, and the custom that ordination cannot be performed without the presence of the monastic community, each bāhā has a number of elders who theoretically oversee the life of the saṅgha and preside at ordinations. In the days when the life of the saṅgha was more vigorous and touched on the daily life of the people more closely, the governing committee was busy and had clearly defined duties. At present their duties are limited to making arrangements for daily services in the temple, making arrangements for the annual religious observances and feasts, seeing to a few routine business matters like making repairs to the bāhā shrine and settling alleged violations of bāhā customs and caste regulations. In many bāhās today the elders are no more than honorary seniors who have no clearly defined functions other than to be present at bāhā initiations and to sit in the place of honour at feasts. Most bāhās have five or ten elders, some have twenty or twelve and many of the branches have only one. Ordinarily the elders hold office on the basis of strict seniority of initiation; and in a mixed bāhā of Sakyas and Vajracaryas, irrespective of whether one is a Sakya or Vajracarya with one exception. In bāhās that have a mixed saṅgha there is always one Vajracarya among the elders to act as cakreśvara, i.e. the tantric priest who performs the secret tantric rituals in the āgam of the bāhā.<sup>27</sup> The elders are also called āju (the grandfathers), thakāli, or thāyapā. From a purely sociological viewpoint these elders are the elders of the bāhā gūṭhī, the main socio-religious gūṭhī of the members of the saṅgha.

### Initiations

Initiations are of two types: a) bāhā initiations, i.e. initiations into the saṅgha of the bāhā called Barechuyegu (or Bare Chui) in Newari (i.e. the making of a Bare). This consists primarily in the pravrajya initiation of a Buddhist monk. At the present time boys are initiated very young, about seven or eight, but often ranging from six months to twelve years. For three days the newly initiated must dress as a monk and live the life of the Buddhist monk,

begging his food and eating only one meal a day. After three days the initiated bhikṣu returns to the householder state and becomes a 'householder monk.' or Bare.<sup>28</sup> All Sakyas and Vajracaryas must take this initiation, and a bāhā in which such initiations take place by right is a main bāhā. However, initiations do in fact take place in some of the branch bāhās especially in the semi-independent branches of Kwā Bāhā in Patan. b) The Vajracarya initiation, known as Ācāluyegu (or Ācālui) is the tantric initiation in which the son of a Vajracarya (previously initiated into the saṅgha of his bāhā) is given the tantric empowerment or initiation (dikṣā) into the maṇḍala of Herukacakraśamvara-Vajravārāhī. It is performed in the āgam of the main bāhās which have Vajracaryas and is secret, i.e. only the initiated Vajracarya members of the saṅgha may witness the initiation.

From the viewpoint of the structure of Newār society these initiations also give the two groups their caste status. The son of a Sakya or Vajracarya who fails to take this initiation is automatically considered to be of the next lowest caste. The son of a Vajracarya who takes the Barechuyegu initiation but neglects to take the Ācāluyegu is considered a Sakya, and his sons are generally considered to be ineligible for the Ācāluyegu initiation.

In regard to the question of caste, the members of a bahī saṅgha are considered to be slightly lower than those of a bāhā saṅgha. This is evident from the fact that most of the members of the bāhā saṅghas, especially those of the Ācārya Gūṭhī in Kathmandu, will not establish marital relations with members of a bahī saṅgha. At Makhañ Bāhā in Kathmandu, members of the saṅgha of Makhañ Bahī are also members of the Makhañ Bāhā funeral gūṭhī (si gūṭhī), but they must take their place at the end of the line, after the junior-most members of the Makhañ Bāhā saṅgha, and they are never permitted to be elders of the gūṭhī.<sup>29</sup>

#### Lineage Deity

Every Newar family has a lineage deity, degu dya (or digu dya), a deity that is worshipped annually by all members of an extended family or lineage. Theoretically all who worship the deity are descended from a common ancestor. Every family attached to a bāhā has a lineage deity; and, in all but a few cases, the entire

saṅgha of a bāhā has the same lineage deity. Knowing who the lineage deity is and where it resides enables one to trace migrations of people and to trace links between bāhās. The name of the lineage deity is problematic. Lineage deities, among both Newārs and the Nepālī population at large, are usually situated outside of the town or village, and their shrine consists of a very simple enclosure with one or more aniconic stones. Ordinarily the deity is simply known as degu-dya. Some informants have told me that the deity has no other name, and I suspect that among the lower castes this is true. Among the higher caste Newārs the deity has an identity and a name, but the name was traditionally kept secret, known only to the members of the lineage.

In most cases the lineage deities of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas definitely have an identity and a name. Several informants have told me that it is always a caitya or one of the transcendent Buddhas and never a tantric deity. However, a large number of the saṅghas identify their deity as Yogāmbara, Cakraśamvara, Vajrayoginī, or Vajravārāhī. A few have even identified their deity as a Hindu tantric deity. Yet none of this is very clear. Many people at Kwā Bāhā have told me that their lineage deity is Yogāmbara. However, it is abundantly clear that this is not the case. The lineage deity is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. The confusion arises perhaps because on the day of the lineage pūjā they also worship Yogāmbara, but the lineage pūjā itself is always to the caitya. However, there are numerous bāhās which are offshoots of Kwā Bāhā, especially in Bhaktapur and Thimi, and all of these people without exception say their lineage deity is Yogāmbara of Kwā Bāhā in Patan. People at many different bāhās have told me their lineage deity is Vajrayoginī at Sankhu, yet the Vajracaryas at Sankhu say that when people come there to worship their lineage deity it is one of two caityas they worship and not Vajrayoginī, (though they may also worship Vajrayoginī while they are there). I suspect that three factors have given rise to this confusion. First is the fact that frequently lineage deities do not have names or the names are to be kept secret. Hence when people give names they give a name their hearers will understand or are familiar with. Secondly, as people have moved from place to place they often 'bring' their lineage deity with them. This bringing consists in a ritual by which the

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spirit of the deity is brought by a mantra to a new place (while remaining in the old place also). Thus, the lineage deity at Guṃ Bāhā in Sankhu has been brought to Lām Bāhā in Lājimpāt and from there in turn to various other sites. When this is done the people usually return occasionally, often once in twelve years, to the original site. Since they return to the original site only occasionally, it is easy to see how they come to identify their lineage deity as the principal deity at that site, e.g. Vajrayogini or Yogāmbara. Third is the problem of blood sacrifices or the offering of meat. For nearly all of the various Newār castes, and far the Bare of Bhaktapur, worship of the lineage deity involves a blood sacrifice. One never performs a blood sacrifice to the Buddha, the transcendent Buddhas or a caitya. Hence if custom demands the offering of a blood sacrifice the deity must be a tantric deity who will accept such sacrifices.

### Income

At the time of foundation all bāhās were given an endowment in the form of agricultural land from which came income to ensure the upkeep of the establishment, and the proper performance of prescribed rituals and feasts. Many bāhās have several such endowments: for the bāhā itself, for specific festivals, for the recitation of texts like the Nāmasaṅgiti, for the performance of periodical pūjās. Each of the bāhās or bāhīs had at least two annual feasts (saṅgha-bhway)—one on the annual birthday of the bāhā and one on the day of the annual worship of the lineage deity. In addition to this there was always a feast at the time of the initiation ceremonies which in the early days were held more often as it was forbidden to initiate groups of boys; they had to be initiated individually as is clear from a document from Patan from the late Malla period.<sup>30</sup> This system of endowments and feasts is a feature of all sectors of Newār society. Every Newār is a member of several such qūthīs most of which were endowed with agricultural land which provided income for whatever function the qūthī fulfilled. In the case of the bāhās, greater endowments meant more feasts. This is clearly seen from the case of Asan Bāhā in Kathmandu which used to have eighteen feasts within the year. This resulted from the fact that the bāhā had generous endowments. A large number of the patrons of the bāhā (some Sakyas, but mostly the

Asan Tulādharas) were wealthy and had made generous donations of land.

The families attached to the saṅgha of a bāhā or bāhī take turns making all of the arrangements for the annual festivals. In days gone by the income from the land theoretically provided all the food and materials necessary for the rituals and the feast. If this fell short it was the obligation of the family whose turn it was to conduct the festival to make up the difference. It seems that until fairly recent times this seldom happened in a bāhā that was reasonably well endowed. However, times have changed. Income from agricultural land has dwindled and in many cases entirely disappeared. Consequently a heavy burden has fallen on the family whose turn it is to make the arrangements.

Maru Bahī in Kathmandu provides a good example of what has happened. The saṅgha is small and consists of only four households which means that every four years a given family must foot the bill for the annual feast. Originally they had to provide each of the participants (i.e. all the members of the saṅgha and their families plus ten Vajracaryas and their families) with the following: four mānās of flattened rice (baji), two mānās of rice, a large quantity of fried meat, cooking oil, and a variety of spices and vegetables. Some twenty years ago one of the members of the saṅgha found that to provide this would in fact bankrupt him, so he appealed for some modification. Finally it was decided that the following would suffice: 1/4 mana of flattened rice, two pieces of meat and quantities of the rest in the same proportion. This has remained the custom until the present time. In bāhās which have a large saṅgha one's turn to provide the annual feast comes seldom, once in ten or twelve years or only once in a man's lifetime; but in this case, if the endowment is insufficient, the outlay can be staggering. As a result adaptations have been made: the feast has been curtailed as at Maru Bahī, initiations are held only once in several years so that there are enough families involved to share the expenses; in some places only the elders are fed at the feast, and in many places the annual feast has ceased altogether. Part of the change is due to the breakup of old communities as families, especially the more affluent, move away from their old neighbourhood to the suburbs of Kathmandu and

Patan; but the main cause is the loss of income.

The first and most obvious reason for the loss of income is the increase of population within the Newār community. The population of the bāhās has increased and the population of the farmer families cultivating their land has also increased, but the amount of land has not increased. There are a few examples of rich patrons endowing small, new foundations within the past hundred to hundred and fifty years, but no examples that I know of where a new endowment of land has been made to an existing and long-standing foundation such as the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī in Kathmandu or the 'Fifteen' Bāhās of Patan. The result is that the same amount of land has to feed more farmers and the same income from the gūthī lands has to feed more people at the feasts. The basic prosperity of the Newār community has always rested on the rich agricultural land of the Valley which in past times was able to provide an abundance of basic food stuffs. The days of this abundance are over. Hence, even if all the endowments had remained intact the system of feasts (which is a feature of the culture of all castes of Newārs, not just the members of the bāhās) would be under severe strain. But the endowments have not remained intact.

Whenever this question has come up as I have talked with people from each of the bahas, informants have invariably blamed the present impoverished state of the gūthī system on two things: the confiscation of their agricultural lands by the Ranas and Land Reform. There is some truth in this, but it is not quite so simple.

It is obvious that the Ranas confiscated a considerable amount of fertile land to build their numerous palaces. All of the Rana palaces were built on agricultural land on the edges of the two cities of Patan and Kathmandu. This land was farmed by the Jyāpūs and owned by a variety of people: the Newār aristocracy, a variety of gūthīs, and in some cases non-Newārs (i.e. Gorkhālīs or Parbates as the Newārs call them). That some compensation was paid to individual owners who could prove ownership of the land is shown by the account given to me by one of the victims of such appropriation, a 93 year old man who is not a Newar, but a Thakuri. When Juddha Shamsher was building a palace for one of his sons in Sanepā, the proposed compound was to

include this man's house and fields. He was summoned to appear before the Prime Minister one morning at 10 AM (if he had not shown up at the appointed time, he would have got nothing). He was informed that his land was being appropriated and was given a compensation of Rs. 40 per ropanī. (It cost him Rs.400 per ropanī to buy new land down by the river.) In such a case the cultivator of the land got nothing. Also, this man was an individual owner, and a non-Newār at that. It seems that no compensation was given for the confiscation of the land of private gūthīs such as the bāhās. (All of the bāhās are private and their various gūthīs are private gūthīs, not rāj-gūthīs.) At the time of the construction of Keśar Mahal a considerable amount of land belonging to Thām Bahī was appropriated and included in the grounds of the palace. After the death of Kesar Shamsher, when his heirs began to break up the property and sell parts of it, the gūthīyārs of Thām Bahī filed suit to regain the land which had evidently been taken without compensation. (If they had been given compensation they would have no grounds for a suit.) The fact that they lost the case points up another difficulty: it is extremely difficult to substantiate the ownership of the lands that these private gūthīs have traditionally enjoyed, sometimes from endowments that go back to Malla times.

However, the Ranas cannot be blamed for all of the confiscation. The two most frequently cited examples of such appropriation in Kathmandu are the cases of Gaṇa Bahī and Mukuṃ Bahī. According to the accounts of informants, Gaṇa Bahī had a large tract of land centered on the present Gaṇa Bāhā site but extending from there all the way to the area of the present Central Post Office. That land was taken long before the time of the Rana administration as it includes the area of the Dharharā (tower) and the Sūn Dhārā built by Bhīm Sen Thāpā as well as Bhīm Sen Thāpā's private palace. Mukuṃ Bahī had a large tract of land near Hanumān Dhokā, the main portion of which is the large complex of buildings owned by the former hereditary royal priests, the Rāj Pāṇḍes. This property was given to them by Jang Bahadur Rana after he arranged for their appointment as hereditary priests; but this had been the property of Gagan Singh, whose murder precipitated the Rana coup. Hence, this property had also been appropriated before the time of the Ranas. Such confiscation of property by the Gorkhālīs from the Newar

aristocracy and from Newar gūthīs has been documented in a recent article by Kamal Prakash Malla.<sup>32</sup> Granted all this, though, in the case of the two bahīs in question there is another side to the story. All informants agreed that by the time the two properties were appropriated there was no longer any saṅgha at Gaṇa Bahī and the saṅgha of Mukum Bahī had dwindled to a few members. The saṅgha of Maru Bahī had taken up the obligation of performing the regular rituals at Gaṇa Bahī and that of Arakhu Bahī eventually took up the obligations at Mukum Bahī. With the obligations, of course, went whatever income the property provided. However, in strictly legal terms it would be hard to prove that these two saṅghas were the legal successors to the property of the original gūthīs.

The second reason cited for the loss of income is Land Reform. Again there is some truth in the claim. First, land reform gave and ensured the rights of the tenants who farmed the land, and it limited the amount of rent they had to pay to their landlords, whether individuals or corporate bodies such as a gūthī. Secondly, Land Reform seems to have given the coup de grace to the bond of trust which existed between the bāhā communities and the cultivators of their land, the Jyāpūs. The members of the bāhā or bahī saṅghas were the religious leaders of the Jyāpu community--the Vajracaryas served as their priests and the Sakyas lived in and tended the religious centres which formed an important part of their religious-cultural milieu. To the Jyāpūs they were all guru. Whereas most landlords of the Valley are present on the day of the harvesting of the rice, either personally or through their agents, and make sure that every grain of rice is measured and that they get their share, this was not the custom of the bāhā saṅghas. The Jyāpūs harvested the rice and, without fail, they brought the customary share, or a payment in cash, to the bāhā. The members of the saṅgha seldom if ever even visited the site of their lands; they knew they were safe in the care of the Jyāpūs and that they would get their due share. This arrangement was under strain because of the increasing press on the land even before land reform. Land Reform bestowed on the farming community an increased sense of security and independence. In many cases they simply stopped bringing the share to the bāhā, and the members of the bāhā suffered in silence. Time and time again informants have told me that they are due so much rice from a

given piece of land, but the Jyāpūs just don't bring it any more. Furthermore, many of the Jyāpūs have taken further advantage of land reform and the confused state of ancient records to lay claim to the land as owners and not simply as tenants. They simply got their names registered in the field book of the cadastral survey. It takes documentary proof and a court case to dispossess the man whose name is listed on that field survey. Again, members of the bāhā saṅghas have frequently deplored this, but done nothing. Much of this certainly shows a lack of solidarity among the Bare; and in fact it is not only the Jyāpūs who have taken advantage of the changed circumstances. I have been given many concrete examples of members of the saṅgha getting gūthī land registered in their own names and then selling it off. In a very few cases the saṅgha has taken the initiative, sold off their gūthī land and put the money obtained into a trust or simply a long term deposit in the bank. In this way their endowment has changed from fields to a deposit in the bank. The annual income continues to fund the feasts and other activities of the gūthī. However, this fixed annual income buys less and less each year unlike the old income which was a fixed, given quantity of produce or a fixed percentage of the harvest.

In the final analysis, the deterioration of the economic status of the bāhā endowments, and in fact of all Newar gūthīs, is a complex process. It cannot simply be blamed either on the Ranas or on Land Reform, but is rather the result of complex socio-economic changes which began at the time of the Gorkhālī conquest of the Valley, were enhanced during the Rana regime when the Ranas were answerable to nobody, but have proceeded at a very rapid pace with more recent socio-economic changes: the overthrow of the Ranas, the press on the land, Land Reform and the break up of the traditional Newār communities as individual families move away from their traditional neighbourhoods--or in our case--away from the bāhās. The old structure of Newar society is rapidly breaking down and the communities of the bāhās are suffering the same strains and developments that every other sector of the population is.

## History

The final section in the treatment of each bāhā or bahī details whatever I have been able



to discover about the history of the foundation. As will be evident there are very few foundations that can be traced back to their origins. The origins of most of the main bāhās are lost in the dim past, probably in the so-called Thakuri period with a few of them extending back into the Licchavi period. One has to rely a lot on oral tradition and the chronicles, which in turn are based on oral tradition. The most reliable of the chronicles, the Gopālarājvamśāvalī, has little on the foundation of the bāhās. The later chronicles, all written in Nepal within the past two hundred years, have more, but much of their information is unreliable. They often have events jumbled or misplaced by several hundred years. However, one cannot simply dismiss either the chronicle accounts or the oral tradition. Research done over the past twenty years by Nepali scholars has produced evidence to confirm at least the thread of many of these accounts. The sources used for firm dates--inscriptions, manuscript colophons, chronicles, palmleaf land grants--all give dates in the Nepal Samvat (N.S.) which began on 20 October 879. In general I have used this era in the dates cited in the text. The earliest date given for a bāhā is the earliest documented date I have been able to find for the existence of the bāhā. For all such dates, only confirmed dates have been indicated, i.e. dates that have been found in contemporary documents whether inscriptions, manuscripts, or palmleaf land deeds; hence the bāhā may be much older than the oldest date given. However, the presence of ancient, e.g. Licchavi, Buddhist remains at a bāhā does not necessarily indicate that the present foundation or community can be traced to Licchavi times. It may; but all we really know is that the site had Buddhist connections in Licchavi times.

#### Branches

Ordinarily only main bāhās or bahīs have branches, although there are a few cases of official branches having sub-branches which are purely private especially in the two large bāhās of Patan, Kwā Bāhā and Uku Bāhā. The branch bāhās or bahīs are treated immediately after the main foundation, and if some are considered official and some private, the official branches are treated first.



**The Bahas and Bahis**

**of Patan**



## Patan Map List

Note: The eighteen main bāhās of Patan are printed in bold type. All main bāhās and bahīs are called Mahāvihāra; all branches are called simply Vihāra.

1. Pām Bāhā -- Kanaka Datta Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
2. Kwātha Bāhā -- Kotta Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
3. Na Bāhā -- Padmāvati Nāma Vihāra Na Tole p. 162, 178
4. Dune Naka Bāhā -- (Padmāvati) Yokulivarṇa Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
5. Gā Bāhā -- Gāda Vihāra  
(Śrī Nīmna Śrī Viśvasānti Vihāra) Gā Bāhā Tole p. 232
6. Khwāy Bahī -- Kāmūka Nāma Mahāvihāra Na Bāhā Tole p. 191
7. Khwāy Bahī Cidharigu -- ?? Na Bāhā Tole p. 193
8. Si Bāhā -- Śrī Vaccha Mahāvihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 172
9. Bachā Bāhā -- Śrī Vaccha Vihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 174
10. Yāka Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Nāma Vihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 172
11. Devarāj Bāhā -- Devarāja Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 164
12. Sija Bāhā -- Śrī Vatsa Duṇḍubhi Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 159
13. Kisi Cok Bāhā -- Sukhāvatiprasāda Triratnayoga Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 166
14. Māka Bāhā -- (Śrī Vatsa) Kanakavarṇa Vihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 176
15. Chāya Bāhā -- Ratnamuni Saṃskārīta Vihāra Chāya Bāhā Tole p. 44  
(Cchwāca Bāhā) Chatravarma Vihāra
16. Ganes Bāhā -- Cakramukta Vihāra Chāya Bāhā Tole p. 46  
Tuñ Nanī
17. Bāhācā -- Chāya Vihāra Chāya Bāhā Tole p. 44

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18. MŪ Bāhā -- MŪla Śrī Vihāra Pim Bāhā Tole p. 46  
(Śrī Gavarma Pinta Vihāra)
19. Pim Bāhā -- Mahāpinta Vihāra Pim Bāhā Tole p. 232
20. Duru Nanī Bāhā -- Cūkha Vihāra Pim Bāhā Tole p. 128
21. Mikhā Bāhā -- Suprekṣaṇa Vihāra Patan Dhokā p. 56
22. Wanlā Bāhā -- Harsavīra Saṃskārīta Wolānāma Vihāra Walā Tole p.169
23. Nhū Bāhā -- Nava Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 162
24. Hā Bāhā -- Śrī Lakṣmī Kalyāṇa Varma Saṃskārīta Ratnākara Mahāvihāra Hakā Bāhā Tole p. 148
25. Wācheñ Nanī Bāhācā -- Dhanavata Siṃha Vihāra Walā Tole p. 152
26. Jyena Bāhā -- Śrī Jñāna Nāma Vihāra Jyena Bāhā Tole p. 152
27. Nalacchī Bāhā -- Jagat Maṇḍala Vihāra Agni Math p. 229
28. Bhelaku Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāriya Bhairava Kuṭa Vihāra Dau Bāhā Tole p. 137
29. Nhāykañ Bahī -- Surasācandra Mahāvihāra Ikhālakhu Tole p. 217
30. Icchā Bāhā -- Ika Nāma Vihāra Ikhālakhu Tole p. 140
31. BŪ Bāhā -- Vidyādhara Sarma Saṃskārīta Yaśodhara (Brahma) Mahāvihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 154
32. I Bāhā -- Yokuli Ika Nāma Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 164
33. Nandaya BŪ Bāhā -- Devajyoti Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 169
34. Wanku Du Bāhā -- Vṛṣarāja Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 169
35. Jiswāñ Bāhā -- Devarāja Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 166  
(Deva Rāj Bāhā)
36. Bhagawān Chok -- Sukhāvati (Kalpa Prasāda) Vihāra BŪ Bāhā p. 166
37. Wana Bāhā -- Udayadeva Vihāra Wana Bāhā Tole p. 161
38. Wanagata Bāhā -- Bhairava Siṃha Vihāra BŪ Bāhā Tole p. 166
39. Dau Bāhā -- Rudredeva Gargagotra Varma Saṃskārīta Śrī Dattanāma Mahāvihāra  
Dau Bāhā Tole p. 146
40. Yoku Bāhā -- Yokuli Mahāvihāra Dau Bāhā Tole p. 225
41. Yeñkuli Bāhā -- Sukhāvati Prasāda Vihāra Dau Bāhā Tole p. 227  
(Keku Bāhā)
42. Wala Bāhā Datu Nanī -- Yanta Vihāra Da Bāhā Tole p. 154
43. Joga Dhusa -- Jagajjyoti Vihāra Dau Bāhā Tole p. 146

44. Atha Bāhā -- Ānandadeva Saṁskārīta Śrī Vatsa Vihāra      Naka Bahī p. 42
45. Naka Bahī -- Gangadeva Saṁskārīta Lokakīrti Mahāvihāra      Naka Bahī p. 201
46. Thyāka Bāhā -- Ratna Jyoti Vihāra      Khācheñ Bāhā p. 60
47. Khā Cheñ Bāhā -- Jyotivarṇa Vihāra      Khācheñ Bāhā p. 64
48. Nhū Bāhā -- Navakṛti Vihāra      Dhalaychā Tole p. 40
49. Dhaugā Bahī -- Manimaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra      Patuko Tole p. 214
50. Yatā Bāhā -- Hemapuri Vihāra      Balipha Tole p. 48
51. Nākhācuk -- Bhāṣkaravarna Vihāra      Nākhācuka p. 58
52. Unacabhājubala Bāhā -- Bhājubala Vihāra      Nākhācuka p. 60
53. Aki Bāhā -- Atasakīrti Vihāra      Nyadha Tole p. 48
54. Mati Bāhā -- Mati Vihāra      Naka Bahī Tole p. 60
55. Mati Bāhācā -- Govinda Simha Vihāra      Naka Bahī Tole p. 60
56. Nāg Bāhā -- Śrī Sajaya Jitena Samsthāpita Vasuvarddhana Vihāra      Nāg Bāhā p. 56  
Yitilan Vihāra
57. Michu Bāhā -- Caityavarṇa Vihāra      Elā Nanī p. 52
58. Baidya Bāhā -- Dvārikā Vihāra      Elā Nanī p. 52
59. Kwā Bāhā -- Bhāskara Deva Saṁskārīta Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra      Kwālakhu Tole p. 31
60. Sasu Nanī -- Vāgisvara Vihāra      Kwālkhu Tole p. 54  
Mañjusī Lanhe
61. Kutī Bāhā -- Kwaniyam Vihāra      Nāg Bāhā Tole p. 66
62. Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā -- Suvarṇa Vihāra      Ikācheñ Tole p. 50
63. Duntu Bahi -- Gobardhana Miśra Saṁskārīta Nāpicandra Mahāvihāra      Ikhācheñ Tole p. 205
64. Pintu Bahī -- Gopicandra Miśra Saṁskārīta Gopicandra Mahāvihāra      Ikhācheñ Tole p. 207
65. Āna Bāhā -- Ānanda Vihāra      Ikhācheñ Tole p. 50
66. Yokhācheñ Bāhā -- Sunananda Vihāra      Yokhācheñ Tole p. 66
67. Konti Cidhaṅgu Bahī -- Lalitavarṇa Vihāra      Konti Tole p. 209
68. Konti Bahī -- Kāsyapa Miśra Saṁskārīta Lalitavarṇa Mahāvihāra      Konti Tole p. 209
69. Konti Bāhā -- ??      Kumbesvara p. 232

70. Ko Bāhā -- Ituñ Vihāra Ko Bāhā Tole p. 125
71. Kualim Bāhā -- Kulim Vihāra Kulim Tole p. 54
72. Bāhācā -- Swantha Tole p. 229
73. Dhum Bāhā -- Guṇalakṣmī Saṃskārīta Guṇalakṣmī Mahāvihāra Ko Bāhā Tole p. 66
74. Sika Bahī -- Sika Bahī p. 234
75. Yampī Bahī 1 p. 205
76. Yampī Bahī 2 p. 205
77. Yampī Bahī 3 p. 205
78. I Bahī -- Sunaya Śrī Miśra Saṃskārīta Yampī Nāma Mahāvihāra I Bahī p. 201
79. I Bahī (2) -- Yampīkaruṇacūka I Bahī p. 205
80. Śaṅkha Bāhā -- Śaṅkhadhara Saṃskārīta Triratna Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 74
81. (Cikañ) Bahīcā -- Triratna Vīra Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 212
82. Cikañ Bahī Buddhimān -- Maṇikuṭa Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 214
83. Cikañ Bahī -- Saptapurī Mahāvihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 209
84. Kulranta Bāhā -- Sumaṅgala Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 214  
Hodola Bāhā
85. Swantha Bāhā -- Swantha Vihāra Swantha Tole p. 234
86. Bhaisajyarāj Bāhā -- Bhaisajyarāja Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 214
87. Hoda Bāhā -- Hodola Nāma Vihāra Chyāsal Tole p. 74
88. Ci Bāhā Nanī -- ? Olākhu Bhindya Lashi p. 72
89. Wam Bāhā -- Suryavarma Saṃskārīta Vajrakīrti Mahāvihāra Olākhu Tole p. 70
90. Wañ Bāhā Dune Nanī -- Dharmakīrti Vihāra Wañ Bāhā p. 72
91. Lakhidhan Bāhā -- Suryadharmā Vihāra Wañ Bāhā p. 72
92. Jyo Bāhā -- Rudredēva Naṅgapāla Saṃskārīta Jyoti Mahāvihāra Olākhu Tole p. 74
93. Hauga Bāhā -- Hastināga Vihāra Hauga Tole p. 229
94. Jom Bāhā -- Jagat Kalyāṇa Vihāra Hauga Tole p. 138
95. Iku Bāhā -- Iku Varṇa Vihāra Ikhālakhu Tole p. 140
96. Ikhālakhu Bāhā -- ?? Ikhālakhu Tole p. 140



97. Ibā Bahī -- Rājasrī Mahāvihāra Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 189
98. Ibā Dune -- Bhājudhana Simha Vihāra Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 191
99. Ta Bāhā -- Bhuvanākara Varma Saṃskārīta Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra - Taṅgal Tole p. 135
100. Kinu Bahī -- Lokakīrti Mahāvihāra Iti Tole p. 217
101. Thati Bāhā -- Thaitināma Vihāra Thati Tole p. 172
102. Cūka Bāhā -- Mānadeva Saṃskārīta Cakravarna Mahāvihāra Taṅgal Tole p. 133
103. Taṅga Bāhā -- Yampi Bālārcana Saṃskārīta Jyesthavarṇa Mahāvihāra Taṅgal Tole p. 128
104. Triratna Sim Bāhā -- Triratna Simha Vihāra Hakhā Tole p. 64
105. Harsa Bāhā -- Dharma Kīrti Vihāra Hakhā Tole p. 64
106. Dhandya Bāhā -- Dhanavīra Vihāra Hakhā Tole p. 64
107. Gwaṅga Bāhā -- Bhājumān Kīrti Vihāra Caka Bāhā p. 66
108. Sum Bāhā -- Suvarṇa Vihāra Sauga Tole p. 77
109. Saga Bāhā -- Ratnajyoti Vihāra Sauga Tole p. 128
110. Yaṅgala Bhuja -- Yaṅgra-ugra Nāma Vihāra Yamu Bāhā p. 232
111. Twāya Bāhā -- (Nogalabhota) Mitravārṇa Vihāra Nuga Tole p. 101
112. Dathu Bāhā -- Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra Nugha Tole p. 105
113. Nuga Nhū Bāhā -- Amṛtavajra Saṃskārīta Amrtavarṇa Vihāra Nuga Tole p. 108
114. Yachu Bāhā -- Bāladhara Gupta Saṃskārīta Bāladharagupta Mahāvihāra Yacchu Tole p. 77
115. Bhindya Bāhā -- Hendupati Vihāra Nuga Tole p. 87
116. Hyana Bāhā -- Layanacaitiyabimba Mahāvihāra Nuga Bāhā p. 225
117. Tana Bāhā -- Jayamaṅgala Vihāra Chanaki Tole p. 121
118. Su Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṃskārīta Jaya Manohara Varma Mahāvihāra Su Bāhā Tole p. 79
119. Purṇasundar Bāhā -- Purṇasundar Vihāra Su Bāhā Tole p. 82
120. Thakuñ Bāhā -- Ratnajaya Vihāra Su Bāhā Tole p. 82
121. Piñche Bāhā -- Jñāna Candra Vihāra Piñche Tole p. 85
122. Guita Bahī -- Dīpāvati Nagare Sarvānandanṛpa Saṃskārīta Padmoccasī Mahāvihāra  
Guita Bahī Tole p. 193
123. Mūl Guita Bahī -- Saptapura Mahāvihāra Guita Bahī Tole p. 195

124. Gustala Bahī -- Gustala Vihāra      Guita Bahī Tole p. 195
125. Bhiñche Bāhā -- Śaṅkaradeva Saṃskārita Mayūrvarṇa Mahāvihāra      Bhiñche Bāhā Tole p. 82
126. Tadhañ Bāhā -- Jñāna Kīrti Vihāra      Gujī Bāhā Tole p. 90
127. Pilācheñ Bāhā -- Mayūravarṇa Mahāvihāriya Pilācheñ Vihāra      Pilācheñ Tole p. 87
128. Pilācheñ Cidhañ Bāhā -- Pilākse Nāma Vihāra      Pilācheñ Tole p. 87
129. Pilācheñ Dathu Bāhā -- Bhīmacandra Vihāra      Pilācheñ Tole p. 85
130. Ilā Bahī -- Itirāja Mahāvihāra      Nuga Tole p. 199
131. Pānda Bāhā -- Pāndava Vihāra      Lunkhusi p. 121
132. Yanga Bāhā -- Yogalākṣya Vihāra      Lunkhusi p. 115  
(Sumaṅgala Vihāra--recent name)
133. Kani Bāhā -- Kanakavarṇa Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 118
134. Nhū Bāhā -- Dhanavajra Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 118
135. Mahābuddha -- Bodhimāṇḍapa Vihāra      Mahābuddha p. 97
136. Dhanananda Bāhā -- Śrī Gaṇa Vihāra      Mahābuddha p. 112
137. Jati Bāhā -- Jayativarṇa Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 105
138. Duni Bāhā -- Puṇḍracandra Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 112
139. Ubā Bahī -- Jaya Simha Vīrabhadra Saṃskārita Jayasrī Mahāvihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 197
140. U Bāhā -- Śivadevavarṇa Saṃskārita Śrī Rudravarma Unkulī Nāma Mahāvihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 90  
(Uku Bāhā)
141. Ubā Gathicā -- Khanda Cūka Vihāra      Uku Bāhā p. 95
142. Tago Cibahā -- Yantarivi Vihāra      Uku Bāhā p. 95
143. Ta Ja Baha -- Bhāju Kīrti Hiraṇyalābha Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 118
144. Cidhañ Ta Ja Bāhā --      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 121
145. Ta Ja Bāhā -- Ikṣuvarṇa Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 115
146. Nagu Bāhā -- Rupavarṇa Vihāra      Uku Bāhā Tole p. 108
147. Dhana Bāhā -- Dhanavīra Simha Vihāra      Jyātha Tole p. 118
148. Basu Bāhā -- Vasuvarṇa Vihāra      Jyātha Tole p. 108
149. Jyātha Bāhā -- Padmavarṇa Vihāra      Jyātha Tole p. 101
150. Hitiphusa Bāhā -- Jinavarṇa Vihāra      Thapā Hiti p. 110

151. Cidhañ Gujī Bāhā -- Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra Gujī Bāhā p. 125
152. Gujī Bāhā -- Vaiṣya Śrī Divākara Varma (Samskārita) Mahāvihāra Gujī Bāhā p. 121
153. Maṇirāj Bāhā -- Maṇirāja Vihāra Gujī Bāhā p. 125
154. Siddhi Bāhā -- Vaiśravaṇa Bhāskara Varna Vihāra Gujī Bāhā p. 125
155. Thapā Bahī -- Sthavirapātra Mahāvihāra Thapā Tole p. 197
156. Pālu Baha -- Samantabhandra Vihāra Thapā Tole p. 103
157. Sikucha Bāhā -- Simha Cūka Vihāra Thainā Tole p. 103
158. Kwātha Bāhā -- Kūṭa Simha Vihāra Thainā Tole p. 110
159. Jothā Bāhā -- Jayaśrī Vihāra Thainā Tole p. 110
160. Yatalibi Nhū Cheñ Bāhā -- Bhīma Kṛta Ratnalābha Vihāra Uku Bāhā Tole p. 112
161. Kuldev Bāhā -- Kulacaitya Kīrti Vihāra Thainā Tole p. 115
162. Naudo Bāhā -- Devadatta Vihāra Naudo Tole p. 105
163. Jyābā Bahī -- Jyeṣṭavarṇa Mahāvihāra Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 191
164. Naha Bāhā -- Cakra Kīrti Mahāvihāra Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 227  
(Khwākhañ Bāhā)
165. Cwecwangu Pucō Bahī -- (Śīlapuravanāgīri) Akṣeśvara Mahāvihāra Pucho p. 219  
(Coya Bahī) Pucō Mahāvihāra
166. Kwecwangu Pucō Bahī -- Rakṣeśvara Mahāvihāra Pucō p. 219  
(Koya Bahī)

The following bāhās and bahīs are in villages near Patan but usually considered to be a part of the Patan system. They are not on the Patan map.

167. Co Bāhā -- Indradeva Samskārita Śrī Asanalokeśvara Mahāvihāra Cobhār p. 140
168. Cithuñ Bahī -- Padmakīrtigīri Mahāvihāra Kirtipur p. 221  
(Kyapu Bahī)
169. Yāka Bāhā -- Jivadharma Vihāra Kirtipur p. 180
170. Kusi Bāhā -- Mahākīrti Vihāra Kirtipur p. 182
171. Kwe Bāhā -- Karṇātaka Vihāra Kirtipur p. 182
172. Chwe Bāhā -- Harṣakīrti Vihāra Kirtipur p. 182
173. Tuñjalayacwaṅgu Bāhā -- Padmocca Vihāra Kirtipur p. 184

174. Cilañco Bāhā -- Jagatapālavarma Saṃskārita Padmakāstha Gīri Mahāvihāra Kirtipur p. 178  
(Kyapu Bāhā)
175. Buṅga Bāhā -- Narendradeva Saṃskārita Amarāvatīnāma Mahāvihāra Buṅgamati p. 235
176. Kwācheñ Nani Bāhā -- Nijapati Vihāra Buṅgamati p. 239
177. Buṅga Bahī -- Amarāvatipura Mahāvihāra Buṅgamati p. 221
178. Coya Bahī -- Cobhār p. 197
179. Duru Khya Bāhā -- Hemavarna Mahāvihāra Duru Khya-Chāpāgāon p. 239
180. Ikhā Bāhā -- Kalyāṇa Mahāvihāra Chāpāgāon p. 241
181. Wā Bahī -- Chāpāgāon p. 223
182. Kwā Nani -- Baregāon p. 241
183. Phāmpī Bāhā-Vajrajoginī -- Gaganaksara Majhavihāra Pharping p. 241
184. Phāmpī Bahī -- Pharping p. 243
185. Bare Nani -- Buṅgamati p. 239

## 'The Fifteen Bahas'

### Introduction

Patan is the most Buddhist of the three cities of the Valley. To this day as one goes down the main streets of the city he notices that every third or fourth doorway opens on to a bāhā. There are a large number of Licchavi Buddhist remains scattered around at the various bāhās and throughout the city. As will be seen below some of the earliest extant references to bāhās and viḥāras are to foundations in Patan, many of which are now extinct. Throughout the whole of the Malla period Patan remained quasi independent from the ruling kings of Bhaktapur and was really administered by seven families of Pradhāns or Pradhānāṅgas. Though these families are usually considered to be Hindu today, it is evident that all of them supported the Buddhist institutions in Patan and many of them were Buddhists themselves, some of them having their own 'bāhās'. The patron deity of the city of Patan was always Buṅgadya, the red image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara whose home is in Bungamati but who, in later days, resided half of the year in Patan. His annual festival (ratha jātrā) was always one of the main events of the year in Patan. In the late Malla period when there was a Malla king residing in Patan the king always attended the various events of the long festival, and the kings made lavish donations to Buṅgadya for the upkeep of his shrine, the performance of rituals and the annual festival.

At the present time there are eighteen main bāhās in Patan, with numerous branches, and twenty five bahās. There are really only three bāhās with a Bare saṅgha which do not fit into this pattern. Consistent tradition in Patan credits King Siddhi Narasimha Malla (A.D.1618-61), the first of the Malla kings of the separate kingdom of Patan, with a reorganization of

the Buddhist institutions in Patan which resulted in the present arrangements. The story is told in some detail by Wright's Chronicle:

In this reign [that of Siddhi Narasimha] the following bihars existed:  
Jyeṣṭhabarṇ Tangal, built by Bālārchanadeva.  
Dharmakirti Tava, built by Bhuvanākara-barma.  
Mayurbarn Vishnukṣha, built by Shankaradeva  
Vaisnavabarn, built by Baisdeva-barma.  
Onkuli Rudrabarṇ, built by Sivadeva-barma.  
Hakwa, built by Laksmi-Kalyan-barma.  
Hiranyabarṇ, built by Bhaksaradeva-barma.  
Jasodhara-buya, built by Bidhādhara-barma.  
Chakra, built by Manadeva-barma.  
Sakwa, built by Indradeva.  
Datta, built by Rudradeva-garga.  
Yanchhu, built by Baladhara-gupta.

Among these the following five, namely Vishnukṣha, Onkuli, Gwākshe (or Chakra), Sakwa, and Yanchu, had one chief Naikya, who was the oldest among the five head Bauddhamārgis of the bihars. The rest, namely Tangāl, Vaishnavabarn, Hakwa, Hiranyabarṇ, Jasodhara and Datta, had each a separate Naikya, or chief Bauddhamārgi. The rank of Naikya was conferred on the oldest Bauddhamārgis, and they were called Tathagats.

Three bihārs, namely Wambahā, Jyobāha, and Dhumbaha, were established in this reign.

The Raja called the Naikyas of all these bihārs before him, and ordered them to establish the custom of Thapā-twaya-guthi.

The Rājā gave a place called Ngaka-chok, in the district of Hiranyabarn, to a Tantrika of that place who had defeated some jugglers.

He called together the men of these fifteen bihars to make rules for their guidance, and directed that the order of their precedence should be fixed according to the order in which they arrived. The people of Dhumbahal came first, but they were given only

the third place. Those of Tangal remained first, and those of Tava second, on account of the antiquity of their bihārs. To the rest precedence was given according to the order in which they presented themselves.

Because Chaubāhal [above the Cobhar gorge] and Kirtipur were under the jurisdiction of Lalitpur, the bihārs of those places were amalgamated with the fifteen bihārs of Lalitpur.

Another bihār named Sibahal was not amalgamated with these, because it was built after the rules had been made by the Rājā for their guidance, and guthis had been assigned to them.

Wright's translation has several significant omissions and errors. At the end of the list of viḥāras the chronicle adds the following statement: 'these were the householder viḥāras of the 'bauddhamārgis'.<sup>2</sup> The following paragraph is obscure in the extreme, but it is clear that Wright's translators have misread it. Following is a tentative retranslation of this paragraph:

From among these viḥāras the eldest member of Taṅgāla Viḥāra and of Tava Viḥāra, the eldest from the following group of five--Viṣṇukṣa Viḥāra, Oṅkuli Viḥāra, Gvākṣe Viḥāra [=Guḍi Bāhā, not Chakra], Sako Viḥāra, Yañchu Viḥāra--, and the eldest of each of the following viḥāras: Hakva Viḥāra, Hiraṇyavarṇa Viḥāra, Jasodhara Viḥāra and Datta Viḥāra--made up a group of seven elders (naike) considered to be the seven Tathāgatas; and it was the custom for the people to worship them as such.

Wright's translators have completely misunderstood the section on Nakhāchūk:

Among the fifteen viḥāras the one called Cakra Viḥāra founded by Manadeva was empty and there was no community of priests [pūjā-ri saṅgha] there. Accordingly the king gladly gave this viḥāra to a great tantric ācārya who lived in Nāsacuka and was a member of the saṅgha of Hiraṇyavarṇa Viḥāra. [A marginal note adds:] This man had disgraced some magicians from the plains.<sup>4</sup>

On Si Bāhā the chronicle says:

After the regulations were made and the

gūṭhis set up for these fifteen viḥāras another viḥāra called Si Bāhāl was constructed in Sri Vaccha Vahāra. It was not amalgamated into the tuya gūṭhis of the fifteen viḥāras.

There are no other extant records by which one could check the accuracy of this chronicle account. However, the bāhās mentioned in the account are the eighteen which are still recognised as the main bāhās of Patan. Further, people always speak about the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan, but when asked to enumerate them invariably list eighteen: fifteen plus Si Bāhā and the bāhās of Kirtipur and Cobhār. As will be seen below the structure of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā indicates that several independent foundations were amalgamated into this saṅgha which points to some sort of a reorganization. The statement that four of these bāhās were founded during the reign of Siddhi Narasimha is contradicted by the evidence as we have much older dates especially for Wam Bāhā and Si Bāhā. It is entirely possible, however, that these foundations had been abandoned earlier and were renovated or re-founded during the time of Siddhi Narasimha. This is especially true of Si Bāhā. We have earlier dates for Sri Vaccha (or Vatsa) Viḥāra, but the chronicle says Si Bāhā was constructed in Śrī Vaccha Viḥāra which could well indicate that it was constructed in the area of town known as Śrī Vaccha Bāhā from the fact that there was once a viḥāra by that name there.

One special feature of the bāhās and bahis of Patan is that all the main foundations and many of the branches have retained a memory of the founder or chief donor in the official Sanskrit name, e.g. Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārīta Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra (Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra, founded by Bhāskara Deva).<sup>6</sup> Few bāhās in Kathmandu have retained this recollection. Several commentators have cast doubt on the traditions implied in these names, but the discovery of the cache of palmleaf land documents at Uku Bāhā a few years back has shown just how ancient this tradition is. In A.D. 1119 Uku Bāhā was known as Śivadeva Saṃskārīta. Sri Rudravarma Mahāvihāra (Rudravarma Mahāvihāra founded by Sivadeva), the still current name and the game found on many documents of the Malla period.

Two special features of Buddhist life in Patan are the Festival of Lights (matayā) mentioned in the introduction and the five-yearly

Samyak ceremony held in Nāg Bāhā to the west of Kwā Bāhā. This is really a pañca dāna ceremony to which are invited all of the Dipaṅkaras of the bāhās and bahīs of Patan and nearby villages plus the saṅghas of these foundations. About 125 Dipaṅkaras are invited. The ceremony is sponsored by the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā and there is a special gūṭhī within the saṅgha to make arrangements for this festival.

The various lists of the bāhās of Patan list them in different orders supposedly based on their antiquity. Wright's Chronicle implies that Taṅga Bāhā and Ta Bāhā are the oldest, but this is certainly questionable. There is little agreement among the Bare of Patan about which are the most ancient of the bāhās or which are the most important. Certainly one cannot ignore the de facto paramount place held by Kwā Bāhā. I have followed the order of the Sanskrit list used for the Bāhā Pūjā mentioned in the General Introduction. This list follows the order of visiting these shrines during the Bāhā Pūjā and I intend no further implications.

1. Kwā Bāhā -- Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārīta  
Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra\* [59]

Kwālakhu Tole

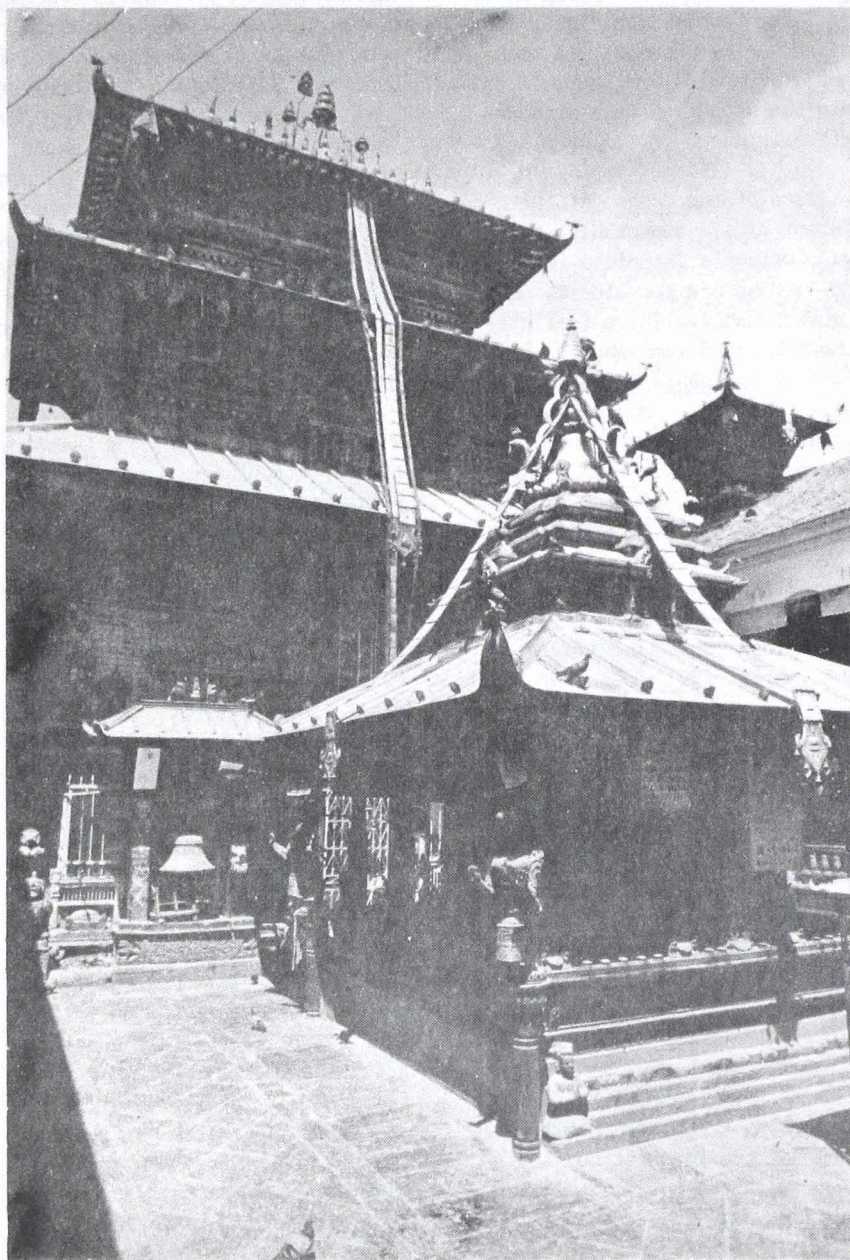
Kwā Bāhā is on several counts the most famous of Patan's bāhās. It has by far the largest saṅgha of any bāhā in the Valley and the members of the saṅgha are perhaps the most active Buddhists in the Valley. The complex is also the most lavishly decorated of any of the bāhās due to the large number of members of the saṅgha and the fact that many of these were wealthy traders in Tibet who used their wealth to decorate and maintain their bāhā.

The entrance to the bāhā is just down the street from the crossroads known as Kwālakhu. The street entrance has two large stone lions and a stone facade with a stone torāṇa depicting the seven Tathāgatas. Set into the facade of the entrance are also images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. One passes through this stone entryway into a narrow corridor leading into the bāhā complex. About half way to the bāhā is another stone facade with a series of tantric deities set into the archway. To the side of these are images of Amitābha Buddha and Amogha-siddhi above, and two images of Mañjuśrī below them. The left image is four-armed with the two main hands in the dharmacakra mudrā and the

other right holding a rosary, the other left holds the stem of a lotus with the book of the Prajñāpāramitā on it. The right image is identical except that the second right hand brandishes a sword. Passing through this archway one gets a glimpse of the shimmering complex behind. Immediately one understands why the bāhā has been nicknamed the 'Golden Temple'. There are numerous gilded images, and the facade of the imposing kwāpā-dya shrine plus the temple in the centre of the courtyard have been finished in gilt copper repousse work. To the left as one enters the main courtyard is a small open room containing a shrine which houses two images of Mahākāl, an eight-armed Mañjuśrī, and a sort of maṇḍala to the side which informants identify as a shrine of Gūhyeśvarī.

The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a four-storied structure with three gilded roofs. The entrance is marked by two large cast lions each standing on an elephant and surmounted by an image of Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara. To the left of the left lion is a large temple bell and further to the side two more lions. The veranda in front of the temple which stands about two feet above the level of the paved courtyard is enclosed in a railing. The veranda is considered so sacred that normally only the current dya-pālā and members of his family may step onto it. Four bronze lamps and two bells are suspended from above and hang down over the veranda in front of the doorway.

The doorway is all finished in gilt repousse work and above the doorway is one of the finest torāṇas anywhere in the valley, all done in silver, the only silver torāṇa on a bāhā. The outer circle consists of silver filigree leaf work. The inner circle has similar filigree work of much smaller leaves. Into this background are set the five Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the centre flanked by standing images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana flanked in turn by two smaller figures at a slightly lower level, both dressed as Buddhas and waiving yak tail fans. At the base of the outer circle are figures of two nāginīs and above them the other four Buddhas surmounted by Vajrasattva. This torāṇa is fairly recent having been donated in the time of King Prithvi Bir Saha (A.D.1881-1911). There is an identical and much older torāṇa over the entryway as one enters the baha compound, done in gilded copper. The present torāṇa over the shrine replaced this one. The



1. Kwā Bāhā [59]



silver torāṇa is surmounted by a triple umbrella and directly below it on the lintel of the doorway are images of Amitābha, Ratnasāmbhava and Amoghasiddhi. The kwāpā-dya of the bāhā is a large silver image of Akṣobhya facing east. The image is entirely covered with garments and ornaments, and all that one can see is the face. Informants have assured me that it is Akṣobhya (or Sakyamuni showing the bhūmisparśa mudrā) and not Lokeśvara as some writers have claimed. In the shrine are several other images including one of Vajradhara who is called Balbhadrā. There seems to be much confusion about the identity of this image. Some said that it is Vajrabhadra, a brother of Kṛṣṇa, some even said it is a Shaivite image. However, the image is clearly Vajradhara showing the vajra-humkāra mudrā. This image is always worshipped whenever worship is offered to the kwāpā-dya.

It is impossible to describe all the details of the facade of the shrine itself. The lower facade, the screenwork between the beams of the roofs, the beams, etc., have been faced with gilt copper. I list here only the main objects on the facade. At the upper corners of the doorway are two images, Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left as one faces the doorway. Above the shrine entrance is the usual five-fold window to which have been added two more small false windows. The windows are all faced with gilt copper repousse and an image sits in each of the windows, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over the central window is a small torāṇa depicting the five Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. There are also two small torāṇas over the two end windows in the series of five, each showing a four-headed, eight armed tantric deity too small to identify from the ground. To either side of this row of figures, at the end of the facade are repousse sālabhañjikā figures and below the left one an image of Simhanāda Lokeśvara. About two feet above this row of deities is another series of figures, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara. To the side of these figures and a bit raised are two more figures of Simhanāda Lokeśvara riding on a lion.

The lowest of the three roofs is supported by struts consisting of cast, multi-armed figures of the tantric forms of the transcendent Buddhas. Above the first roof is a miniature

shrine with images of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Struts similar to the ones below support the second roof and between the struts are wooden screens faced in gilt copper. At the top of the second roof is a row of nine golden caityas and above the top roof is a row of thirteen golden caityas, with three umbrellas mounted at the centre of the group. Four gilded banners hang from the top roof down to the door of the shrine. All three roofs are of gilded copper and there are kinkinimālā borders on the two lower roofs. At the corners of each of the roofs stand cast bird figures leaning forward with their wings pressed back. At the end of the ribs of the roofs are bodhisattva faces. To the left of the shrine roof, at the corner of the west and north wings, is a small screened tower with a gilt copper roof which also has a finial, corner curves, bodhisattva faces and bells.

The next most striking feature of the complex is the shimmering temple in the centre of the courtyard which enshrines a Licchavi style caitya, the lineage deity of the saṅgha. The shrine has some extraordinary metal work and is almost entirely covered with gold and metal. It has a single gilt copper roof above which rises a pinnacle with four snakes whose curved tails raise to hold a multi-staged umbrella over the main bell shaped finial. Four banners hang from the top down to the four doorways of the shrine. The main entry to this shrine is from the west so that it faces the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Over each of the doorways is a gilt torāṇa showing as a central figure the corresponding tantric transcendent Buddha. At the corners are five-foot cast figures of leogryphs. They do not support the roof, but are purely symbolic. Their appearance is vicious with long pointed teeth (painted white), red-rimmed mouths, sharp claws, long curved snouts, pointed ears and bristling manes. In front of the main entrance to this shrine, and facing the shrine of the kwāpā-dya are four kneeling figures of devotees. The pair on the north are metal and dated N.S.924, the pair to the south are of stone and dated N.S.795. Behind this temple, i.e. to the east of it, is a dharmadhātu maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra covered by a canopy with a row of prayer wheels set into its supports.

Right round the entire courtyard is a railing with oil lamps and prayer wheels. In the four corners of the veranda round the courtyard

are four magnificent, cast bodhisattva images. In the north west corner is a slightly damaged but superb image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, which Pal dates to the ninth or tenth century. In the south west corner stands another image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara with a much more elaborate crown which dates to the fourteenth century. In the south east corner stands an image of Mañjuśrī dated to the fourteenth century and of a style peculiar to Nepal. Mañjuśrī is depicted as a plump boy of rather short stature. He wears the bodhisattva crown and ornaments, a dhōṭī and the sacred thread falling from his left shoulder down over his right thigh. In the north east corner is another bronze cast image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara with the figure of Amitābha on his crown. At the entryway as one comes into the compound are two lions standing on elephants which in turn stand on turtles each surmounted by a devotee rider facing the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. In the northeast corner of the veranda is a doorway with a wooden torāṇa of Vajrasattva and in the southeast corner another doorway with a wooden torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. Several temple bells are also mounted along the veranda.

No one lives in the complex of the bāhā any longer and the upper rooms of the quadrangle also house shrines. Along the northern wing is a Tibetan style shrine with a large image of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara, several other figures and a large prayer wheel. The entire shrine is done in the Tibetan style with typical murals and ceiling paintings. On either sides of the images at the western end of this prayer hall are volumes of the Tibetan scriptures. In the centre of the hall are benches for people to sit for the chanting of the Tibetan scriptures. The whole shrine is a result of the devotion of members of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha who spent time in Tibet and who continue to worship in the Tibetan fashion. The southern wing of this upper storey also has a prayer hall which contains a large image of Amitābha and several images of Dipaṅkara. The ground floor of this section contains a fairly recent shrine of Tara and a bhajan hall. Along the western wing is the main āgam of the bāhā which houses an image of Yogāmbara.

This bāhā actually has two āgams, the one of Yogāmbara and a second one in a shrine in the open area behind Kwā Bāhā known as Ilā Nani.

This area is reached through a doorway in the southwest corner of the Kwā Bāhā compound. Over this doorway on the Ilā Nani side is a wooden torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana. Ilā Nani is a large open space which actually contains two branch bāhās which will be treated below. In the south western corner of this area is a long rectangular building of three storeys with a two staged tower in the corner. On the ground floor of this building is a shrine. According to a sign posted there the diety of this shrine is Sankatā, i.e. Candamaharosana. Above this is the diḡi of the bāhā and the second āgam which contains an image of Cakrasamvara-Vajravārāhī.

In the northern section of this area are two votive caityas, an enshrined stone image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, facing west, an stone image of Akṣobhya facing east and a rest house containing a shrine of Ganesh.

The saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā is by far the largest saṅgha of all the bāhās in the Kathmandu Valley. According to the Betājū, the official of the saṅgha whose duty it is to keep a record of the membership of the saṅgha, the membership now consists of 1,400 Sakyas and 350 Vajracaryas. In addition to these there are about 500 young boys who have actually been initiated but whose names have not yet been entered in the roster (due to some dispute among the five men who are supposed to make the entries). This would bring the total to 2,250 members, but these numbers are no more than an educated guess. Because of the size of the saṅgha and the strict rules that must be followed by those who serve as dya-pālās and elders, many people take no active part in the life of the saṅgha. Many members no longer live in Patan, having moved to Kathmandu or to one of the Newar settlements outside of the Valley such as Palpa or Bhojpur. As a result the Betājū has lost contact with these people. Another complicating factor is that six of the branch bāhās have independent saṅghas whose members have no rights in Kwā Bāhā, are not called to the annual festival, and do not serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. They are not included in this total of 2,250.

All of the members of the saṅgha have the right to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest, but because of the large membership one's turn to

serve in the shrine only comes once in a life-time and that when one is about 48 years old. The term of service is one month, but until a few years ago it was two months. Once a year the Betāju prepares a list of the twelve who are eligible for service in the coming year. If anyone declines the service his name is circled and the next man on the list is summoned. Once a man declines this service he disqualifies himself from further active participation in the life of the saṅgha. He cannot serve on the committee for the degu-dya pūjā and he is not eligible to become an elder. Despite this many do, in fact, decline the service. Rules are strict and temple service is a full-time job for the period of the month. The dya-pālā must live at the temple for the entire month, his meals must be taken there, he must abstain from all sexual contact, (his wife is not even permitted to come to the bāhā for the month), he must follow the usual dietary restrictions, and the daily round of ritual is much more extensive than at most bāhās today. This places a heavy burden on members of the saṅgha who have government jobs or businesses that they can ill afford to leave for a whole month. Consequently many decline the service. There is, however, another way to solve the problem. The appointed dya-pālā may get someone to substitute for him, usually his son. If he does this the son serves for the month but the father may not enter the temple. (Only the current dya-pālā who has been properly purified and is observing the rules may enter the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.) In addition to the dya-pālā (or his substitute) there is always an assistant who must be a small boy, of about ten years of age. This boy is appointed by the dya-pālā and is usually his youngest son or nephew. Because of this peculiar arrangement one most often finds that the dya-pālās at Kwā Bāhā are a young man (often an adolescent) and a small boy. The dya-pālā at Kwā Bāhā is called Bāphācā (or Bāpācā), the only place where this term is used. The dya-pālā must also appoint a woman, known as nikulīmha, to serve for the month as cook. This woman cannot be his wife but may be his sister. The woman does not live at the bāhā, but must observe the same strict rules as the dya-pālā; and if she is married she must spend the month at her father's home and not with her husband.

As at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, the daily round of ritual is much more elaborate at Kwā Bāhā than at most bāhās today. I treat it in

some detail as it gives a good idea of the sort of daily routine that was once common at all bāhās and which once formed the structure of the life of the saṅgha of the bāhā. The new dya-pālā and his small assistant take up their responsibilities on the day after the new moon (auṇṣī). As at all bāhās the dya-pālā is responsible for the safe-keeping of all of the treasures of the bāhā which are preserved in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya: the image itself and any other images that may be kept in the shrine, all the ornaments which have been offered to the image, oil lamps, begging bowls that have been donated, etc. At Kwa Baha there are three officials who have to come on the day the new dya-pālā takes office. First is the Betāju, an official appointed by the elders who functions as a sort of secretary for the saṅgha, preparing the list of dya-pālās, keeping record of the members of the saṅgha, informing people of the various feasts, etc. He also keeps the inventory of all the treasures under the safe-keeping of the dya-pālā. Two other officials, respected members of the saṅgha, are also appointed to help him check the list. The Betāju reads the list and these two men check each of the items.

The daily round of ritual begins early in the morning, sometime between 3 and 5 AM, depending on the time of the year, i.e. later in the winter. The two dya-pālās must sleep at the bāhā, and at night before they retire they lay out mats in the courtyard in front of the shrine for devotees who come to chant the Nāmasaṅgīti each morning. About the time the devotees come the dya-pālā gets up and bathes. Next he goes into the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and pays his respects, after which he removes all of the garments from the image and taking a water pot he goes to bring water from the well. When he returns with the water he again pays his respects to the kwāpā-dya, rinses the plate he uses for the offerings to the deity, another large silver plate and the ritual water pot. He places these in front of Bālabhadra. Then taking half of the water into the ceremonial water pot he prepares ṭikā mixing red powder (sindur) with the water. Next he lights a lamp inside of the shrine. By this time the devotees will be about half finished with the chanting of the Nāmasaṅgīti and the assistant dya-pālā enters the shrine and pays his respects to the deity. Next the dya-pālā lights a lamp outside the temple and proceeds to the first official ritual of the day, the bathing of the deity, an ancient

custom followed by the monks of Buddhist monasteries at the time of the Chinese travellers.<sup>3</sup> The bathing at Kwā Bāhā, however, is an abbreviated rite. The dya-pālā takes the water pot, sprinkles water on the silver plate, then taking the small waterpot which stands on it he washes the face of the kwāpā-dya and Bālabhadra. While he is performing this ritual his small assistant rings a bell. The assistant then takes a metal mirror (darpan) and shows it to the two images, while the dya-pālā makes offerings to the deity.<sup>4</sup> The dya-pālā then sprinkles sacred water on the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard and on the devotees reciting the Nāmasaṅgīti. The assistant then offers a libation (argha) of rice grains and water to the maṇḍala on the veranda of the shrine.

After this the two dya-pālās come out with a hollow wooden log called gambhāsīṇ gaṇ (or siṇ gaṇ) which they beat 108 times. This is also an ancient custom and is the proper way to summon devotees to the official worship of the deity in the shrine. The small assistant then rings a bell and the devotees recite a hymn known as the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham'. At the conclusion of this the dya-pālā takes a yak tail fan and his small assistant a peacock fan and the two of them ring bells while the 'Dānbalena' is recited. After this the two dya-pālās take ṭikā and offer ṭikā and flowers to the devotees. This concludes the first service of the day.

While all of this is going on other devotees continue to arrive until about 9 AM. Somewhere about this time the woman who prepares the food for the dya-pālās also arrives. She goes into a small room near the shrine which serves as the kitchen, takes off all the clothes she is wearing and puts on clothes that are ritually pure. She then brings water from the well and purifies the floor of the kitchen with cowdung and prepares to cook the meal. When this is finished she comes to the door of the shrine, and the dya-pālā gives her the pūjā plate with a lamp and a waterpot. She takes these back to the kitchen, lights the lamp and begins to prepare the meal for the two dya-pālās,<sup>5</sup> the two main deities and the rats.

About nine o'clock preparations begin for the next ritual, the main one of the day known as the nitya pūjā. The small assistant first goes off ringing a bell to Nṛ Bāhā, Nākhācūk, Nāg Bāhā, Ilā Nani, Sasu Nani and then back into

Kwā Bāhā itself. This is an official summoning of the Buddhist faithful to the worship in the shrine. It is interesting that, except for Nṛ Bāhā and Sasu Nani, all the places he goes are really just residential nanis which do not have a proper saṅgha. That is, though these are all counted as branch bāhās of Kwā Bāhā they do not have a proper branch saṅgha and therefore a daily official worship of their own. (See the sections below on these bāhās.) When the assistant returns he is purified by the dya-pālā with a sprinkling of holy water. He then washes his face and goes to pay his respects to the deity. Again the two of them beat the hollow log 108 times to summon the faithful. They then ring the bells and recite the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham' as above followed by a pañcopacāra pūjā. This concludes the second official ritual of the day. In the meantime devotees continue to arrive, pay their respects and receive ṭikā. On special days like the fullmoon day, the aṣṭami, the saṅkrānti, etc. there are more devotees and they may stay some time to perform their own devotions.

A short time after this the priest takes a large silver plate to the kitchen and puts it down outside the door. The cook purifies it, and places three plates of food on it, one for the kwāpā-dya, one for Bālabhadra and one for the rats. The dya-pālā then places one plate in front of the kwāpā-dya, one in front of Bālabhadra and scatters the third for the rats. At the conclusion of this, first the small assistant and then the dya-pālā himself go to eat. After this the two dya-pālās may take a rest as they have no more official duties until about 3 PM.

About 3 PM the two dya-pālās again purify themselves, go into the shrine and offer their respects to the deities. The small assistant puts on his official robes and comes out wearing metal sandals. Again they beat the hollow log 108 times to summon the faithful and recite the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham' as before, and offer a pūjā to the deities. After this, about 4 PM, the cook goes again to the kitchen and prepares a light meal of beaten rice, ghūr, fruit and curds for the two dya-pālās. When it is ready they go to the kitchen to eat.

After this the two dya-pālās again take a rest and then purify themselves. The dya-pālā goes to the well as in the morning and brings back two waterpots full of pure water. The two

dya-pālās wash themselves, then go into the shrine and the small assistant then comes out and offers a libation to the maṇḍala on the veranda. The assistant then dons his robes and the two of them again beat the hollow log 108 times. By this time it will be about 6 PM and the small assistant then takes his bell and goes round to the same places he went in the morning ringing the bell to summon the faithful. The dya-pālā stays in the temple to be at the service of those who come to worship or receive ṭikā. Devotees come to take part in the recitations and the small assistant rings the bell in front of Bālabhadra while they again recite the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham.' When this reading is finished the two dya-pālās stand on either side of the kwāpā-dya, wave fans and ring the bells while the 'Dāna Balena' is recited as in the morning. This is followed by the official evening service, the lighting of the lamps (āra-ti). First the dya-pālās light a large, ornate lamp and then while ringing the bells offer ārati to the deities. Both dya-pālās then light lamps of their own as do those who have come to take part in the recitations. Some of these people keep a lamp in the shrine which the dya-pālā must look after and give to them each evening when they come for the service. This is followed by the recitation of more ślokas during which the dya-pālās and all of the devotees offer ārati to the deities. This is followed by a pañcopacāra pūjā to the deities after which the dya-pālā and then the small assistant each take ṭikā and then offer it to the devotees.

This concludes the daily round of ritual and when the giving of ṭikā is finished the ṭikā bowl is placed inside the shrine, the dya-pālā covers the kwāpā-dya with a special cloth and the assistant comes out with the key. The waterpot and the silver plate are placed in front of Bālabhadra, rice is scattered for the rats and after a final obeisance to the kwāpā-dya the doors are locked for the night. By this time it will be about 9:30 PM and the two dya-pālās go to sleep in an adjoining room.

There are few bāhās in the Valley where such a full round of ritual is still performed and still fewer places where a large number of devotees come regularly as they do at Kwā Bāhā.

The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Kartik at which time all the members of the

saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā come for the feast, but not those who are members of the semi-independent branches which have their own initiations.

Kwā Bāhā has a governing body of thirty elders, an elder group of ten, and a junior group of twenty. This seems to be due to the large membership of the saṅgha and to the fact that the bāhā has two āgams. (On the other hand the two āgams may also be a result of the large numbers. If they had only one āgam and the usual ten elders, the elders would be limited to ten very old men, and one would have to be about eighty before he had any hope of becoming an elder.) To become an elder one must first serve his term as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Thus those who decline the service disqualify themselves from further promotion.

There is a special committee of twelve at Kwā Bāhā whose duty it is to make arrangements for the various festivals which take place throughout the year. The most important of these is the annual feast of the entire saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā. These twelve must make all the arrangements for this feast and foot the bill for any expenses over and above what is available from gūṭhī funds. This committee is made up of the twelve men who served as dya-pālās three years previously. Service on this committee is another step on the road to becoming an elder. If one declines this service he is ineligible to become an elder. Furthermore, if one is a Sakya and not a Vajracarya, he must also take the dekhā to qualify as an elder. Nowadays few take the dekhā as it entails recurring obligations which many people, especially those who have jobs or businesses, find burdensome. This further limits the number who are eligible to become elders.

If one has taken his turn as dya-pālā, served on the annual committee of twelve, and taken the dekhā (if he is a Sakya) he is eligible to become an elder. Selection is strictly on the basis of seniority of initiation with one further proviso. Since the saṅgha is composed mostly of Sakyas it may happen that the thirty eldest men are all Sakyas. However, there must be at least one Vajracarya in the group of ten and one in the group of twenty to serve as Cakresvara. Hence if there are none among the first ten or next twenty the next eldest Vajracarya must be chosen.

The group of ten elders are responsible for the worship of the main āgam deity, Yogāmbara. Only the Cakreśvara can actually enter the shrine of Yogāmbara and he must perform a daily pūjā in that shrine and a special monthly pūjā on the day of the full moon. However, the other nine each take turns acting as jajamāns for this pūjā. On the day of the full moon the whole group first performs a pūjā to the kwāpā-dya of the shrine and after that a pūjā to Yogāmbara followed by a feast which the current jajamān must finance. This group of ten is also responsible for the worship of the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard which is actually the lineage deity of the saṅgha. They take turns, a month at a time, to perform a daily pūjā there. The group of twenty are responsible for the worship of the deity in the subsidiary āgam situated in the long building in Ila Nani. They follow the same system as at the main āgam. They are also responsible for the daily worship of Sankaṭā = Candamaharoṣaṇa whose shrine is on the ground floor of this building. The pūjā, however, is only actually performed by the Cakreśvara of this group.

Some informants, including the Betājū, say that there are actually thirty six elders. By this he means that there are an additional six men who receive the same honour as the elders. This seems to mean that they get to take part in the feasts of the elders. They are: the seniormost elder of Mū Bāhā [18], the seniormost elder of Atha Bāhā [44], the Betājū himself and the current dya-pālā plus his assistant.

There is no overall organization of the Vajracaryas of Patan as there is at Kathmandu (the Ācārya Gūṭhī). However, in each bāhā which has Vajracaryas, the Vajracaryas have their local Ācārya Gūṭhī. They also have their own shrine, a shrine of Vajrasattva, which at Kwā Bāhā is just off the north east corner of the quadrangle. In this shrine is an image of Vajrasattva flanked by an image of Avalokiteśvara and one of Vasundharā. The members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī take turns, a lunar fortnight at a time, to serve as dya-pālās in this shrine. Serving in this shrine simply means going into the shrine and performing an obeisance to the deity.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. Because of the large membership

initiations are usually performed several times in a year (15 to 20 times), and an average of about fifty boys are initiated each year. The semi-independent branches of Kwā-Bāhā also perform part of their initiation ceremonies here in Kwā Bāhā: the boys are taken into the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at the end of their initiation and they must actually then serve in the shrine for four days. However, this is the extent of their service at Kwa Baha. They do not serve as dya-pālās later and they are not eligible to become elders of Kwā Bāhā.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. This is identified by informants as a swayāmbhū caitya, i.e. a caitya which spontaneously arose on the spot and was not made by man. Informants at Kwā Bāhā say there were originally four such caityas in the Valley: the Swayāmbhū Mahācaitya, the caitya of Kwā Bāhā, the caitya at Sankhu (Gum Bāhā), and one more which has been lost. Some say the fourth one was at Baregaun, on the way to Godavari; others deny this.

Kwā Bāhā still has income from land and it must be considerable, but no details are available. Some of their land which was in the city has been sold and the money put on deposit. Much of it, as at all bāhās, has been appropriated either by the members of the saṅgha, or by the tenants. Over the centuries Kwā Bāhā has also had a considerable income from donations made by the wealthier members of the saṅgha, many of whom were traders in Tibet before 1951.

Despite the great importance of Kwā Bāhā, its unusually large saṅgha and the great amount of religious activity of Kwā Bāhā, we know little about its early history.

Wright's Chronicle gives the following account of the founding of Kwā Bāhā:

In [Bhāskara-deva's] reign the Bānrās [Bare] of Pingala Bāhā removed to other places. Their descendants, who were Ācāryas, became Bānrās, and lived in Gnaka-chuk in Lalitpattan. The Bhikṣhus of Devapatan and Chābahīl came to these people, and told them that they had heard from some people, who were working in the fields, that they had seen the god of Pingala Bāhāl. They accordingly went to see, and found the god buried

under the ruins of the Pingala Bāhāl, and brought him to Patan.. . . they took the god to Gnaka-chuk, but he said he would not like to live there. This having been brought to the notice of Rājā Bhāskara-deva, he caused a new bihār, named Nhul-bāhā, to be built for the god. This new house also being disapproved by the god, the Rājā went to ask where he would like to fix his residence. The god said he would like to live in a place where a mouse attacked and drove away a cat. The Rājā himself then went in search of such a place, and one day at a certain spot saw a golden mouse chasing a cat. Here he built a bihār, and named it Hema-barṇa (i.e. golden-coloured), and having placed the god in it, with Āgama-devatas, just as they were in Pingala Bāhāl, he assigned lands as guthis for the maintenance of the establishment. The Bānrās, who came with the god to reside here, were those of Thyakayel and Hatkhatol.

This account with variations is still current among the members of the saṅgha. All of the accounts I have heard have the following common points: the bāhā was founded by a king known as Bhāskaradeva, the image was dug up at the ruins of the Piṅgala Bāhāl, first brought to Nākhā Cauk and then to Nhū Bāhā after which a new bāhā was built for him at a place where the rats chase away cats. This, according to informants, explains the curious custom of feeding the rats at Kwā Bāhā. There are always rats running around inside the shrine and no one may disturb them or kill them as they are the special pets of the kwāpā-dya. Some oral accounts say that Bhāskara Deva did not found the bāhā but repaired an old foundation.

Coming to historically datable material, there are no references to Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra in the palmleaf land grants found at Uku Bāhā. Two early manuscript references probably refer to Kwā Bāhā. The first is contained in the colophon of a palmleaf manuscript copy of the Vajrāvali written in N.S.202 by one Candra of the Turaharṇavarṇa Mahāvihāra in Maṇigalake. The place, Maṇigalake, certainly fits for Kwā Bāhā but the name Tura....is irregular and perhaps a misreading. The second reference is in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Pratisthaloka written during the time of Guṇakāmadeva. It belonged to one Samantabhadra who resided at Hiranyavarṇa Sugata (an alternate name for a vihāra). Unfortunately, though it

has the month and lunar date, the manuscript does not have the year. There were two kings by the name of Guṇakāmadeva during the 'Thakuri' Period, one ruling at least from N.S.107 to N.S.110 and the second ruling from at least N.S.303-16. There is only one Bhāskaradeva in this period (and none in the Licchavi Period). He ruled from at least N.S.165-67. Hence if he is indeed the founder of the vihāra, as consistent tradition maintains, the reference above must be to the second Guṇakāmadeva and i.e. circa N.S.303-16.

According to Hemraj Sakya the oldest dated document actually at Kwā Bāhā to come to light so far is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S.519, which records the offering of a gajūra for the shrine.<sup>12</sup> The bāhā has a collection of ceremonial begging bowls (piṇḍa pātra) which have been donated over the years. Some years ago Hemraj Sakya was permitted to inspect these and transcribe all the inscriptions. These he later published,<sup>13</sup> but the oldest of these is dated N.S.645. However, it is known that the saṅgha has a collection of old documents and manuscripts which have not been inspected. So far the elders of the saṅgha have not permitted anyone, not even Nepali scholars who are themselves Bare, to inspect these documents. If permission is ever granted they may shed considerable light on the history of Kwā Bāhā.

There are numerous inscriptions in and around Kwā Bāhā dating from N.S.519 onwards, but few of these have been published. An interesting one is dated N.S.653 and records the offering of two bells and an ornament of gold to the kwāpā-dya by Śrī Ujotadeva of Dolakhā east of the Kathmandu Valley.<sup>14</sup> The oldest of the ceremonial begging bowls in the collection at Kwā Bāhā was donated in N.S.654 and was donated by the chief elder of Śrī Vitiḥaṇ Vihāra (Nāg Bāhā) to the kwāpā-dya of 'Sri Harṇavarṇa Mahāvihāra'.<sup>15</sup> An inscription put up in N.S.757 which records gifts made at the time of a feast to which the reigning king, Siddhi Narasimha, was invited gives the full Sanskrit name Śrī Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārīta Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra.<sup>16</sup> In N.S.762 Sri Panduja Sakya, who had become wealthy after thirty three years of residence in Tibet, offered seven finials for the shrine of the kwāpā-dya ('Śrī Śrī Kwācapāla Bhaṭṭāraka').<sup>17</sup> In the following year, N.S.763, a resident of Jhotapol and his wife presented various utensils to Sakyamuni Buddha on the

occasion of Makara Saṅkrānti.<sup>18</sup> In N.S.800 a new torāṇa was donated to the bāhā by a Vajracarya. In N.S.822 a group of Vajracaryas donated new windows and new toraṇas.<sup>20</sup> An inscription of N.S.840 records the invitation of the king of Kathmandu, Mahendrasimha, to a feast of the saṅgha in that year.<sup>21</sup>

Kwā Bāhā has a large number of branches and everyone agrees that some of these are official branches and some are private branches. However, there is little agreement about the number of official branches. Everyone agrees that there are at least seven official branches: Nū Bāhā [48], Atha Bāhā [44], Chāya Bāhā [15], Mū Bāhā [18], Yatā Bāhā [50], Aki Bāhā [53], and Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62]. Most informants add two more that are also considered official branches, Michu Bāhā [45] and Baidya Bāhā [46]. Of these nine six have independent saṅghas. They perform their initiations in their own bāhās, but part of the ceremony (the hair cutting) is performed in Kwā Bāhā. The elders of Kwā Bāhā must come to the initiations, at the end of the ceremony the newly initiated are taken into the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at Kwā Bāhā; and for four days they must go to Kwā Bāhā to worship in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. However, this is their only connection to Kwā Bāhā; they do not subsequently serve as dya-pālās at Kwā Bāhā, they do not take part in the annual festival of the whole saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā, and they are not eligible to become elders of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. This arrangement is unique to Kwā Bāhā. No one knows any more how this situation came about; some speculate that it may be a result of the very large saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā. It became too difficult to hold all of these initiations at Kwā Bāhā, so some bāhās became in effect independent. However, this is rather unlikely in view of the fact that the members of these saṅghas are not counted as members of Kwā Bāhā and some of them at least have different lineage deities. It is more likely that these were in fact entirely independent foundations that were at some time amalgamated to the much more important Kwā Bāhā, perhaps at the time of the reorganization of the bāhās of Patan in the time of Siddhi Narasimha. One of these official branches, Aki Bāhā, does not have a bare saṅgha, but is the property and shrine of a group of Pradhāns and probably always has been so. (See section below on Aki Bāhā.) The saṅghas of the remaining two, Nhu Bāhā and Chāy Bāhā, are now part of Kwā Bāhā and they perform their initiations at Kwā Bāhā, but

informants say that they too had independent saṅghas at one time.

To this list some also add Kulhim Bāhā [71] and Mikhā Bāhā [21], which they say at one time had independent saṅghas, but they died out and the shrines were taken over by people from the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. Some also add Sasu Nanī [60] which adjoins Kwā Bāhā but others say that it is a purely private bāhā (or nanī) and its saṅgha is part of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. Others also add Nāg Bāhā [56] and Nākhācūk [51], but in a sense these are not really bāhās at all but large residential nanīs where a great percentage of the members of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha live. One criterion for determining the official branches is the ceremony which takes place twice in a year, once on the day of Lakṣmī Pūjā and once on the day of Mha Pūjā, when a group from Kwā Bāhā go to all of the official branches of Kwā Bāhā to perform a brief ritual which is in effect an invitation to the annual feast of Kwā Bāhā. The group consists of the current dya-pālā, the current committee of twelve, the committee of twelve from last year and the twelve who will serve next year. They visit all fourteen of these places. However, some informants insist that they perform a pūjā only at the first seven; they merely pass through the other places on the way. Furthermore, they extend an invitation to all the deities in these establishments to attend the people, not the members of the saṅgha.

In addition to these fourteen branches, two of which have sub-branches, there are thirteen more branches of Kwā Bāhā which everyone agrees are private.

A. Nhū Bāhā -- Navakṛti Vihāra [48]

Dhalaycā Tole

Little is left of this very ancient branch of Kwā Bāhā except for the enclosed courtyard, a caitya, and a recently repaired shrine. A few years ago the upper storey and roof of the shrine collapsed. They were repaired and the shrine now consists of only two stories. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked and has no torāṇa. The facade of the ground floor has two small windows flanking the entrance to the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The roof is of corrugated iron sheeting and is





2. Nhū Bāhā [48]

supported by plain struts. The roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a large caitya of unusual design which was repaired in N.S.481!

The 'saṅgha' of this bāhā at the present time consists of two households of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā, comprising only six initiated members. The members of only one of these two households take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The branch saṅgha has one elder, but they do not celebrate an annual festival and the bāhā has no income.

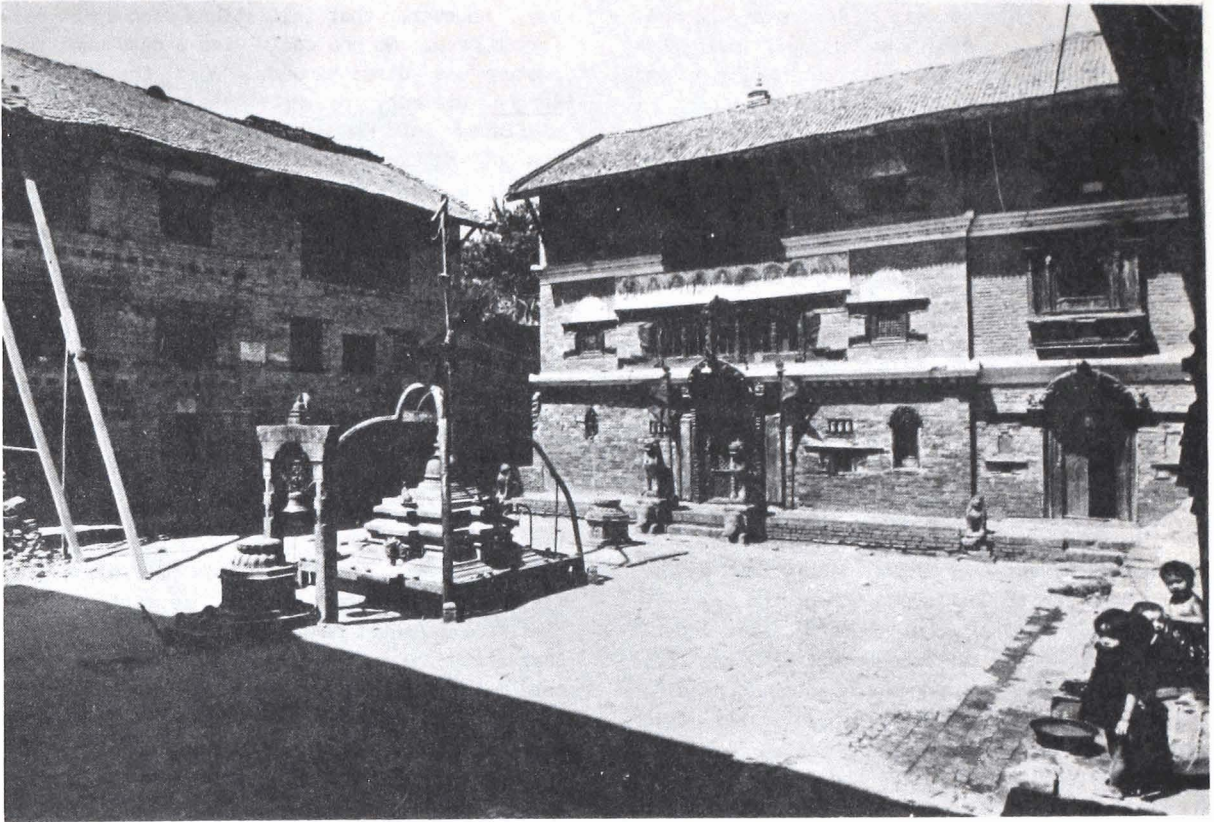
This is the Nhū (or Nhola) Vihāra where the image of Kwā Bāhā is supposed to have been enshrined before he decided to be moved to the place where the rats chase cats. Its antiquity is attested to by two documents. The first is a manuscript copied in N.S. 457 by 'Pradhānāṅga Mahāpātra Śrī Jayasīmha Mallavarmaṇa of Śrī Nhola Vahāra'. The second is an inscription at the caitya of the vihāra which says that it was repaired in N.S.481 by Ulhāsa Lakṣmī, daughter of Pradhānāṅga Ranajoti (of the seven noble families of Patan) who resides in Śrī Nhola Bahāra.<sup>22</sup> Informants say that the original saṅgha of this bāhā died out and it was taken over by the present people of Kwā Bāhā. However, the early documents indicate that the original 'saṅgha' was non-bare. The documents of N.S.457 and 481 indicate that it belonged to the Pradhānāṅgas and it is still the residence of a man called 'Thaku Jūjū' who has an official connection to Kwā Bāhā. At the time of the Samyak festival every five years he must be present at the beginning of the ceremony to wash the feet of the elders of Kwā Bāhā. He must also be present at every Barechuyegu initiation at Kwā Bāhā, at which time the elders of Kwā Bāhā give him prasād. However, he seldom attends in person but sends a man called bisya, a Joshi who is also the astrologer who determines the auspicious date for the samyak ceremony. This man is a sort of 'secretary' to the Thaku Juju. According to a still-current tradition of this family of Thaku Jūjūs they are descendants of King Bhāskaradeva, the founder of Kwā Bāhā. What seems quite clear is that from at least the early Malla period this family of Pradhānāṅga-mahāpātras have been the patrons of Kwā Bāhā, functioning as jajamāns for the principal rituals. They probably possessed their own Buddhist shrine (Nhū Bāhā) which was tended by dya-pālās from Kwā Bāhā.

B. Atha Bāhā -- Ānandadeva Sāṃskārīta Sri Vatsa Vihāra [44] Naka Bahī Tole

This is one of the official and semi-independent branches of Kwā Bāhā. It is situated in an entirely closed courtyard just west of Naka Bāhā. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is of three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions standing on elephants; and on either side of the doorway of the shrine are metal, double triangular flags. The carved doorway is surmounted by a repousse metal torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Mahā-akṣobhya?) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a large standing image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā and facing east which the members of the saṅgha identify as Maitreya. In the shrine is also a seated Buddha image showing the varada mudrā. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a series of faded frescoes. The top storey has three large, open windows flanked by two smaller windows. Plain struts support the tile roof which has one small finial. In the courtyard are two stone maṇḍalas and a large caitya with a metal canopy supported by four serpents.

The saṅgha of Atha Bāhā consists of twenty five initiated Sakyas. It is an independent saṅgha in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations are performed here following the customs mentioned above for these semi-independent branches. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for one month at a time. Service passes down the roster from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of the bāhā is now celebrated on the fullmoon day of Aswin, but used to be held later in the summer. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of twelve elders, though at the present time there are only eight. Informants say that the reason for this is that there are no more qūthī funds to support the tasks the elders must perform, so no one has agreed to be raised to the status of elder to take the place of the four who have died. There is also an āgam of Cakrasaṃvara here and only the senior-most of the elders performs the daily rituals in this shrine. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Kwā Bāhā. At the present time this bāhā has no income, and hence many of the traditional observances have fallen into





3. Atha Bāhā [44]

abeyance. Informants say that some of the members of the saṅgha have moved away over the years. One group of them settled in Lamjung and until recently used to bring their sons back to Atha Bāhā for initiations.

Little is known about the founding or the history of this important branch. The earliest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.842 at which time the courtyard was paved. There is another inscription dated N.S.874, the lions were erected in N.S.1046 and a bell donated in N.S.1053.

C. Chāya Bāhā — Ratnamuni Saṃskārita Vihāra\*  
Cchwāca Bāhā Chatravarṇa Vihāra [15]  
Chāya Bāhā Tole

There are three bāhās together in this area which is known as Chāya Bāhā. Today most people refer to this as Chāya Bāhā and of the three it is certainly the main one. However, some informants have given the name Swacha Bāhā and the inscription which recounts the founding of the bāhā gives the name Cchwāca Bahāra. All that remains of this official branch is an ill-kept kwāpā-dya shrine, a caitya and a maṇḍala in a partially enclosed courtyard. At the present time the shrine is an unattached building of two storeys, probably rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a repousse metal torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a covered, metal image of Akṣobhya facing north. The upper storey of the shrine has one large, open window in the centre flanked by four fading frescoes. The tile roof, supported by plain struts, has a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a single votive caitya.

The three bāhās in this tole have a combined saṅgha consisting of seven households of Vajracaryas with a total membership of only fifteen initiated members. These seven households are divided among all three bāhās and only two households are considered attached to this bāhā. Though this is an official bāhā, the saṅgha is not independent. All initiations take place in Kwā Bāhā and the members of this saṅgha are all members of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha with all the consequent rights and duties. Informants

say, however, that initiations used to be performed here. No one could give a date when this custom was discontinued. Did the original saṅgha die out, or were these people later assimilated into Kwā Bāhā? The members of only one of the two households mentioned above now serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. This means that in effect it is always done by one man who will pass the duty on to his son when he dies. This sub-saṅgha has one elder. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of Aswin, but at the present time the bāhā has no income. The lineage deity of the entire saṅgha of the three bāhās is the same as that of Kwā Bāhā and they celebrate the lineage festival with the Kwā Bāhā people.

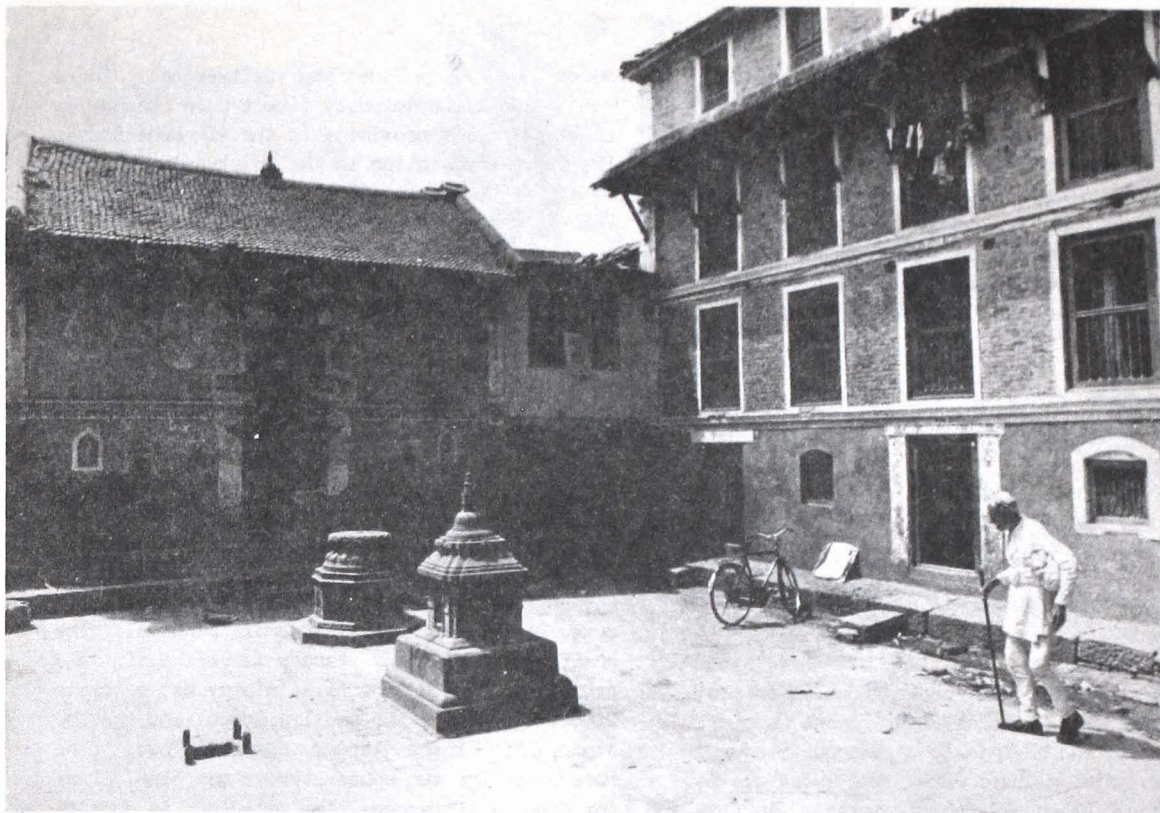
According to an inscription to the right of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya this bāhā was constructed in N.S.787. The donors were all Vajracaryas of Nākhāchūk. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Ratna Muni Saṃskārita Mahāvihāra.<sup>23</sup> There were also two more Malla period inscriptions next to the caitya in the courtyard, but these have disappeared in the last couple of years. This official branch has two sub-branches.

1. Bāhā-cā -- Chāya Vihāra [17]  
Chāya Bāhā Tole

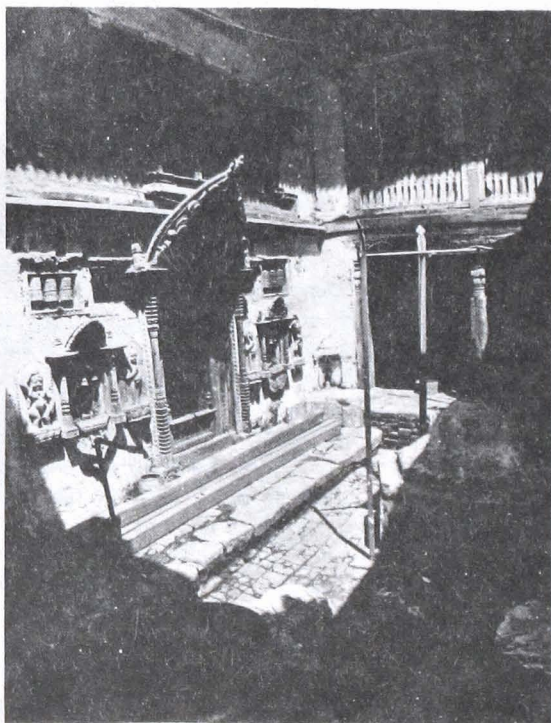
This branch is situated in a tiny enclosed courtyard south east of Cchwāca Bāhā. The well-preserved kwāpā-dya shrine consists of two storeys along the western side of the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. At the top of the torāṇa is an image of Vajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway to the shrine are images in stone of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and flanking them two finely carved small windows with a string of three bells hanging in each. Above these is a row of three prayer wheels on either side. The first storey has the usual five-fold window. The rest of the building is an ordinary dwelling. In the centre of the small courtyard is a single votive caitya on a octagonal base.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four of the seven households of Vajracaryas of the





4. Chāva Bāhā [15]



5. Bāhā-cā [17]

Chāya Bāhā saṅgha. Only four households take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. They serve for a month at a time and service passes through the four households in turn. They observe the annual festival of this branch on the new moon day of the month of Magh. The saṅgha has one elder. The bāhā still has some gūthī lands which yield only fifteen pāthīs of paddy each year, hardly enough to support the annual festival.

According to an inscription next to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya this bāhā was constructed in N.S.779<sup>24</sup>. This is earlier than the date of the construction of Chāya Bāhā, but informants say that Chāya Bāhā is considered to be the principal of the three bāhās here.

2. Gaṇeṣ Bāhā -- Cakramukta Vihāra [16]  
Tuñ Nani Chāya Bāhā Tole

This is an entirely modern foundation consisting of a small plastered shrine set against the southern end of this long rectangular courtyard which adjoins Chāya Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard is a stone maṇḍala, a well, and a temple to Krishna. Most of the people living round the courtyard are Shresthas and Jyāpus.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one of the seven households of Vajracaryas of Chaya Bāhā. They take turns acting as dya-pālās for the shrine of Buddha and they observe the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh.

An inscription in the courtyard indicates that this shrine in its present form was built in N.S.1054. The unusual name comes from the fact that the man who built it was called Ganesh. It is not known whether this was a new foundation in 1054 or the rebuilding of an old foundation, probably the former.

D. Mū Bāhā — Mūla Śrī Vihāra [18]  
Sri Gavamma Pintha Vihāra\*  
Pim Bāhā Tole

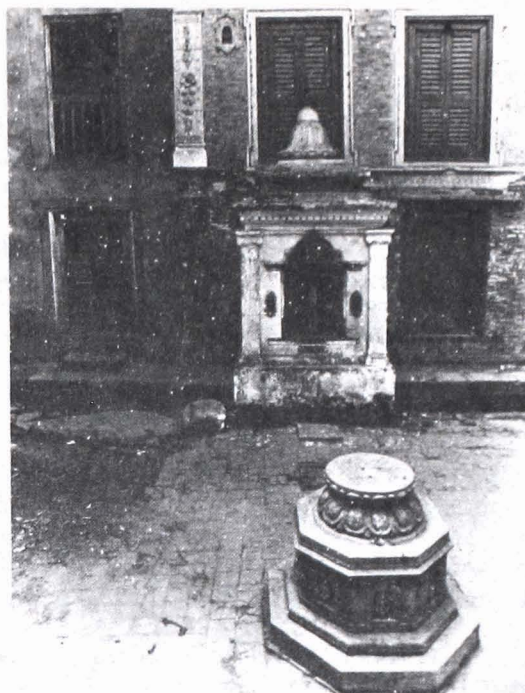
This important branch is located in a partially enclosed courtyard directly behind the stupa known as Pim Bāhā. Different authors have given different Sanskrit names for this bāhā. Some give Mula Sri Vihāra which appears to be a Sanskrit form of the Newāri name Mū(1) Bāhā.

Some have given the name Caityavarṇa Vihāra which looks suspiciously like a name based on the fact of its proximity to the Pim Bāhā Stūpa. The only inscription in the courtyard gives the name Śrī Gavamma Pintha Bahāra Mahāvihāra. This is not the original Pim Bāhā which according to inscriptions at the stūpa was called Mahāpintha Vihāra and which survived in a reduced form until about thirty years ago. (See the section on Pim Bāhā.)

All that remains now of this branch is a free-standing kwāpā-dya shrine, a shrine to Vajrasattva and a courtyard which contains one votive caitya and a recess for the sacred fire, all in a poor state of repair. The shrine is of three storeys and unmarked. The plain doorway has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. On either side of the door of the shrine are two small windows. The entire ground floor facade is of plain and crumbling brick. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows, and the top storey has three large, open windows. The facade of the two upper storeys has been plastered and whitewashed. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and the roof has no ornamentation. To the side of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is another dilapidated shrine containing an image of Vajrasattva. According to the inscription to the side of the shrine, the wooden image of Vajrasattva enshrined here was consecrated in N.S.567.<sup>25</sup>

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of forty Sakyas. It is an independent saṅgha in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations are performed here with the elders of Kwā Bāhā in attendance as described above. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for a month at a time performing the rituals morning and evening. Service passes in rotation from eldest to youngest. They celebrate an annual festival on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, but this is reckoned as the festival of the caitya in the courtyard and not the bāhā. They also perform pūjā three times a year at the Stupa of Pim Bāhā: on the fullmoon day of Aswin, on the day of Rām Navami, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Asadh. They used to perform another pūjā there on the fullmoon day of Baisākh, but this was discontinued a few years ago. The saṅgha has twelve elders and these twelve take turns performing a daily and monthly





6. Gaṇeṣ Bāhā [16]



7. Mū Bāhā [18]

pūjā in the shrine of Vajrasattva. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is the Mahāmañjusri behind the Swayambhū Mahācaitya, though the deity has now been 'brought' to the baha so they celebrate the annual festival there. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, except for the information contained on the one inscription dated N.S.567. In view of the fact that the lineage deity of this saṅgha is entirely different from that of Kwā Bāhā, this was probably a completely separate foundation which was at a later date assimilated to Kwā Bāhā. Originally it must have had some connection with Pim Bāhā and the saṅgha resident there.

E. Yatā Bāhā — Hemapuri Mahāvihāra [50]  
Balipha Tole

This branch is situated in an entirely closed courtyard just north west of the Ashok Cinema Hall. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is in a fair state of repair. The entrance is marked by two stone lions, an archway of oil lamps, and two metal flags. To the left of the lions is a temple bell. Over the carved doorway is a torāṇa the main figure of which is a one-faced, six-handed tantric deity. In his right hands he holds a noose, a rosary, and shows the varada mudrā, in his left hands he holds a bow, three fruits and a small water pot. The kwāpā-dya is a standing figure of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā and facing east which informants identified as Maitreya. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a row of frescoes depicting the five transcendent Buddhas and sālabhañjika figures. The plain tile roof is surmounted by a single-roofed tower surmounted by a śikhara style finial. In the courtyard is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a large votive caitya, the top part of which may be the remains of a Licchavi style caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty six Sakyas and like the previous saṅgha is semi-independent performing their Barechuyegu initiations here in the presence of the elders of Kwā Bāhā. At the present time only the senior-most elder performs the daily rituals, morning and evening, in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The annual festival is celebrated on the sixth day

of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of five elders and their lineage deity is said to be Yogāmbara at Kwā Bāhā. The bāhā still has a little income from gūṭhī lands.

Little is known about the history of this branch. The oldest date is found on the guardian lions, N.S.814. The bell was donated in N.S.995 and the metal flags in N.S.1025.

F. Aki Bāhā — Ataskīrti Vihāra [53]  
Nyadha Tole

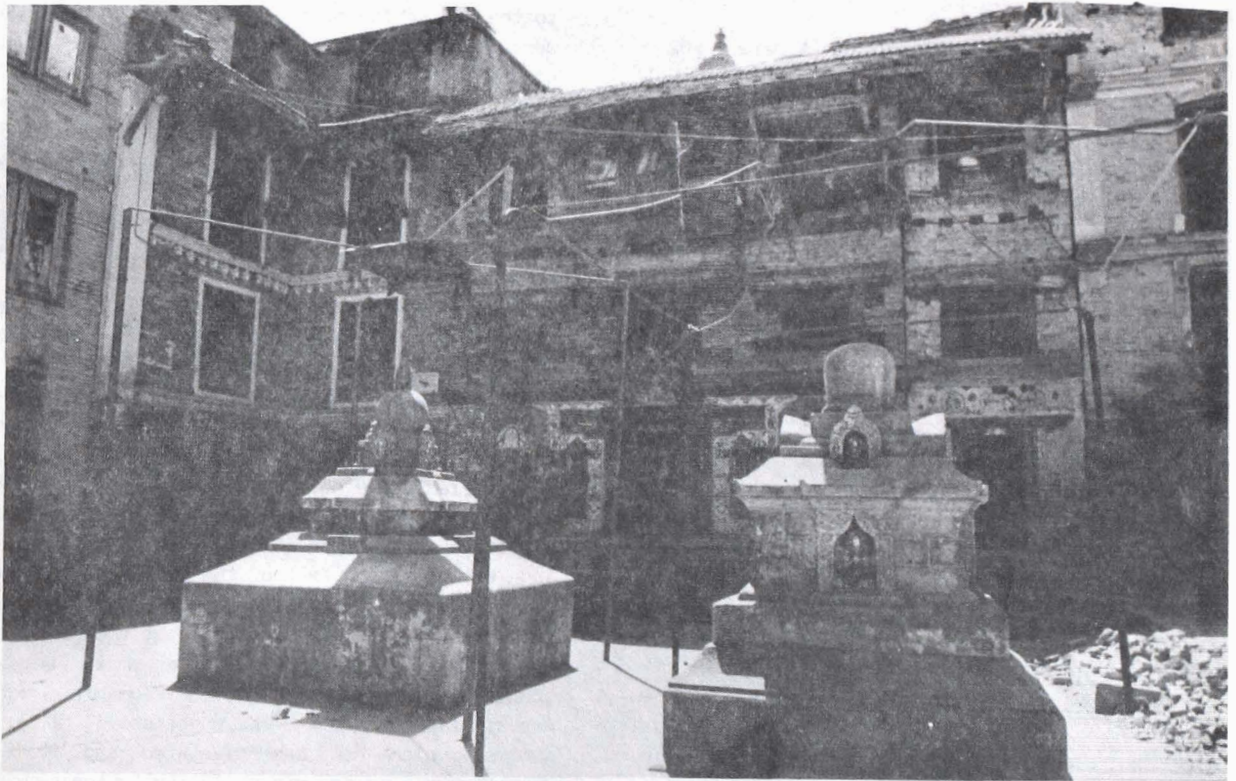
Aki Bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Nyadha Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is located on the ground floor of a building that is in other respects simply a typical Newār town house. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked but there is a wooden torāṇa over the doorway showing a figure of Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants with yak tail fans. The torāṇa is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey of the building has three large lattice windows and the top storey has living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a single finial in the shape of a caitya.

Aki Bāhā has no saṅgha of initiated Bare. It is a shrine belonging to four households of Pradhāns, all of whom now live in Kathmandu, where their ancestor moved about a hundred years ago because he had a job at one of the Rana darbārs and found it inconvenient to return each night to Patan. The bāhā was renovated by these people in N.S.992 and at least since that time it has been considered their shrine. Whether or not the bāhā ever had a saṅgha of Bare is doubtful. The Pradhāns do not know what the status of the shrine was before the renovation, but inscriptions from the Malla period seem to indicate that it always belonged to them. Among the ceremonial begging bowls in the collection at Kwā Bāhā are five donated by people from Aki (or Ataki) Bāhā. All of these donors who say they are of Aki Bāhā have the surname Bhāro, which indicates Shrestha or Pradhan. It is never used of a Bare. The five are: N.S. 656 Jathirāj Bhāro, N.S.680 Harṣa Siṃha Bhāro, N.S.737 Gopāl Siṃha Bhāro, N.S.777 Sivadās Bhāro, N.S.792 Devidās Bhāro.<sup>24</sup> This is an indication of the status of the saṅgha, but not conclusive proof as it seems quite clear





8. Yatā Bāhā [50]



9. Aki Bāhā [53]

that the name of a bāhā often indicated a whole tole. People who are not Bare often indicate that they 'belong' to a bāhā which we know from other sources does have a saṅgha of initiated Bare. At the present time the daily rituals are performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā who now lives at Aki Bāhā. For this service the Pradhāns used to give him two muris of husked rice each year, but this has been discontinued as the bāhā no longer has any income. Another Vajracarya from Cūkā Bāhā (=Nākhācūk=Kwā Bāhā saṅgha) performs regular rituals in the āgam of the bāhā, which is considered to be the family āgam of these Pradhāns. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of Magh. For this festival the four households of Pradhāns must come and they take turns sponsoring the festival. The rituals are performed by the resident Vajracarya.

The earliest date for this bāhā is that on the first of the begging bowls, N.S.656. An inscription at the bāhā describes the renovations undertaken in N.S.992 by Matsyendra Simha Bhāro.

G. Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā — Suvarṇa Vihāra [62]  
Ikhā Cheñ Tole

This branch is situated in a large, enclosed courtyard in Ikhā Cheñ Tole. Of the original buildings only the shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa the outer part of which is wood with the three central figures in repousse metal. The three central figures are the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a covered image of Akṣobhya with a golden mask, facing east. On either side of the door are two small windows and above the right one a row of three prayer wheels. The facade of the ground floor has been faced with marble. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows and above that a double row of frescoes. The top storey has three large windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single roofed tower with a finial. In the courtyard are a mounted vajra, an votive caitya and a dharmadhātu maṇḍala. The caitya is of an unusual design and probably dates to the early

mediaeval period.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eighty five Sakyas and five Vajracaryas. It is a semi-independent saṅgha performing both their Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations here. The usual rituals are performed each morning and evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya but only by the elders of the saṅgha who serve by turn for a month at a time. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Baisakh. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is Cakrasamvara situated at Ānā Bāhā [65] down the street. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

This is obviously an ancient foundation and in view of the entirely separate lineage deity was probably an independent foundation later assimilated to Kwā Bāhā. The oldest date in the compound is on a copper-plate inscription to the left of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which was put up on N.S.829. However, there is a much earlier reference in a copper-plate inscription of N.S.535 preserved at Ānā Bāhā which relates to the renovation of the Alko Hiti. The repairs were made by a Vajracarya of Ikhākṣe who lived at the house in Aloka, presumably Ānā Bāhā.<sup>26</sup> Other inscriptions at Ikhā Cheñ speak of renovation and donations over the last two hundred years. This bāhā has one branch.

1. Ānā Bāhā -- Ānanda Vihāra [65]

Ikhācheñ Tole

This branch of Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard north of the main bāhā and right at the edge of the old city of Patan. Nothing remains of the original buildings; the shrine of the kwāpā-dya itself was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is a squat, two-storied building, the ground floor of which has been faced with ceramic tile. The entrance is marked by two stone lions with a stone railing extending the rest of the distance of the shrine veranda. On either side of the carved doorway are two small windows, but the door has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is a small image, about eighteen inches high, of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, facing east. The upper storey of the shrine, which has been plastered and white-washed, has a large triple opening in the centre flanked by two ordinary windows. Above the triple opening is a repousse torāṇa depicting





10. Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62]



11. Ānā Bāhā [66]

the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single plastered finial. In the courtyard is a large votive caitya, a stone maṇḍala and a pair of feet.

At the present time this branch has no saṅgha as such. However, the daily rituals are performed morning and evening by four families of Ikḥā Cheñ Bāhā who perform this service plus the annual busā dañ and the pañca dāna. The oldest inscription in the compound, is situated on the caitya and describes repairs made to the caitya in the year N.S.777. However, the inscription mentioned above dated N.S.535 and relating to repairs made at the Alko Hiti is preserved in the āgam of the bāhā, and certainly indicates that the Vajracarya mentioned in the inscription lived in this place near the water tap.

H. Michu Bāhā -- Caityavarṇa Vihāra [57]  
Elā Nani

Directly behind the Kwā Bāhā complex is the large nani area which houses the second āgam of the bāhā and the shrine of Sankatā. Within this compound are also two other branch bāhās. The first of these consists of a kwāpā-dya shrine set along the southern arm of the large quadrangle. Everyone now calls it Michu Bāhā but several informants have told me that it should be Bhikṣu Bāhā. Perhaps so, but nobody who lives here recognises that name. There is also little agreement about the Sanskrit name of this branch. Some lists give a Sanskritization of the Newāri name, Micchu Vihāra. A new signboard at the site gives the name Caityavarṇa Mahāvihāra, but there seems to be little evidence for this, and one suspects that it is a name made up on the basis of the fact that there is a large caitya in front of the shrine. Michu Bāhā

at the present time is a narrow three storied building sandwiched between much more modern houses. The shrine is unmarked but the carved doorway has a torāṇa the main figure of which is now missing. The kwāpā-dya is a standing Buddha image, probably Dīpaṅkara, facing north. Except for the door to the shrine the crumbling facade of the ground floor is blank. The first storey has a triple window and the top storey has a large triple window. Above the triple window of the first storey is another wooden torāṇa showing a two-armed bodhisattva figure standing and wearing a long, flowing gown. The right hand

shows the abhaya mudrā and the left holds a stylised caitya. The figure is flanked by two monk figures waving yak tail fans. Directly in front of the shrine is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a large caitya.

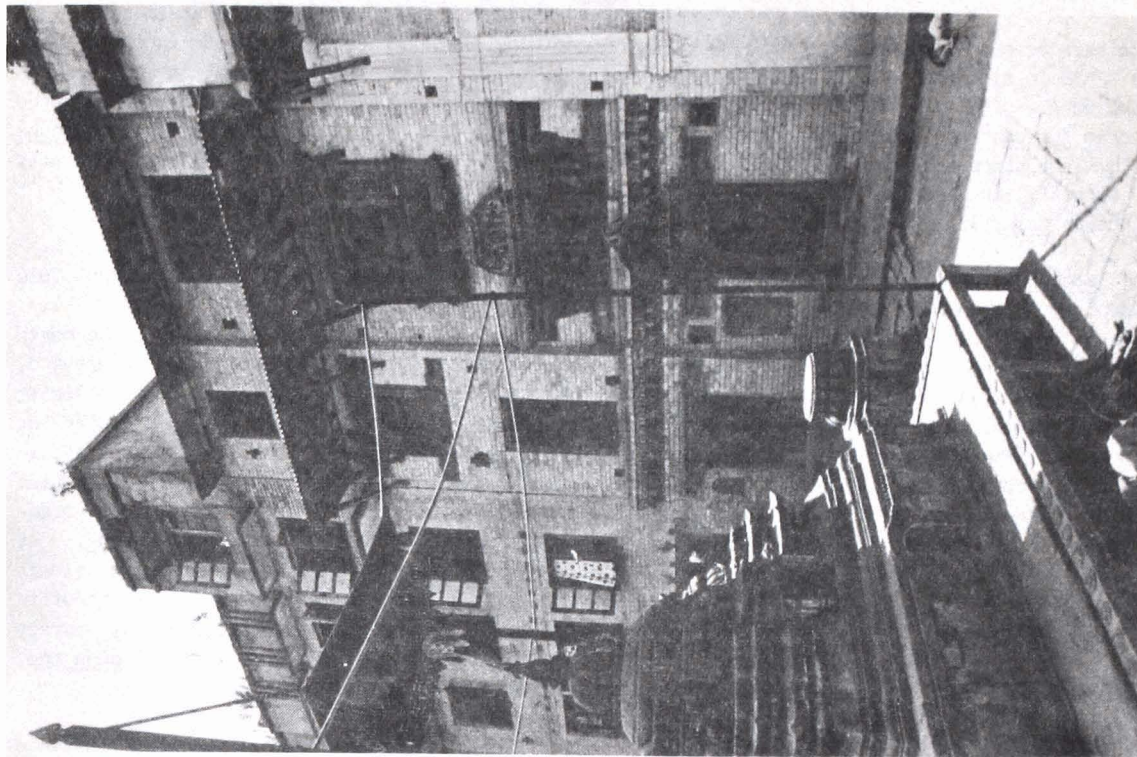
The saṅgha of this bāhā is also a semi-independent saṅgha consisting of seventy three Sakyas. The saṅgha is made up of seventeen households and the households take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for a whole year at a time. Rituals are performed only in the morning. The saṅgha has five elders. The annual festival of the saṅgha is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Kārtik. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but informants say that they take place in front of the caitya, not really in or before the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. These people are one of the few examples of what are known as cailaka Sakyas, i.e. Sakyas who are initiated before a caitya and not into a bāhā. This seems to have little practical meaning at the present time. These people constitute a saṅgha just as in a bāhā and they actually have a bāhā shrine. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' originally situated at Dhumvārāhi out beyond Bauddha. The deity has now been 'brought' to Ilā Nani and the rituals are performed here. At the present time the saṅgha has no income.

Little is known about the history of Michu Bāhā as such. There is a well-known legend which purports to explain the origin of this bāhā and its relationship to Kwā Bāhā. According to the legend, the members of the saṅgha of Michu Bāhā are the descendants of the man who carried the deity of Kwā Bāhā to Patan. The wooden pole (noḷ) which he used to carry the deity used to be kept in the āgam of this baha until it disintegrated. The present shrine was renovated in N.S.807 according to KTMV and that is the only date that we can definitely associate with Michu Bāhā.<sup>30</sup>

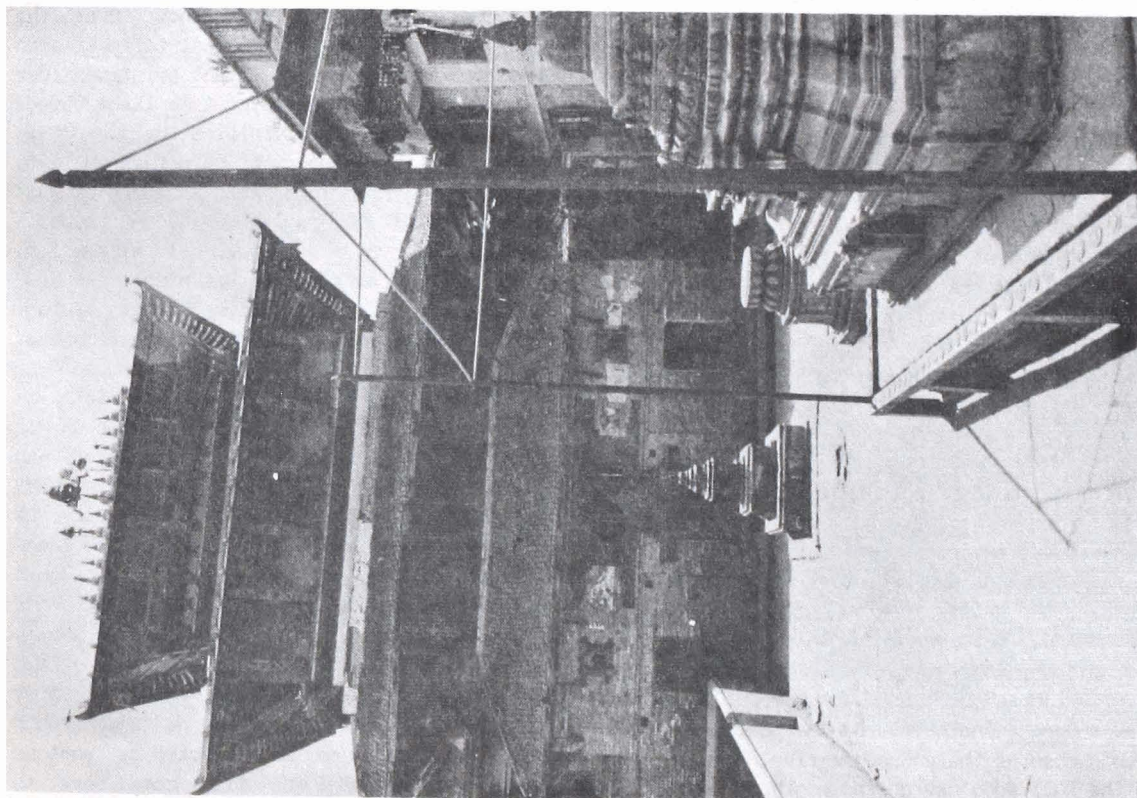
I. Baidya Bāhā -- Dvārikā Vihāra [58]  
Elā Nani

Baidya Bāhā is also situated in Ilā Nani and the shrine is directly behind the main shrine of Kwā Bāhā. Most people seem to call the place Baidya Bāhā (because the members of the saṅgha had a reputation as medical practitio-





12. Michu Bāhā [57]



13. Baidya Bāhā [58]

ners), others seem to know only the name Dwārikā Bāhā. This is also an ill-kept shrine similar to Michu Bāhā. Over the doorway of the shrine is a wooden torana depicting Mahāmañjusri. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Amitābha facing west. Directly in front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā is also semi-independent and consists of twenty Sakyas. There are only four households and they serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in rotation for a year at a time. The saṅgha has five elders and their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbhara' at Mhaypī. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the fullmoon day of the month of Srāwan. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha according to the pattern described above for these semi-independent communities. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

J. Kwalim Bāhā -- Kulim Vihara [11]  
Swatha Tole

This bāhā which was an important and probably semi-independent branch of Kwā Bāhā is now in ruins. All that remains is the cella of the kwāpā-dya shrine, a partially ruined brick structure with a temporary roof. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The doorway is partially carved, but there is no torana and no other ornamentation. Trees are growing out of the remains of the walls. To the left of the doorway of the shrine is a small niche with an image of Mahākāl and to the right a niche with an image of Ganesh. In the courtyard are two caityas; the top of one of these has the remains of a Licchavi style caitya. The courtyard is surrounded by ordinary dwellings, some of recent origin, others in a bad state of repair.

According to informants this was an official branch of Kwā Bāhā, but some sixty to seventy years ago the saṅgha died out. At that time a Vajracarya of Kwā Bāhā took up the duty of performing the daily rituals. There are now two households, descendants of this man, who take turns, one year at a time to perform the daily pūjā. These two households are not organized as a saṅgha and merely do the daily rituals and observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the full moon day of the month of Aswin.

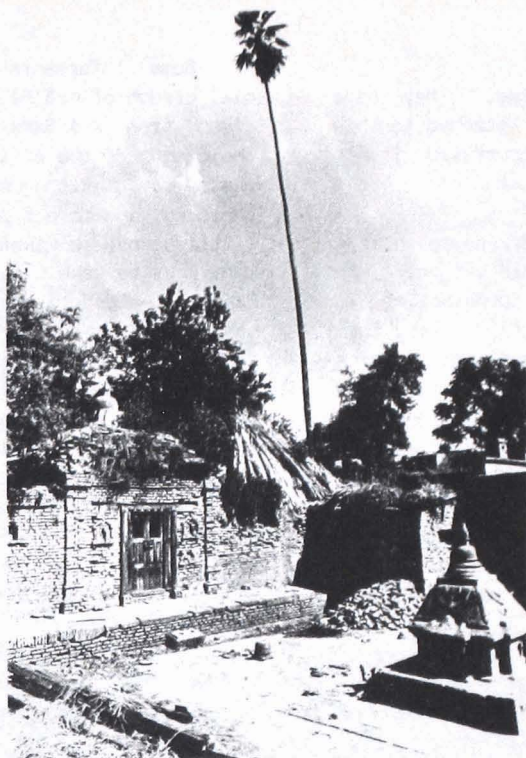
There are no inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history of the bāhā other than the tradition that it was an old branch of Kwā Bāhā. Its antiquity is attested to by the fact that the Dīpaṅkara from this bāhā has a high place of honour at the five yearly Samyak ceremony.

K. Sasu Nani -- Vāgīśvari Vihāra [60]  
Mañjuśrī Lanhe Jhatapol Tole

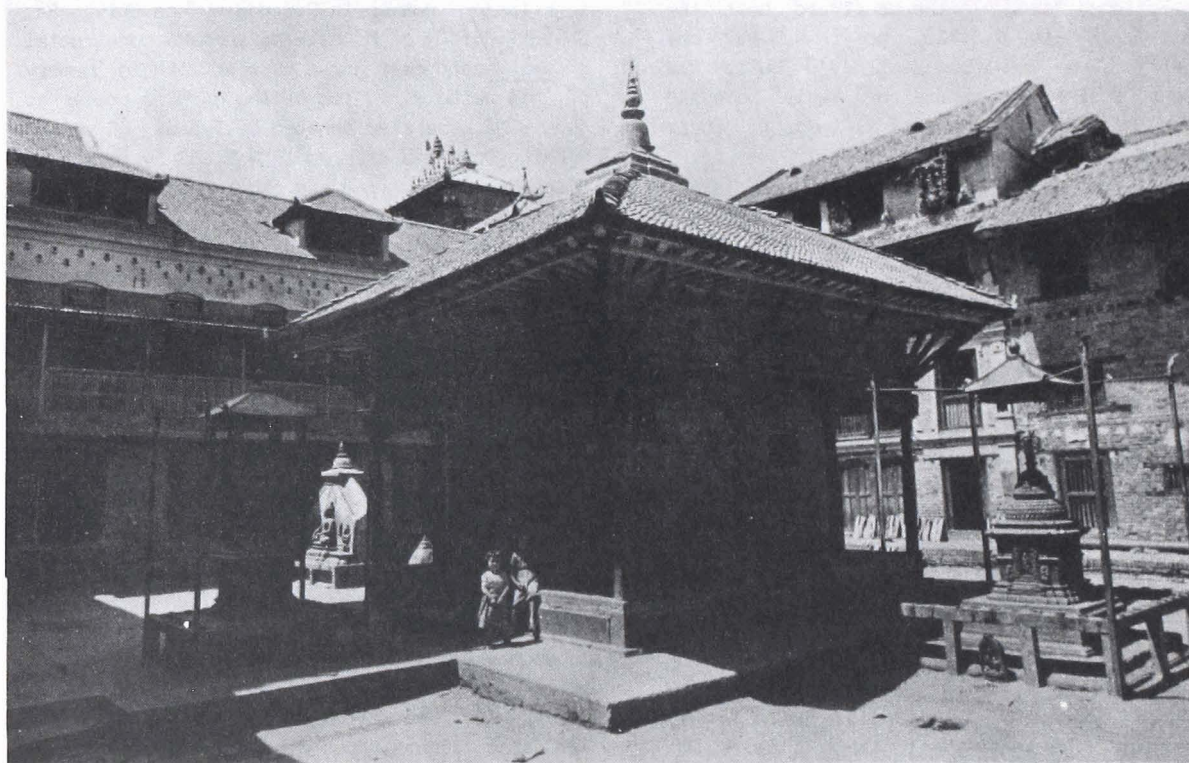
Sasu Nani is situated directly to the north of Kwā Bāhā in an adjoining enclosed courtyard. Whether this should be considered an official branch bāhā or a bāhā at all is disputed by informants. Many say that it is merely a private nani as its Newāri name would indicate. However it does have a saṅgha and for all practical purposes functions as a branch bāhā. At the time of Lakṣmi Pūjā and Mha Pūjā the elders do visit this shrine on their tour of the official branches, but informants say they merely pass through here, they do not do the pūjā they do at other branches.

Sasu Nani is an entirely enclosed courtyard with a one-storeyed shrine of Mañjuśrī in the centre of the court. The shrine faces east and has a veranda running right round. Over the doorway is one of the most unusual toranas seen anywhere. It is a wooden torana painted silver and the only figure portrayed is a large Garuḍa with the two serpent divinities held in his talons. In the lower right corner is a figure of Ganesh and in the lower left a figure of what appears to be Prajñāpāramitā. The entire background consists of a scalloped floral design. This torana is a fairly recent piece and replaces a torana of Mañjuśrī which was stolen. The image in the shrine is a two handed image of Mañjusri showing the bodhyaṅga mudrā and holding the stems of two lotuses. On the right lotus is a sword and on the left lotus is a book. On his right is an image of Ganesh and on his left an image of Mahākāl. This shrine is one of the best examples of the confusion between Sarasvati and Mañjuśrī. There is no question about the identity of the image; it is Mañjuśrī. Yet most people will tell you that it is Sarasvati and the place is known as Sasu (=Sarasvati) Nanī. In front of the shrine and to the north are two votive caityas. South of the shrine are three large stone figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. These figures were erected by another lineage of Kwā Bāhā who still come here to





14. Kwalim Bāhā [71]



15. Sasu Nani [60]

perform rituals at certain times. They have nothing to do with the families attached to this shrine. The buildings of the courtyard itself are ordinary dwellings.

There are six families of Sakyas, with many subdivisions, who belong to this shrine. The members of these families take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of Mañjuśrī. The term of service is one whole year and the service passes through the six households in turn and within the household is passed from eldest to youngest. Hence one's turn to serve comes only about once in thirty years. The annual festival is observed three days before fullmoon day of the month of Bhadra. The saṅgha has one elder and at the present time has no income. All initiations are performed in Kwā Bāhā and their lineage deity is that of Kwā Bāhā.

Little is known about the history and foundation of this shrine. Attached to the facade of the shrine are two wood carvings of the twelfth or thirteenth century, one of Vajrapāṇi and the other of Avalokiteśvara, but this really tells us nothing about the present foundation. Two inscriptions found in the courtyard bear the dates N.S.845 and N.S.853, and in N.S.857 one Sambara Sakya Vamsa and Muni Rayju built the present shrine in memory of their deceased father and dedicated the central image to their deceased mother.

L. Mikhā Bāhā -- Suprekṣana Vihāra [21]  
Patan Dhokā

Mikhā Bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just east of Patan Dhokā. The shrine is of an unusual design and appears to be a two-storied pāṭi rather than a bāhā. A large bell and two stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine which is at the back of a veranda lined with wooden pillars. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a covered image of Akṣobhya facing east. Above the ground floor is a squat storey with an ordinary lattice window in the centre. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single, squat finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard are two stone dharmadhātu maṇḍalas and a single votive caitya.

Some informants classify this as an official branch of Kwā Bāhā, others deny this. The group from Kwā Bāhā do visit this shrine on their tour of the official branches, but informants say that they merely pass through here on their way and do not perform a pūjā. This makes little sense as Mikhā Bāhā is not on the way, they have to make a detour to pass through Mikhā Bāhā. Whatever the original status of this bāhā, everyone agrees that the original saṅgha died out. At the present time the people who live round the courtyard are all Jyāpus except for one Vajracarya family, which, however, simply lives here. This Vajracarya does not perform any rituals at the shrine. The daily rituals are performed by another Vajracarya of Kwā Bāhā who lives near the Ashok Cinema Mall. Hence at the present time this branch bāhā has no saṅgha. No annual festival is observed and the bāhā has no income. The bāhā does have an image of Dīpaṅkara, and at the time of the five-yearly samyak this is taken to the gathering by the Vajracarya who performs the daily pūjā.

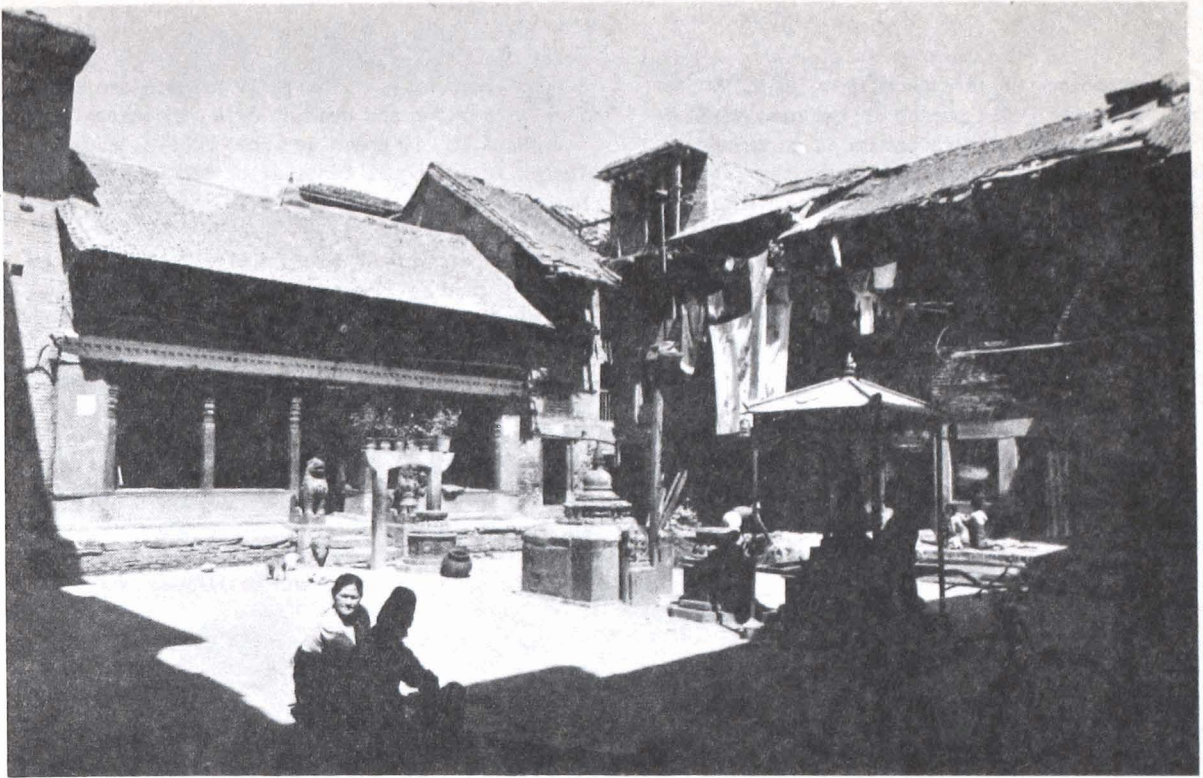
Nothing definite is known about the history of this bāhā. There are no inscriptions at the bāhā itself. In a pāṭi near Patan Dhokā is an inscription put up in N.S.832 by one Shiva Rām Bhāvo (=Jyāpū) of Mikhā Bāhā when he constructed a caitya and rest house at that site in memory of his parents. Two of the begging bowls at Kwā Bāhā were also donated by Jyāpus of Mikhā Bāhā. One was offered in N.S.855 by this same Siva Rām Bhāvo, and the other in N.S. 906 by Anta Sīmha Bhāvo of Mikhā Bāhā. Hence it appears that these Jyāpūs have been at Mikhā Bāhā for about three hundred years, and one wonders if this has not always been their shrine with a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā acting as the dya-pālā.

M. Nāg Bāhā -- Śrī Sajaya Jitena Saṁsthāpita  
Vasuvarddhana Vihāra\* [56]  
Yitilhane -- Yitilāṇ Vihāra\*

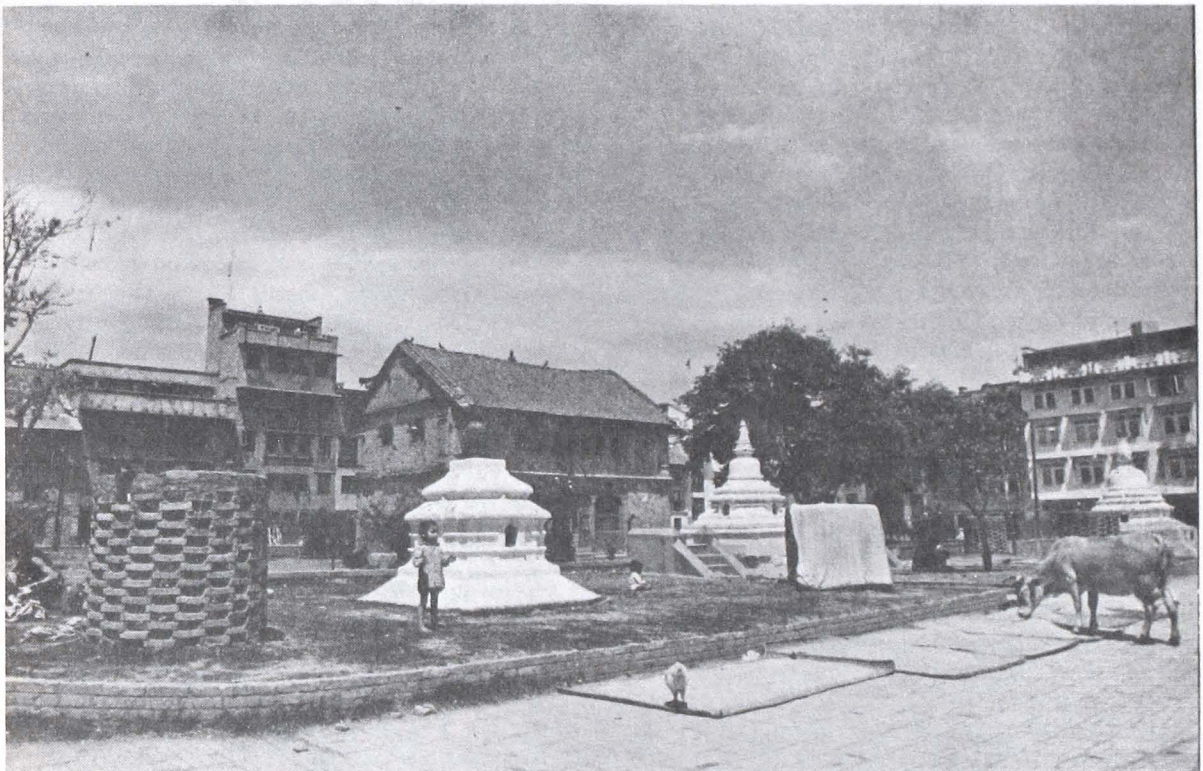
Nāg Bāhā

At the present time this is not really a bāhā, but a large well-kept hani having the appearance of a city park with several Buddhist monuments and a large, old water tap. In Newāri it is known as Yitilhane, Nāg Bāhā or Saya Thau Bāhā. The Sanskrit name is usually given as Paśuvarṇa Vināra, but Hem Rāj Sakya informs me that the oldest references give the name Vasuvarddhana Vihāra. The one name that is confirmed





16. Mikhā Bāhā [21]



17. Nāg Bāhā [56]

by an abundance of references from N.S.577 to the end of the Malla period is the name Yitilañ Vihāra. The earliest reference is contained in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Jyoti-  
śaratnamālā dated N.S.677. The book belonged to a man of Yitilañ Vihāra in Manigalake of Lalitpur. Among the ceremonial begging bowls preserved in Kwā Bāhā fourteen of them were donated by people of Yitilañ Vihāra or a variation of this name.<sup>34</sup> There is no proper kwāpā-dya shrine here but in the centre of the open area is a recently constructed shrine containing an image of Akṣobhya facing east. According to informants this was originally the site of an āgam shrine of the saṅgha of Nāg Bāhā. When the shrine fell into ruins it was abandoned by the branch saṅgha and they ceased to have any identity as a separate branch saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya image of Akṣobhya was reputed to have been 800 years old and, according to informants, was once the kwāpā-dya of Kwā Bāhā. When this image became damaged it was replaced by the present image. Along the southern side of the park are two large caityas, the top parts of which are the remains of Licchavi style caityas. Between these is another votive caitya. To the east of the shrine are three more votive caityas. And to the north is another votive caitya and a large image of a bull, looking very much like Śiva's vāhana Nandi. According to local legend Dīpaṅkara Buddha once visited this shrine and at that time a bull who was grazing here heralded his arrival. Nāg Bāhā is the place where the five-yearly Patan samyak, the assembly of all the Dīpaṅkara Buddha images from Patan and its environs, take place. People still say that whenever the bull roars all the Dīpaṅkaras come. It is for this reason that most informants insisted on the name Paśuvarṇa for the complex. In the north east corner of the complex is an old stone water tap. About half way down the steps leading to the tap, is a large standing, stone image of the Buddha of a late date. However, in the north east corner of the area around the water tap is a stele about three feet in height with four figures carved on it, the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva and another Buddha (or possibly Maitreya). Pāl<sup>35</sup> has dated this stele to the eighth century.

This complex has no saṅgha as such. A large number of the members of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā, both Sakyas and Vajracaryas, live round the open area but they are not organised into a

saṅgha community. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā who is known as the Mahā-vajracārya. There is no annual festival of Nāg Bāhā and it has no income.

The history of this complex is lost in the distant past. The two Licchavi style caityas and the eighth century stele attest to its long history and its early identity as a Buddhist site. Little more can be said with any degree of certainty. It is quite likely that this was a flourishing vihāra at one time which was eventually absorbed into Kwā Bāhā. Perhaps it was one of the vihāras of true celibate bhikṣus which declined as the married saṅgha came into prominence and was eventually overshadowed by Kwā Bāhā with its large and wealthy saṅgha.

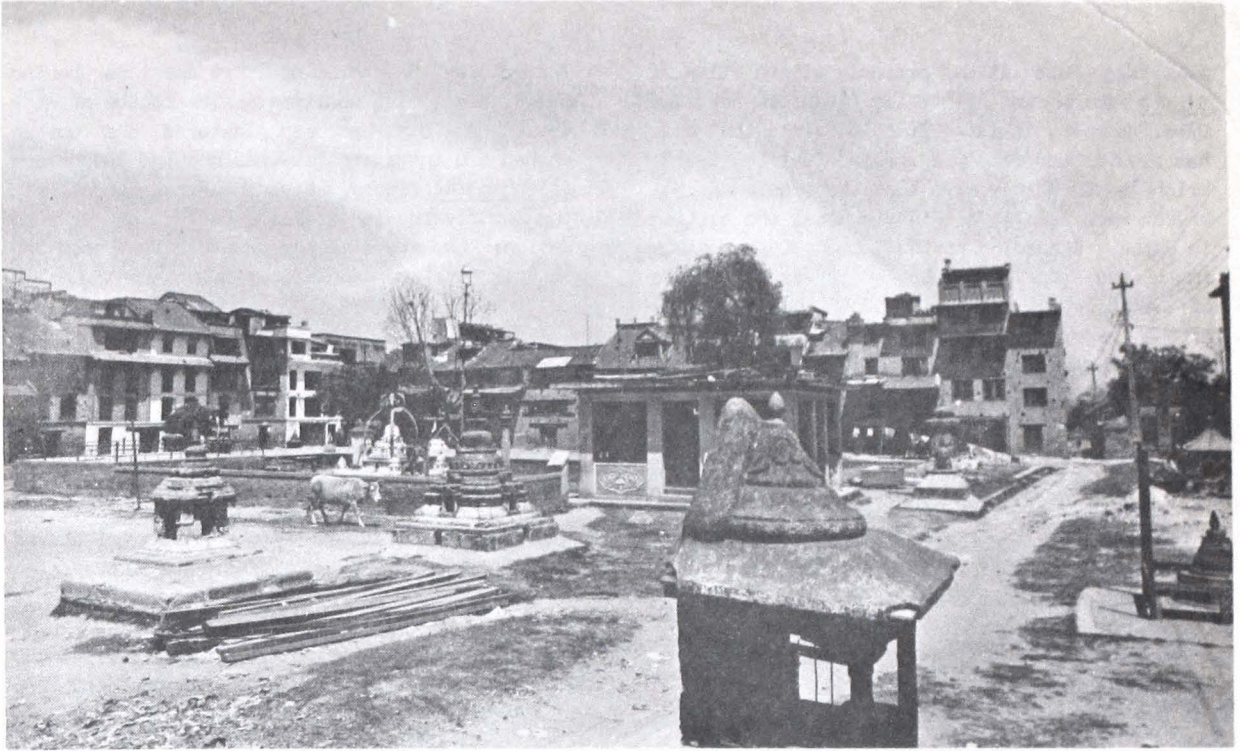
N. NākhācOk -- Bhāskaravarṇa Vihāra\* [51]  
Naka Bahī Tole

Like Nāg Bāhā Nākhācuk is at the present a large residential nanī with a plethora of Buddhist monuments. The Newari name, which means five courtyards, is said to derive from the fact that at one time when this was a vihāra it had five courtyards, five Kumāris (living goddesses) and five wells. The only shrine within the complex is a fairly recent, free-standing pāṭi-like structure in the centre which houses an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. In front of this shrine is an area closed off by a low brick wall which contains the main cult object, a large caitya. In all, the complex contains sixteen caityas, seven maṇḍalas and images of Padmapāṇi, Amoghapāsa, Mahākāl, Ganesh, the feet of Mañjuśrī, mounted vajras and a number of inscribed pillars. The whole gives the impression of an archeological garden of Buddhist relics.

As at Nāg Bāhā there is no proper saṅgha here. Fifty to sixty households of Sakyas and Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā live round the courtyard but they are not organised into a saṅgha. The daily rituals are performed at the shrine of Padmapāṇi by one household of Vajracaryas who have held this post as a traditional right. An annual festival is celebrated by this family on the fullmoon day of Āswīn, but this is a festival of the caitya and not of the bāhā or the age of Padmapāṇi. At the present time the complex has no income of its own.

The history of this place is obscure, and





18. Nākhācūk [51]



19. Unaca Bhājubala Bāhā [52]

like Nag Baha it was probably at one time a vihāra which was eventually absorbed by Kwā Bāhā. However, it is entirely possible that this has always been merely a residential courtyard. Wright's Chronicle says that the people of Nākhācūk were Ācāryas of Piṅgala Bāhāl who settled in Patan. According to the legend of the bringing of the image of Kwā Bāhā, it was the people of Nākhācūk who were informed of the discovery of the image, went to fetch it and first placed it at Nākhācūk.<sup>36</sup> According to this version of the legend, Nākhācūk would pre-date Kwā Bāhā. Nine of the ceremonial begging bowls preserved at Kwā Bāhā and dating from N.S. 645 to N.S.912 were donated by people from Nākhācūk. In these inscriptions the place is always identified by this Newārī name.<sup>37</sup> A copper-plate inscription at Kwā Bāhā erected in N.S.839 gives the Saṁskṛit name for Nākhācūk, Bhāskaravarṇa Vihāra.<sup>38</sup> Inscriptions at other sites refer to rituals performed by Vajracāryas from Nākhācūka. It seems evident, especially from the inscriptions on the begging bowls, that Nākhācūk has long been a residential nañi for members of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha.

1. Unaca Bhājubal Bāhā -- Bhājubala Vihāra  
[52] Nākhucuk

In the northeast corner of Nākhācūk is a row of three caityas with a large image of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha erected to the side. Some have identified this as a private branch cahā with the above name. Others say it is not a bāhā at all but simply a private shrine. Certainly at the present time it has no saṅgha; the daily rituals are performed by a Vajracārya living in Nākhācūk whose family have traditionally performed these rituals. They do celebrate an annual festival on the first day of the dark half of the sacred month of Gunla.

**Private Branches** (There is general agreement that all of the following branches are purely private branches of Kwā Bāhā.)

a. Mati Bāhā -- Mati Vihāra [54]  
Naka Bahī Tole

The present form of the shrine of this small branch dates from the time of the earthquake of 1934. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked and has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window and the

top storey has three ordinary openings behind which are living quarters. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and white-washed and there are frescoes showing Buddha and sālabhañjika figures above the first storey. In the courtyard is a single caitya of unusual design; the sides of the base are flattened and portray stylised mountains.

There is one household of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā attached to this branch, but they are no longer organised into a saṅgha as such. There are three or four brothers of this household who take turns to perform the usual rituals each morning and see to the observance of the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of the month of Āswin. The 'saṅgha' seems to have no other activity at the present time. There is no income.

There are no inscriptions at this site and nothing is known about the history of this branch except that the shrine was renovated after the earthquake of 1934.

b. Mati Bāhācā -- Govinda Simha Vihāra [55]  
Naka Bahī Tole

This is a purely modern foundation in a courtyard adjoining Mati Bāhā. The shrine is a modern, plastered and free-standing niche containing an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The courtyard also contains a caitya.

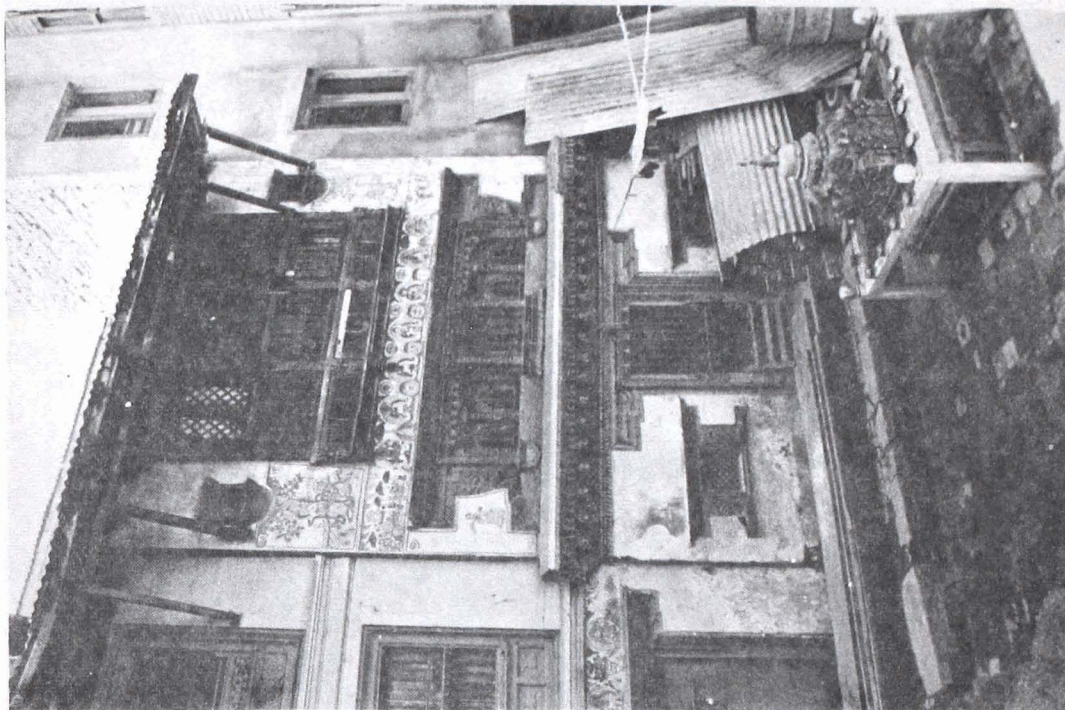
The saṅgha of this little branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā, not connected to those of Mati Bāhā. Members of this household take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. There is no annual festival and the bāhā has no income.

The only date in the compound is on an inscription attached to the caitya, N.S.983. The modern Buddha shrine is probably even more recent than this date and was built by a man called Govinda Simha. As with so many of these modern shrines, some informants say it is not a bāhā.

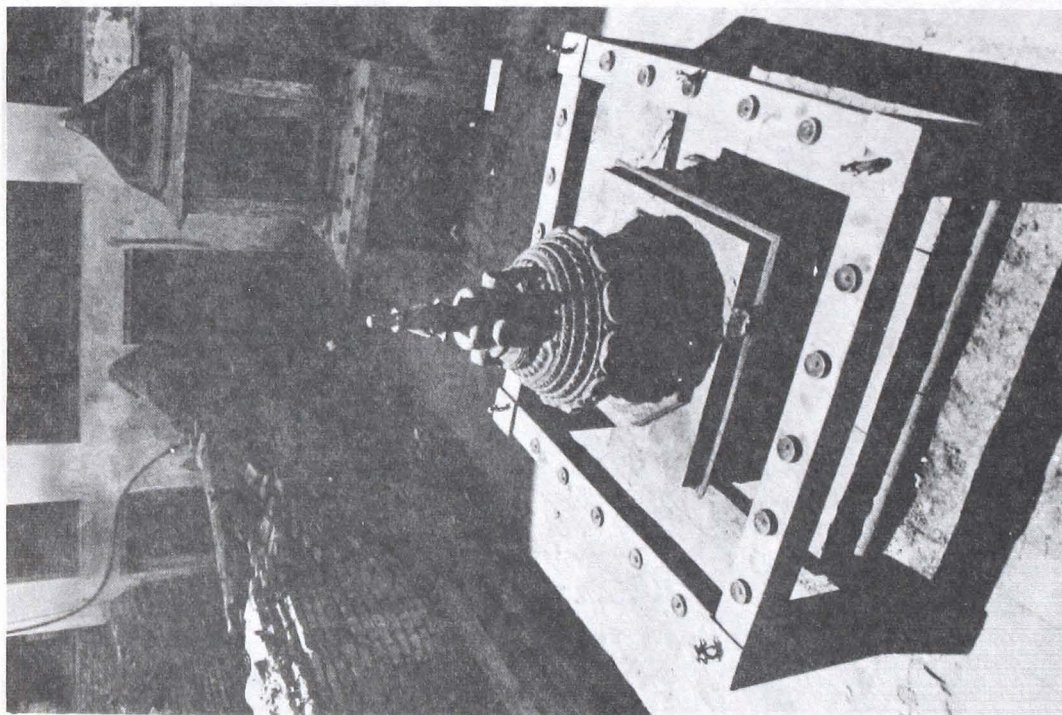
c. Thyāka Bāhā -- Ratna Jyoti Vihāra [46]  
Thyāka Tole

This branch is located in a courtyard behind the main road in Thyāka Tole. KTMV calls this Khāccheñ Bāhā. However, it is situated just



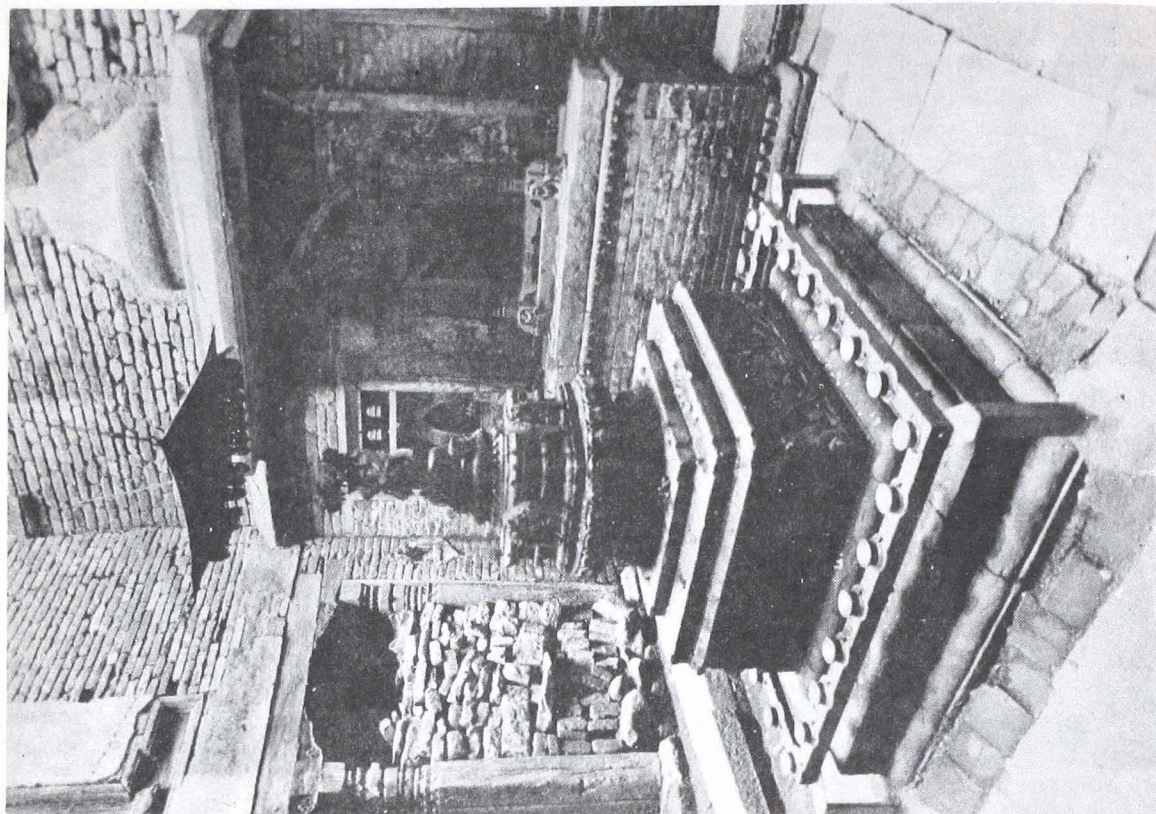


20. Matī Bāhā [54]

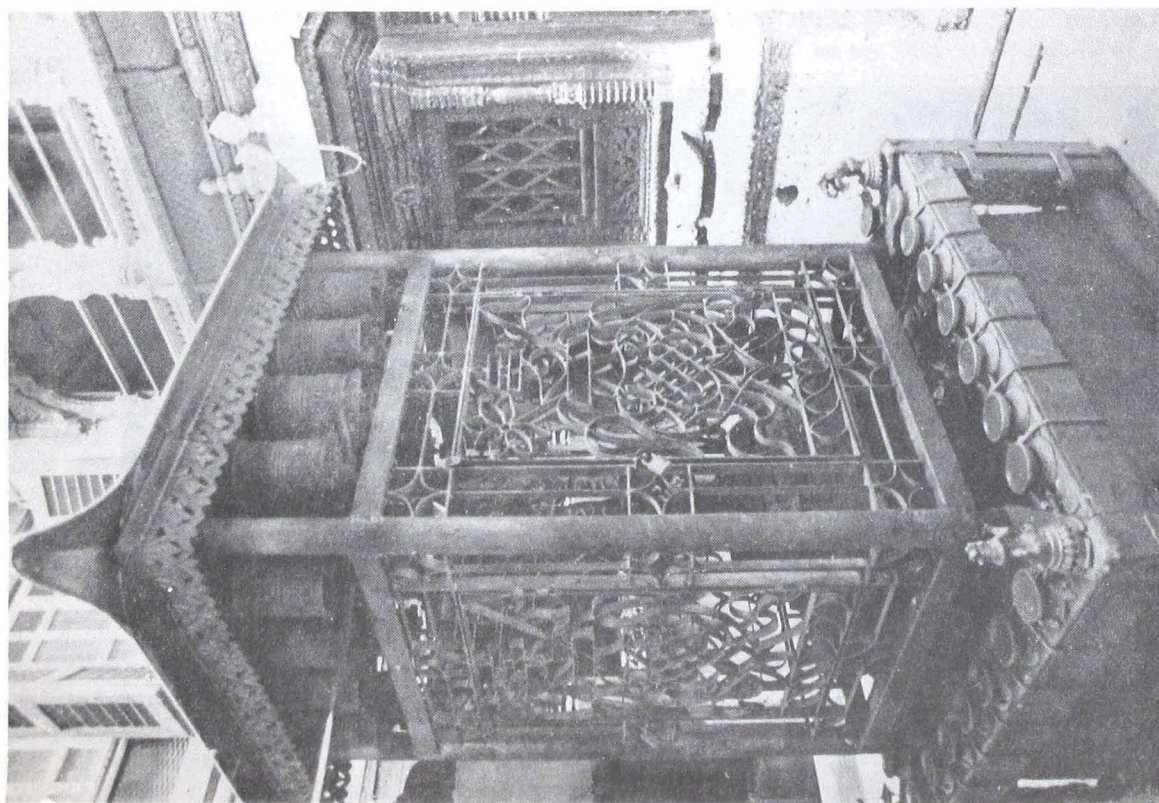


21. Matī Bāhācā [55]



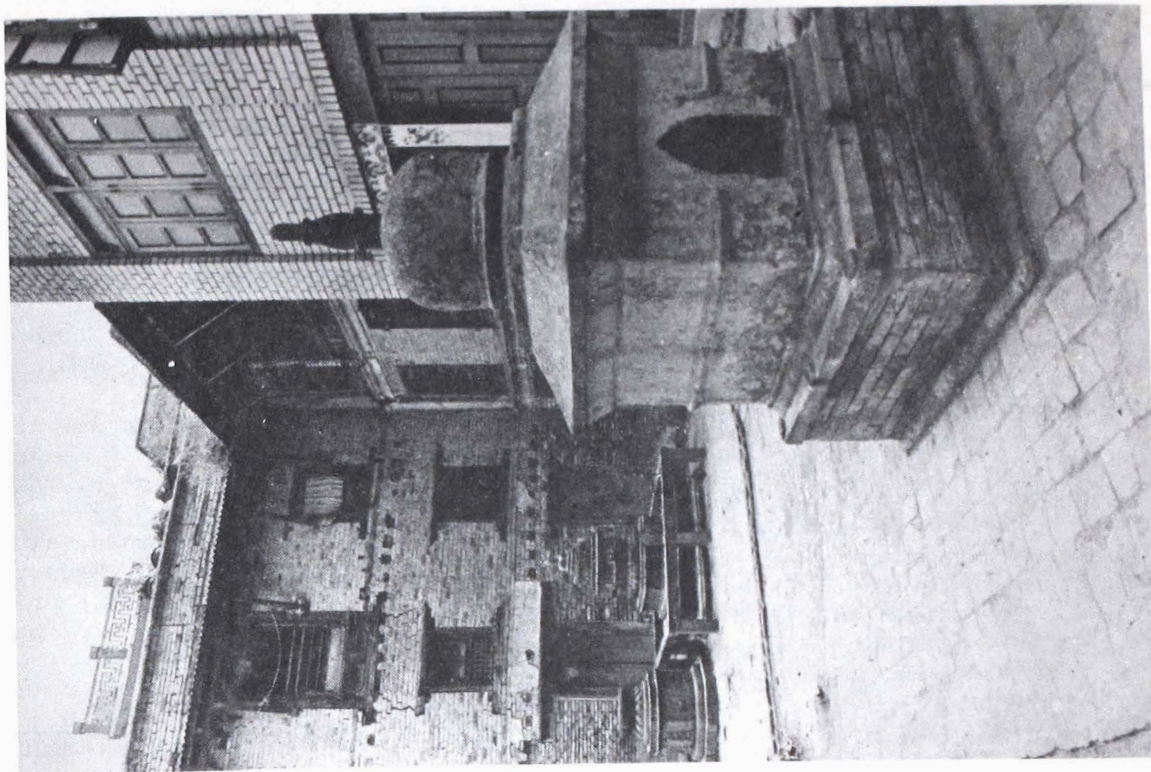


22. Thyāka Bāhā [46]

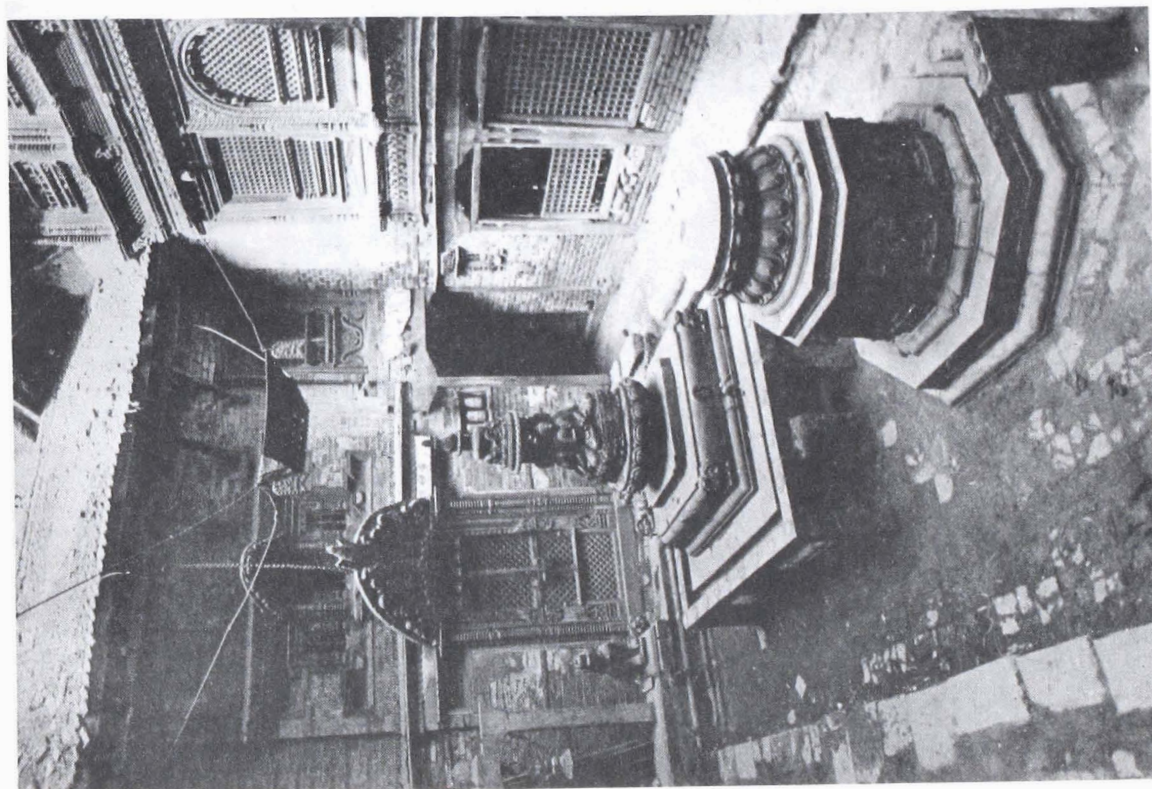


23. Khā Cheñ Bāhā [47]





24. Iriratna Sim Bāhā [104]



25. Harṣa Bāhā [105]

outside Khācheñ Tole in Thyāka Tole, and the residents use this name and not Khācheñ. The shrine is confined to the ground floor of the western section of the very small courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is through a carved doorway opening off a high plinth above the courtyard. Over the doorway is a torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. A string of bells hangs down over the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single, large caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of two households of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā. The three households take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The term of service is an entire year. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Asadh. The bāhā has no income.

According to KTMV this bāhā was constructed in N.S.920 by Jayananda Sakya.

d. Khā Cheñ Bāhā -- Jyotivarṇa Vihāra [47]  
Khācheñ Tole

This is a purely modern bāhā consisting of a small plastered shrine set to the side of a tiny courtyard with a caitya in front of it. The top part of the shrine is made of crystal. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this little bāhā consists of one household of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā. They perform the usual rituals each morning only and observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the third day of the bright half of Baisākh. The bāhā has no income. There are no inscriptions at the site, but this is surely a twentieth century foundation.

e. Triratna Sim Bāhā -- Tri Ratna Simha Vihāra [104]  
Hakhā Tole

This is a modern foundation with a small, free-standing shrine of no particular merit. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya, facing east. There is also a caitya in the courtyard.

The saṅgha of this private branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā with a

total of five members. The members of this household take turns serving as dya-pālās at the shrine in no particular order. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The bāhā has no income. The only date in the complex is that on a bell, N.S.1065.

f. Harṣa Bāhā -- Dharma Kīrti Vihāra [105]  
Hakhā Tole

This branch consists of a narrow, but traditional, kwāpā-dya shrine set into the southeast corner of a small, enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey of the shrine has a triple carved window with a small torāṇa over the central window. The top storey is entirely blank and surmounted by a plain tile roof. Three prayer wheels are set into the facade of the building adjoining the shrine. In the courtyard are a votive caitya, a stone dharma-dhātu maṇḍala, plus a bell, a vajra and images of Ganesh and Mahākāl.

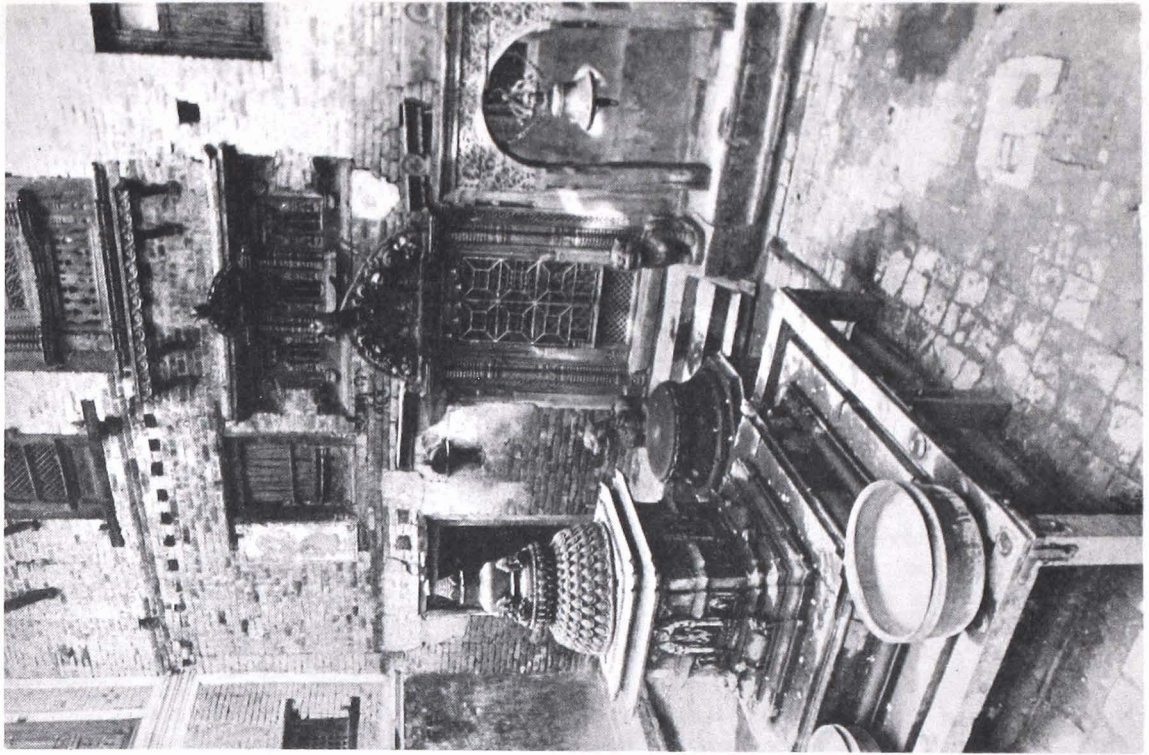
The saṅgha of this branch consists of three sub-lineages of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā with a total of twelve households and thirty five initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās by rotation. For two years the members of the first two sub-lineages serve in the shrine; and during the third year the members of the other sub-lineage serve. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The bāhā still has a little income.

According to KTMV this bāhā was built in N.S.977 by Jīvan Narasimha and Harṣa Narasimha.<sup>40</sup> However, the caitya bears the date N.S.908.

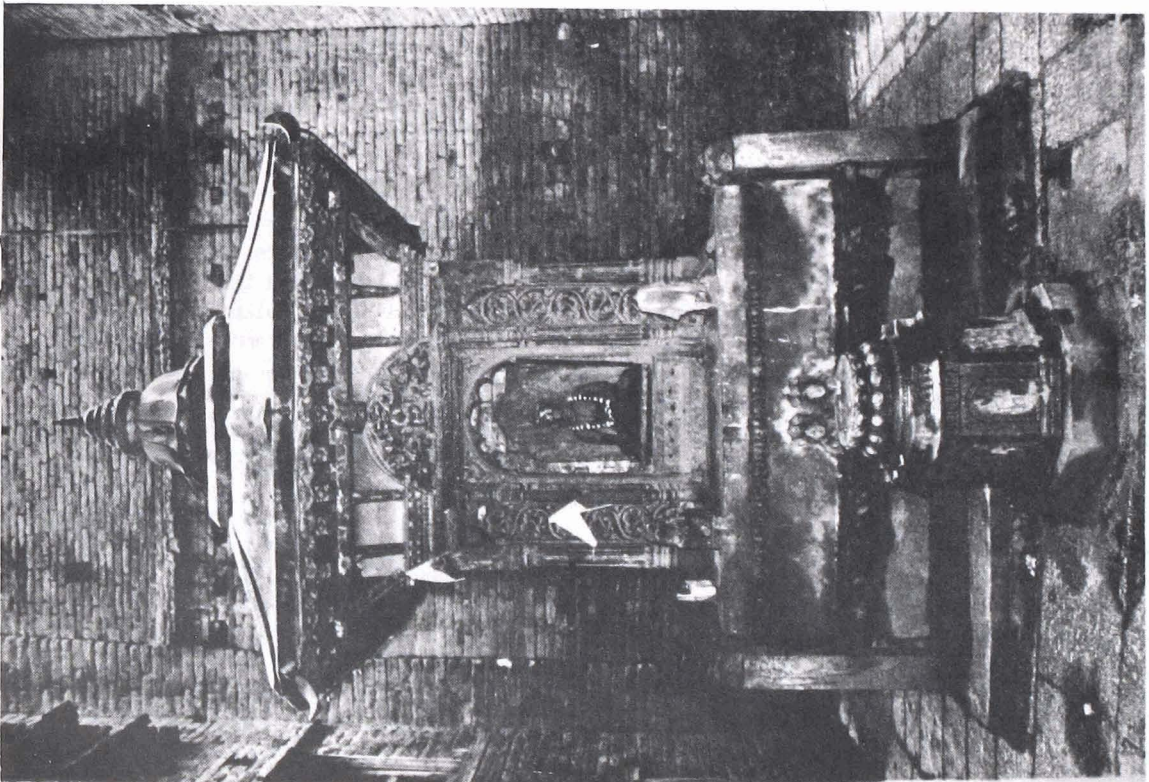
g. Dhandya Bāhā -- Dhanavīra Vihāra\* [106]  
Hakhā Tole

This is another small, modern bāhā with a free-standing shrine of Akṣobhya facing west. The shrine is situated in a tiny courtyard, about nine feet by nine feet, with a shrine of





27. Guānga Bāhā [107]



26. Dhandya Bāhā [106]

Mahākāl to the side. Over the main shrine is a torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara). The saṅgha consists of one household of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā. The two initiated members of this household take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The bāhā has no annual festival at the present, but they still have a small amount of income from gūṭhī lands which is used to finance the annual pañcadāna during the sacred month of Guṇlā. The bāhā was founded in N.S.1006.

h. Gwaṅga Bāhā -- Bhājumān Kīrti Vihāra [107]  
Hakhā Tole

The shrine of this branch bāhā consists of a narrow building of traditional style set into the eastern side of an enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a carved triple window. The top storey has living quarters and is surmounted by a plain tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of four households of Sakyas of Kwā Bāhā with ten initiated members. The members of the saṅgha take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The term of service is one year each for the four households. They celebrate the annual festival of this bāhā on the day of Sri Pañcami. The bāhā still has enough income to support the annual festival and feast.

According to inscriptions in the courtyard, this bāhā was built in N.S.974 by Ratna Simha Sakya and the gūṭhī of the bāhā was organised in N.S.975.<sup>41</sup>

i. Kutī Bāhā -- Kwaniyam Vihāra [61]

Nāg Bāhā

Though this is called a bāhā, it is a bāhā that didn't quite make it. It is situated just off of the Nāg Bāhā area and consists of an enclosed and paved courtyard with a caitya in the centre and a recently renovated but empty kwāpā-dya shrine. There is one family of Sakyas

of Kwā Bāhā attached to this shrine and they still observe an annual festival on the day of Lakṣmi Pūjā in Kārtik. Someone from the family performs the usual rituals each morning at the caitya. According to the members of this 'saṅgha' this was originally a nanī (the caitya bears the date N.S.930), and some time early in this century it was decided to convert it into a bāhā. A shrine for the kwāpā-dya was built, but before the image could be installed and the shrine consecrated the sponsor died, and his heirs never carried on. Hence no kwāpā-dya was ever enshrined here and the building was never consecrated. KTMV speaks of an image of Mahākāl and one of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara enshrined in the courtyard, but these have now disappeared.<sup>42</sup>

j. Yokhā Cheñ Bāhā -- Sunānanda Vihāra [66]  
Ikhācheñ Tole

Though this is called a bāhā, it is more of an archaeological garden than a bāhā, consisting of an enclosed area just off the road containing several Buddhist relics. There are two caityas, two maṇḍalas, an image of a seated, covered Buddha and a standing Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā. Just north of this enclosure are shrines of Vasundharā and Vajrasattva in another small, enclosed area. Perhaps there was once a proper bāhā here and it fell into ruins. In B.S.2026 the whole complex was renovated and a new caitya built by Ratnajyoti Vajracarya, of Kwā Bāhā.

At the present this shrine is looked after by a 'saṅgha' of two households of Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā. They perform the usual rituals by turn for five years at a time and observe an annual festival on the fullmoon day of Aswin. The shrine still has an annual income of one muri of paddy.

2. Dhum Bāhā -- Guṇalakṣmī Samskārita  
Guṇalakṣmī Mahāvihāra\* [73]

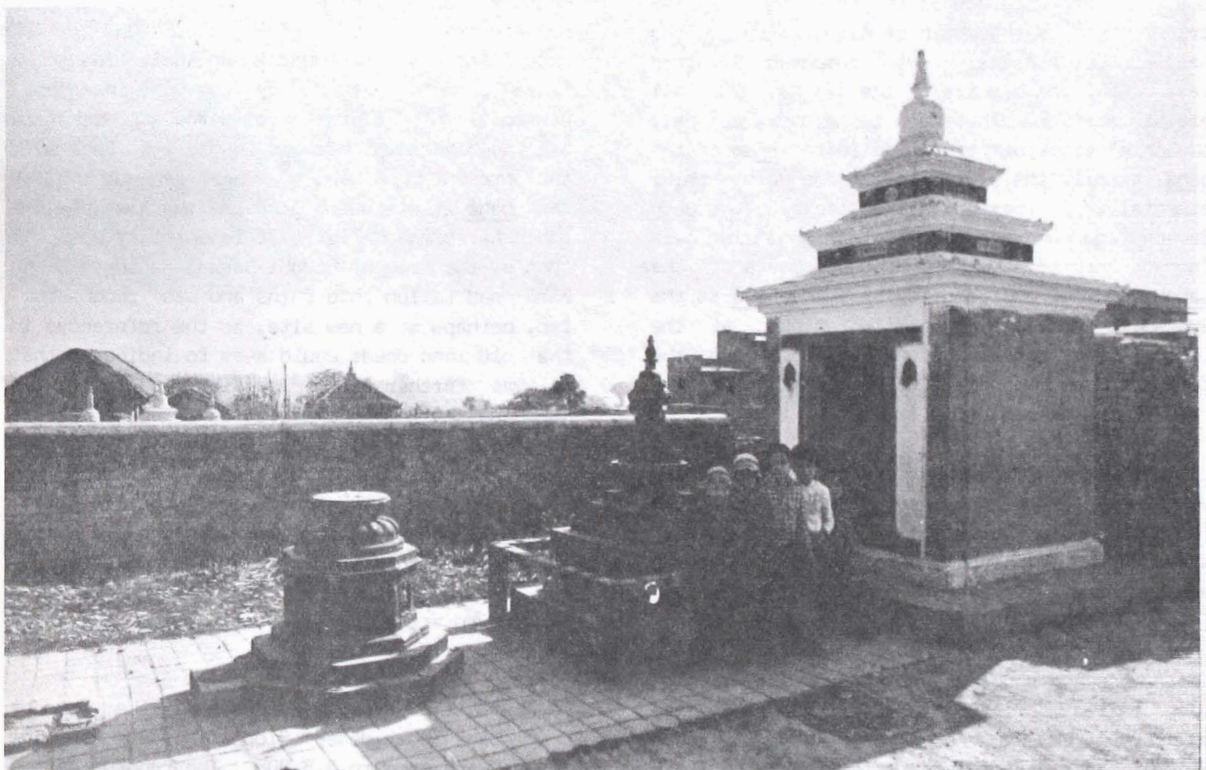
Ko Bāhā Tole

Dhum Bāhā is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard east of the main road leading north from the darbār to Śankhamūl in the area known as Ko Bāhā. All the buildings of the courtyard are of recent origin. The shrine itself has been fairly recently renovated. The shrine is marked by two stone lions flanked by two small racks of prayer wheels. The carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torāṇa depicting





28. Kuti Bāhā [61]



29. Yokhā Cheñ Bāhā [66]

ting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his right. The torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two recesses into which have been set three prayer wheels each. The first storey has the usual five-fold window with geometric designs in repousse metal set into them. At either end of the row of windows are repousse figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The top storey has an open veranda in front of living quarters. The corrugated iron roof is supported by six carved struts. Above the roof is a single finial. In the courtyard is a large votive caitya and a mounted vajra. Between these two are two small stone figures, a man and a woman, figures of devotees who made a donation to the bāhā.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of twenty five Vajracaryas made up of four lineages. They perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya morning and evening. The term of service is one month and passes through the list from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh. The saṅgha has a separate ācārya gūṭhī composed in this case of all the members of the saṅgha, since all are Vajracaryas. There are ten elders, but only the chief elder performs pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā (usually the elders take turns doing this, especially if they are all Vajracaryas). Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya, now worshipped at the large stupa outside of the bāhā to which the deity has been 'brought'. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

KTMV has a curious note about this bāhā which says that this 'serves members of the ironsmith caste [Nakami or kau]. They believe that here Buddha baptized an ironsmith just as he baptized a barber into monkhood in India.'<sup>43</sup> This is not correct. The story concerns barbers (nau) not ironsmiths (kau). The story is a common one and people say that just as Brahmins were initiated in Bu Bāhā and members of the royalty at Uku Bāhā so barbers were initiated here. Vajracarya informants at Dhum Bāhā are very quick to deny this whole story. They say

that the only link with the barbers is the following. At some time in the distant past a group of them made a donation to the bāhā. As is usual they formed a gūṭhī to look after their donation. This gūṭhī meets annually at the bāhā to see to their donation and have a feast. Because of this connection to the bāhā, they also began the custom of coming to the bāhā, on the day of pañca-dāna during the month of Guṇḍā. This custom is still current and is the only connection between them and the bāhā. They never receive the Bare initiation nor do they receive their own initiation in the bāhā.

According to Wright's Chronicle Dhum Bāhā is one of the four which were established in the reign of Siddhi Narasimha Malla.<sup>44</sup> However, this is doubtful as there is evidence that the foundation is much older than this. There are numerous references in land grants and inscriptions to a Ko Vihāra or Ko Bahāra in this area which was evidently a very large and a very ancient foundation. The references extend from N.S.403<sup>45</sup> right down to the end of the Malla period. The identity of this place is not at all clear. It is surely not the present Ko Bāhā [70] which is at the earliest a seventeenth century foundation and at the present time a private branch of Guṇi Bāhā [152]. One reference from N.S.682 found in an invitation to a Samyak Ceremony extended by Itum Bāhā in Kathmandu speaks of Sri Guṇalakṣmī Vardana Saṃskārīta Śrī Ko Vihāra which would identify Ko Bāhā with the present Dhum Bāhā.<sup>46</sup> There is nothing at the bāhā itself which predates the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla. It is entirely possible that by the time of Siddhi Narasimha the old Ko Bāhā had fallen into ruins and was reconstructed, perhaps at a new site, as the references in the old land deeds would seem to indicate that it was farther north, possibly adjoining the Kumbhesvara temple where there is now a large, abandoned grassy area with a single, large caitya. Whether or not the saṅgha of the old Ko Bāhā had died out is unknown, but it is interesting to note that the old references to people associated with Ko Bāhā are all to non-bare and the lineage deity of the present saṅgha of Dhum Bāhā, who are all Vajracaryas is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya.

All the datable evidence at the present Dhum Bāhā post-dates Siddhi Narasimha. The struts were made in N.S.805. The records of the bāhā speak of a gūṭhī and an āgam founded in



30. Dhum Bāhā [73]



3. Wam Bāhā -- Suryavarma Saṁskārīta  
Vajrakīrti Mahāvihāra\* [89] Olākhu Tole

courtyard in Olakhu Tole, northeast of the Patan Darbār. Architecturally it is one of the best preserved bāhās of Patan. The shrine of four storeys is marked by two stone lions. On either side of the lions are two bells. The one on the left a very large bell donated in N.S.1010, the one on the right is much smaller. The finely carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. Above are six figures of four-armed bodhisattvas. On either side of the doorway are metal flags and near these are two stone bodhisattva figures. Both are two-armed and wear the bodhisattva crown and ornaments. The one on the right holds a vajra in his right hand and a bell tied to his belt in the left. The figure on the left holds a darpaṇa in his right hand and a caitya on a lotus in his left hand. The kwāpā-dya is a covered image of Akṣobhya facing north.

The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three latticed windows. The corrugated iron roof is supported by carved struts, six of them bodhisattva figures and the two end ones sardulas. Above the roof is a pagoda type tower with a tile roof and a single finial.

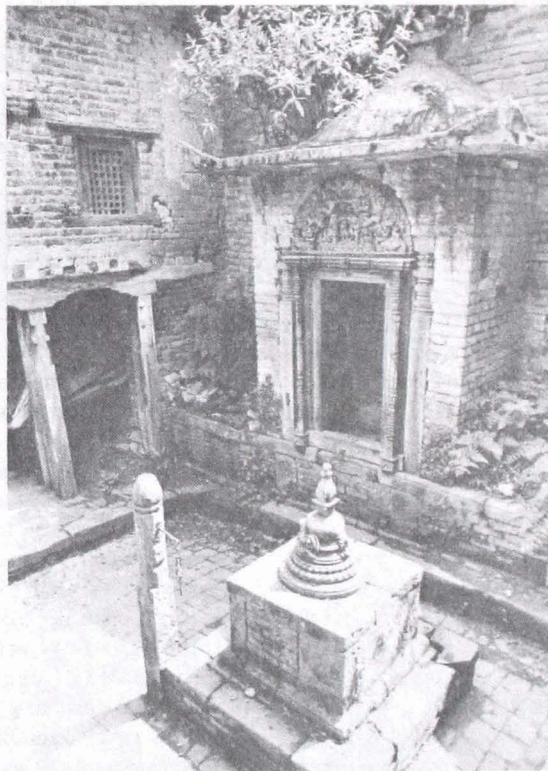
The courtyard is well paved with brick and has a number of objects in a line. Starting from the shrine of the kwāpā-dya are a recess for the sacred fire, a brass dharmadhātu maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra, a votive caitya, an old Licchavi style caitya, a pillar with two devotees, and two more votive caityas. The old caitya is a very unusual piece. In style it is a 'Licchavi' caitya but instead of the usual blank shrines it has two series of deities. The lower part of the caitya has the usual four transcendent Buddhas, in the upper niches are four figures of Vairocana, one facing each direction. The caitya has no inscription and, though the style is Licchavi, it is impossible to assign a date to this piece.<sup>48</sup> It may be Licchavi, it may be much later.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of fifty four Vajracaryas and Sakyas, about evenly divided. All the members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority of initiation. The only annual festival now observed is a pūjā performed on the fullmoon day of Phalgun, but this pūjā is in honour of the the Three Jewels and commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine. The annual festival of the bāhā used to be observed in Mangsir at which time the saṅgha of this bāhā and Jyo Bāhā [92] celebrated together, one year at Wam Bāhā and the next year at Jyo Bāhā. Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the members of this saṅgha and Barechuyegu initiations are also performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha of Jyo Bāhā. The Vajracarya members of the saṅgha have their own ācārya gūṭhī. The governing body of this bāhā consists of only five elders. The lineage deity of the Sakyas of this saṅgha is a deity now kept at Koteswar whom they simply call 'Mahādev'. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas is 'Vajrayogini' from Sankhu whom they usually worship at this bāhā. However, they say that they occasionally go to Sankhu for the pūjā and when they do, they worship Vajroyogini and not the enshrined caitya. The bāhā still has a little income, but it was impossible to get details on this.

According to Wright's Chronicle this is one of the three bāhās which were founded in the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla (N.S.738-781), but this is surely wrong unless it refers to the reconstruction of the monastery or the revival of a defunct institution.<sup>49</sup> The earliest reference to this bāhā is found on a page of a palm-leaf manuscript dated N.S.561 which mentions a Vajracarya from 'Sri Sūryabārhma Saṁskārīta Mahāvihāra'. The document outlines rules for the giving of the Barechuyegu (vandechuyā) initiation rites.<sup>50</sup> An inscription at the bāhā itself dated N.S.678 tells of the donation of two images to the bāhā and the covering of the Buddha image with gold.<sup>51</sup> Another inscription, a copper-plate nailed to a beam near the doorpost of the shrine, is dated N.S.716. All of these references predate the reign of Siddhi Narasimha. In N.S.785, just after the reign of Siddhi Narasimha Malla, the bāhā was renovated.<sup>52</sup> If it was built in the time of



31. Wam Bāhā [89]



32. Wam Bāhā Dune Nani [90]

Siddhi Narasimha, it would hardly need renovation so soon. There are a number of other inscriptions in the complex from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Several inscriptions record repairs made in N.S.1045. At the present time this bāhā has two functioning branches, one non-Bare branch, and two abandoned branches.

a. Wam Bāhā Dune Nani -- Dharmakīrti Vihāra  
[90] Olakhu Tole

To the east of the Wam Bāhā complex itself is another large courtyard and off the south eastern corner of this courtyard is another tiny courtyard which is known as Dune Nani. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small but typical bāhā shrine set against the eastern wall. Over the door of the shrine is a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Aryavalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Amitābha facing west. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of two households of Wam Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning only. The term of service is an entire year, the two families serving alternate years. Anyone of the initiated members of the household may do the pūjā. The branch also has two elders, one from each household who serve as elders of the bāhā on alternate years. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Sithi Nakha, the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch, but there are two inscriptions in the complex, one of them dated N.S.872; the other is illegible.

b. Lakhidhan Bāhā -- Sūryadharmā Vihāra [91]  
Olakhu Tole

This small branch bāhā is situated just off the main road outside of Wam Bāhā. The shrine consists of a free-standing, modern shrine with a cemented dome. Over the opening of the shrine is a small torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Aryavalokiteśvara). The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household from Wam Bāhā. The members of this one household take turns acting as dya-pālās and the eldest member of the household serves as the elder of the bāhā. They celebrate the annual festival of the branch on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh. The branch has no income of its own.

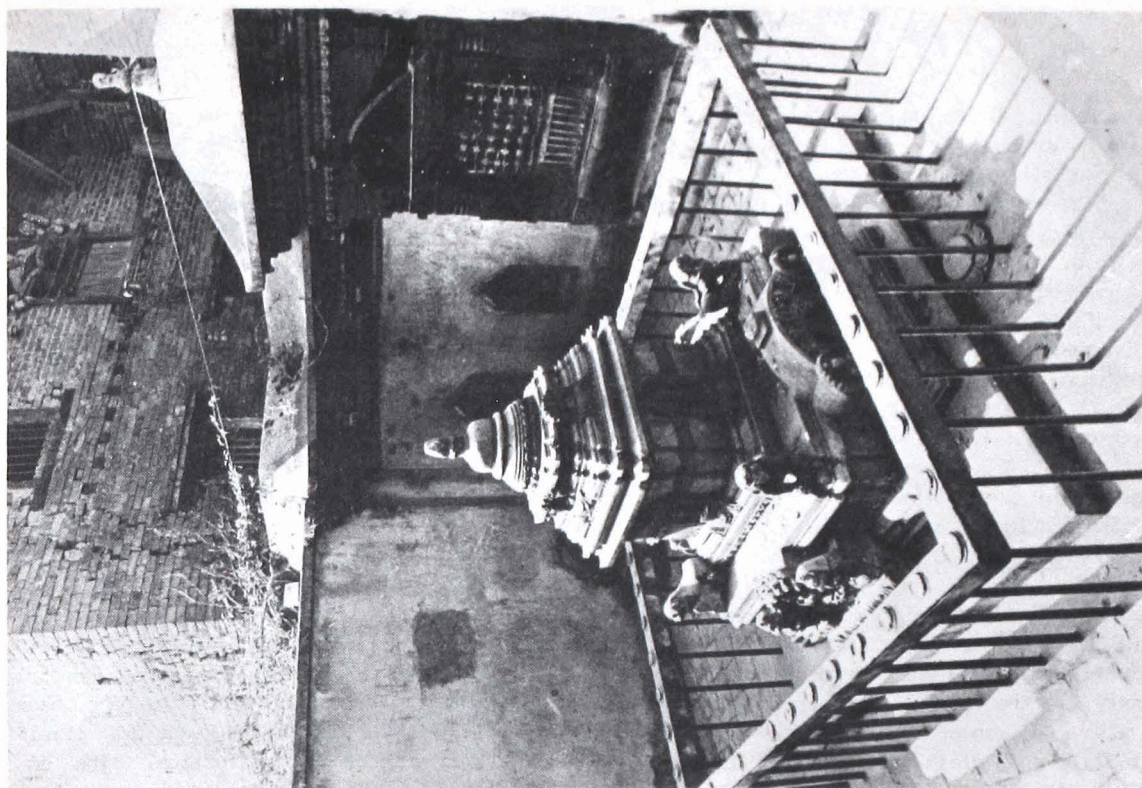
Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but it is surely a modern foundation and was, according to informants, built by one Lakhidhan.

c. Ci Bāhā Nani -- ? [88]  
Olakhu-Bhindya Lasi

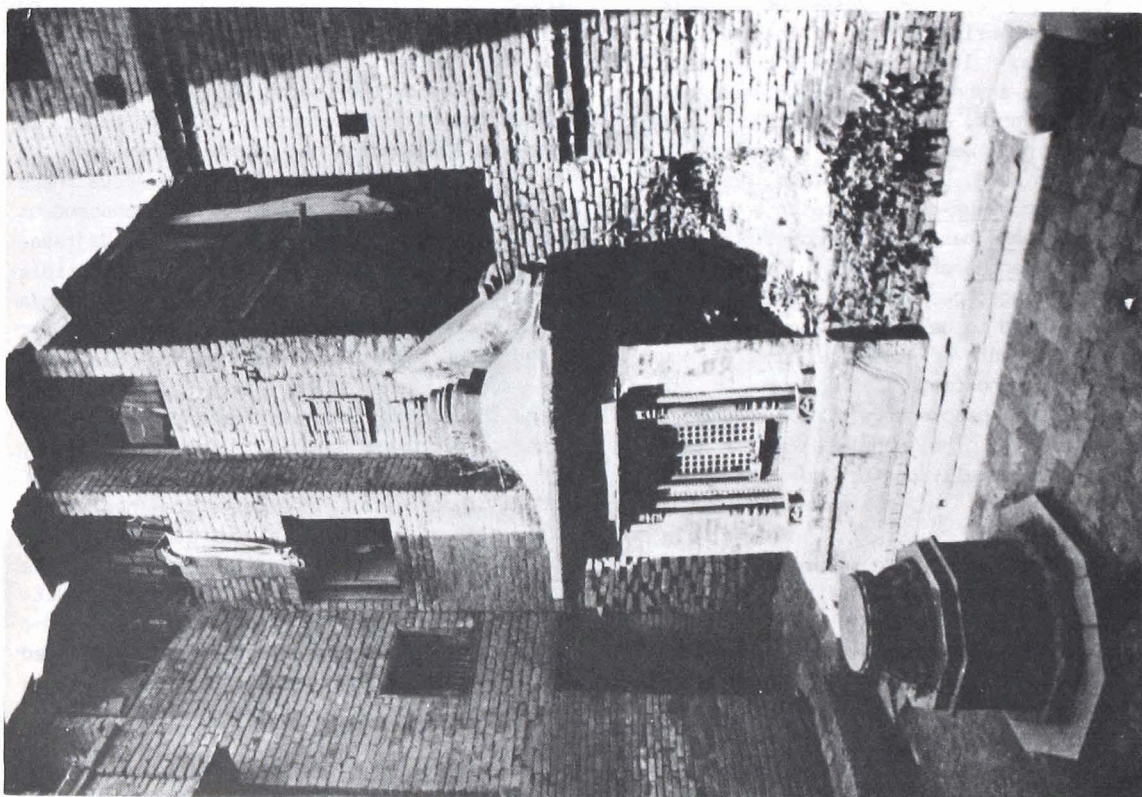
This small bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard off the road leading north from the main entrance to Wam Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya shrine is a small, plastered temple set against the southern wall of the courtyard. Two wooden pillars frame the opening of the shrine which contains a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. The shrine has no torāṇa. Set into the wall to the west of the shrine are images of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, Ganesh and Mahākāl. To the east are images of Prajñāpāramitā, Mahāvajrasattva (showing the vajra-humkāra mudrā), and Viṣṇu. In the centre of the courtyard is a rather elaborate stone caitya. On the west side of the caitya is a small, stone torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara).

At the present time there are no Bare attached to this branch. The people living here are awālīs (a caste of brick makers) and the shrine belongs to them. They perform the nitya pūjā at the shrine of the Buddha and celebrate an annual festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Bhādra. At this time a Vajracarya from the Wapi Jhol lineage of Bu Bāhā comes to serve as the priest. Some claim that this was once a proper branch of Wam Bāhā, but the awālīs say that it has always been their bāhā. The only dated object in the courtyard is an inscription to the east of the caitya dated N.S.795. Nothing else is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. The present shrine of the kwāpā-dya appears to be the result of a fairly recent renovation, perhaps after the time of the earthquake of 1934. Informants say that before that time there was a proper bāhā shrine. The bāhā has no income.





34. Ci Bāhā Nanī [88]



33. Lakhidhan Bāhā [91]

d. Śaṅkha Bāhā -- Śaṅkhadhara Saṁskārīta  
Triratna Vihāra\* [80] Chyāsāl Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which abuts the road running to Chyāsāl Tole. The shrine is typical with the entrance marked by two stone lions. To the side of the left lion is a large temple bell. The carved doorway has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya was a stone image of Akṣobhya but was stolen some years ago. Above the shrine is a single carved window and the tiled roof is supported by two carved struts. Above the roof is a cupola with a single finial in the form of a caitya. In front of the shrine is a single, plastered caitya, a stone maṇḍala and a vajra.

According to KTMV this bāhā was constructed in N.S.988, and there is at the shrine an inscription of this date which records the 'construction' of the bāhā at that time by oge Sankha Dhara a man of the potter's caste.<sup>53</sup> However, informants claim that the foundation is much older than this. It was originally a branch of Wām Bāhā and had a considerable amount of income from land, all of which was lost. The bāhā is also reputed to have possessed a large collection of manuscripts, many of them written in golden letters. It has evidently been quite some time since anyone from Wām Bāhā actually lived at this branch, but until fairly recent times the nītya pūjā was regularly performed by someone from Wām Bāhā. Some years ago, however, the image of the kwāpā-dya was stolen and since that time the bāhā has been abandoned by the members of the saṅgha of Wām Bāhā. The daily rituals are no longer performed, and the annual festival which used to be observed on the full-moon day of the month of Aswin has been discontinued. There is no image in the shrine at the present, but local people have placed a caitya there in its place. The jyāpū and kau who live in the area occasionally perform some ritual in the shrine.

e. Hona Bāhā -- Hodola Nāma Vihāra [87]  
Chyāsāl

At the present time this is merely a rest-house shrine just off the road with a caitya in front of it. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing north, and over the shrine is a torāṇa depicting the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.

According to informants the shrine was made by Kusa (Prajāpatī), but they have all moved away from the area, and the entire area is now inhabited by Jyāpus. Whether or not it ever was a proper bāhā with a Bare saṅgha is now unknown. A Vajracarya from Wām Bāhā performs the daily rituals each morning in the shrine. There is no income for this shrine and the dya-pālā gets nothing for his services. He observes the annual festival of the shrine on the full-moon day of Aswin. Nothing further is known about the history of this shrine. There are two late inscriptions at the site. A caitya was erected in

4. Jyo Bāhā -- Rudradeva Nangapāla Saṁskārīta  
Jyoti Mahāvihāra [92] Olāku Tole

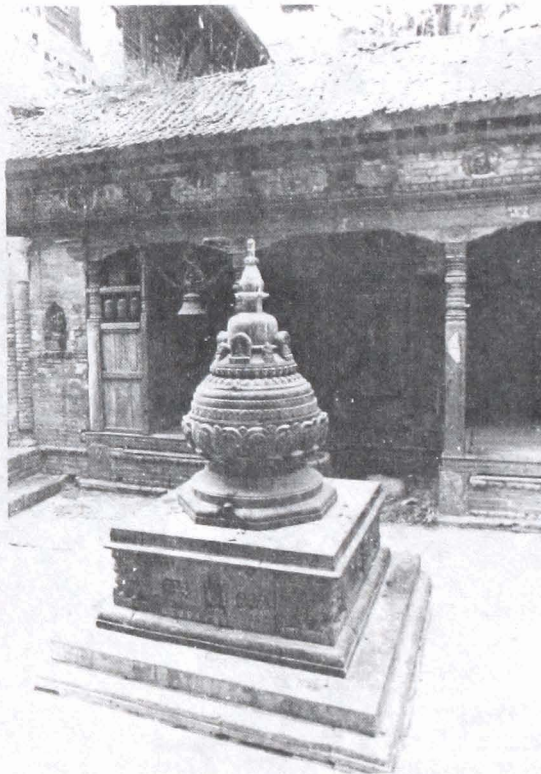
Jyo Bāhā is located in the courtyard directly behind the Patan Darbār. None of the original buildings of the bāhā have survived, the shrine of the kwāpā-dya itself being a fairly recent reconstruction. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa of unusual design. In the outer circle are the makaras, but the usual rising snakes and the Garuḍa (or Chepu) are missing. The three central figures are the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara); but the order is reversed with the Saṅgha on the right and the Dharma on the left of the Buddha. Above these figures are figures of the five transcendent Buddhas and at the very top a figure of Vajrasattva. The whole piece is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway, raised about three feet, are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. There is a metal railing around the ground floor veranda and a large bell in the corner dated N.S.995. The second storey has a triple window and above this is a row of Buddhas in fresco. The top storey has three large openings and the tile roof is supported by four carved struts and one plain strut. Above the roof is a small cupola. The entire courtyard is paved and has four caityas, one stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a recess for the sacred fire. The central of the three caityas is a Licchavi style caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of fifteen Sakyas. There is, and according to informants,





35. Śaṅkha Bāhā [80]

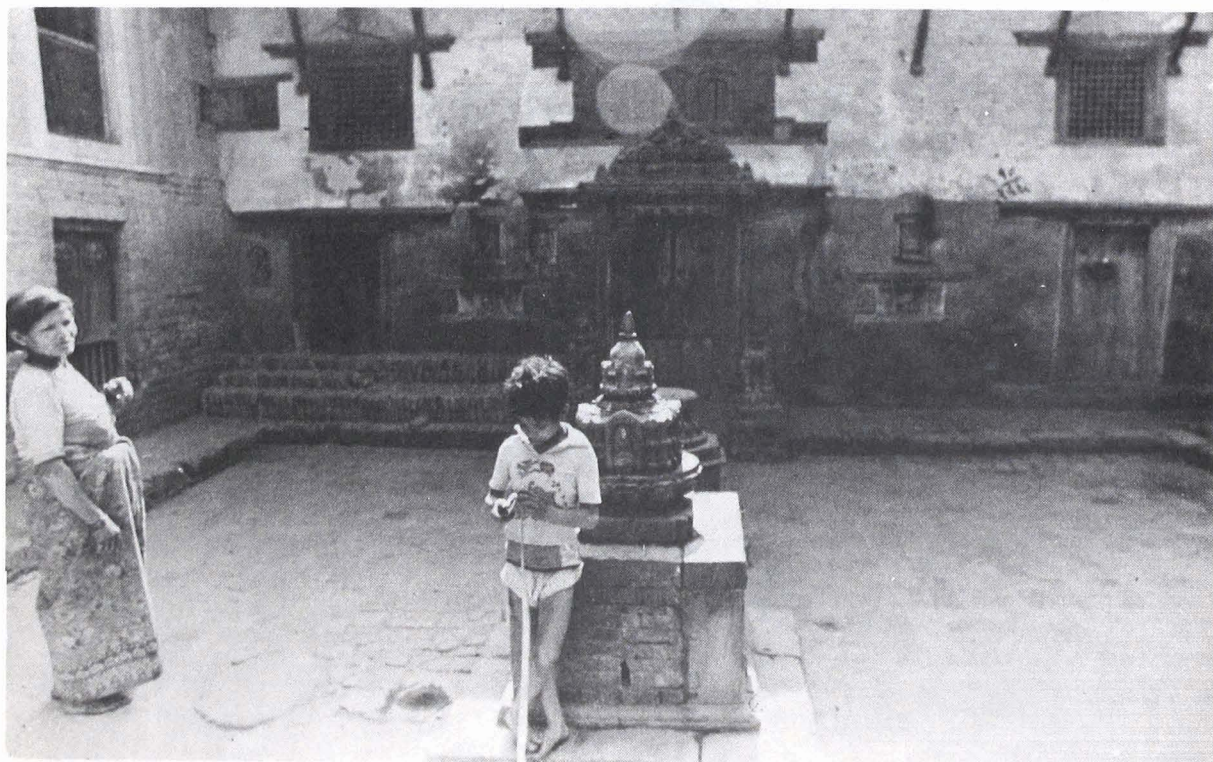


36. Hona Bāhā [87]





37. Jyo Bāhā [92]



38. Suñ Bāhā [108]

always has been, a close connection between the saṅgha of this bāhā and that of Waṃ Bāhā [97]. At the present time initiations are performed only in Waṃ Bāhā, but they may be performed here and have been in the past. Whenever initiations are performed in Waṃ Bāhā or Jyo Bāhā, all of the newly initiated are taken to the kwāpā shrine of both Waṃ Bāhā and Jyo Bāhā to pay their respects. According to informants the original saṅgha of Jyo Bāhā (which consisted of two households) died out some years ago, and people were sent from Waṃ Bāhā to take over the duties and rights of this bāhā. However, the original saṅgha also had exactly the same connection with Waṃ Bāhā. The ordinary rituals are performed here morning and evening by the fifteen Sakyas attached to this bāhā in rotation by seniority of initiation. This bāhā has five elders. The annual festival is held on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Paus, but there is no longer any feast. When they used to have an annual feast it was held alternately, one year at Jyo Bāhā and the next year at Waṃ Bāhā. At the present time the only common feast is at the time of Barechuyegu initiations. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a 'yoginī' preserved in the diḡi of the bāhā and, according to informants, was brought to the bāhā from Bijyeśvarī in Kathmandu. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the foundation and history of this bāhā other than the tradition that it was founded by one Rudradeva Nahgapāla, but there are no references to such a vihāra in old inscriptions or manuscript colophons. Given the close connection to Waṃ Bāhā, it is entirely possible that this is a rather late foundation that was originally a branch of Waṃ Bāhā. However, the people of Jyo Bāhā have a different lineage deity than those of Waṃ Bāhā. Wright's Chronicle claims that both this bāhā and Waṃ Bāhā were founded during the reign of Siddhi Narasimha Malla.<sup>54</sup> This may well be correct for Jyo Bāhā, but Waṃ Bāhā is certainly a much older foundation. The earliest dated piece at the site is the torāṇa which bears the date N.S.808. This bāhā has one branch.

a. Suṃ Bāhā -- Suvarṇa Vihāra [108]  
Sauga Tole

This branch bāhā is situated in a partially enclosed courtyard north of the main road in Sauga Tole. The shrine is merely the central

section of the building along the eastern side of the courtyard. The entrance is marked by two small, stone lions. The doorway has little ornamentation but is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. At the very top of the torāṇa is a figure of Vairocana and a small triple umbrella. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Above the shrine itself is a triple carved window and above that three fading frescoes. The facade of the building above the ground floor has been plastered and white-washed. The unornamented tile roof is supported by plain struts. In the courtyard are a stone dharmadhātu mandala and a caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of two households of Sakyas of Waṃ Bāhā with a total of ten initiated members. The regular rituals are performed morning and evening in rotation by four men, two from this branch saṅgha and two from Waṃ Bāhā. The period of service is one month each. The annual festival of this branch is observed for two days beginning on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Paus. The lineage deity is the same as that of Jyo Bāhā. The bāhā has no income.

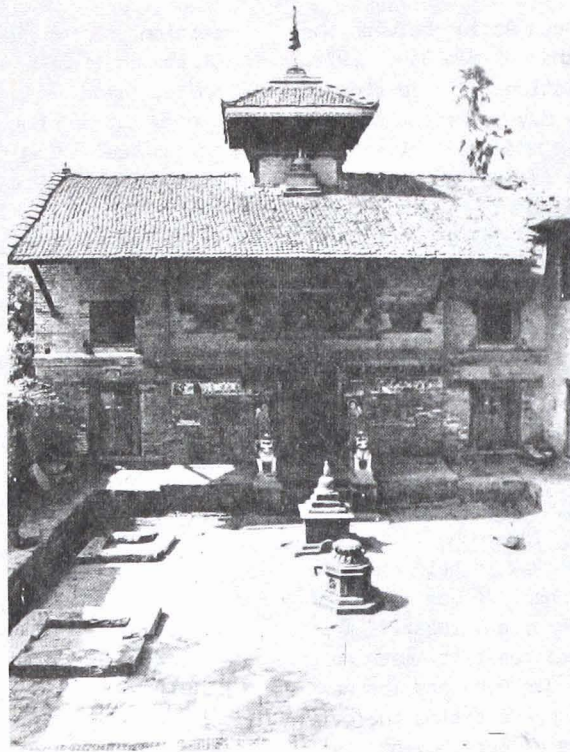
Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch bāhā. The only inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.1057, though informants say there are bits and pieces of other inscriptions kept in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, all damaged. The present buildings date to the time of renovations after the great earthquake of 1934.<sup>55</sup>

5. Yachu Bāhā -- Baladhara Gupta Saṃskārīta  
Baladharagupta Mahāvihāra [114]

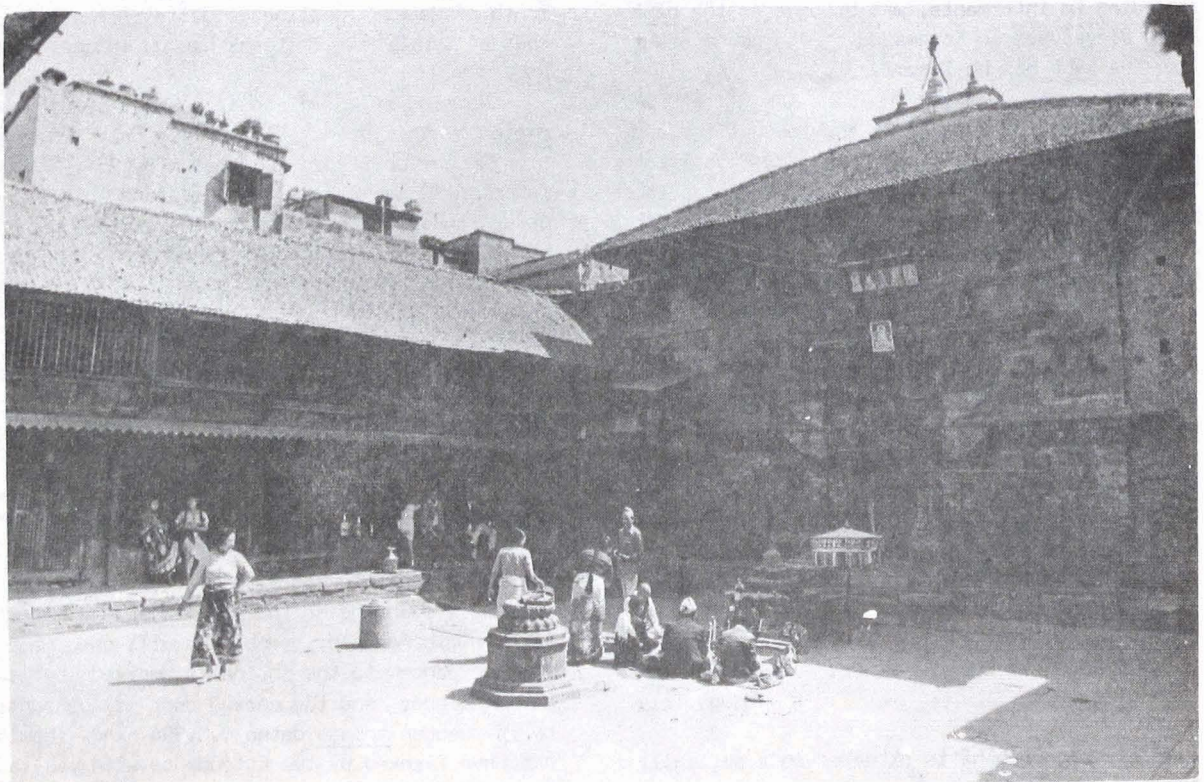
Yachu Tole

This small bāhā is situated in a courtyard just north of the Sun Dhāra area. Though still an active shrine it has the look of a rather abandoned and ill-kept site with nothing remaining but the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in a courtyard surrounded by crumbling walls and weeds. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved door is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa dated N.S.794 and showing Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants with yak-tail fans. The doorway is flanked by two small windows and the area to the sides of the doorway





39. Yachu Bāhā [114]



40. Su Bāhā [118]

and above it shows traces of frescoes. The kwā-pā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The upper storey with the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows has been recently renovated. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and above the roof is a pagoda style tower, an addition made at the time of the recent renovations. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a small, stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. Opposite the shrine is a rest house with a passageway leading to a garden area to the north. There are no other buildings around the courtyard.

The saṅgha of Yachu Bāhā at the present time consists of one household of Sakyas comprising only five initiated members. The five take turns serving as dya-pālās in the temple of the kwāpā-dya, performing the customary rituals in the morning only. These five also serve as the elders of the saṅgha. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the fullmoon day of the month of Magh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yogāmbara now situated at Kani Bāhā [133]. This saṅgha originally came from Uku Bāhā and they still celebrate the annual festival of the lineage deity at Uku Bāhā with the people of Uku Bāhā taking part in both the pūjā and the common feast which follows. However, they perform their Barechuyegu initiations here at Yachu Bāhā and not at Uku Bāhā.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā and there are no early references to it in manuscript colophons or land deeds. The present saṅgha came to this bāhā from Uku Bāhā. Though the present incumbents remember this, because they still worship the same lineage deity and with the saṅgha of Uku Bāhā, they have no recollection of when they came to this bāhā or the circumstances of the move. All agree that the original saṅgha of Yachu Bāhā had died out when they came. Some speculate that the move was a result of a dispute between their ancestor and the saṅgha of Uku Bāhā as a result of which they left and moved to this abandoned bāhā. Others said that there were several people of Uku Bāhā who were orphaned and had no means of support so they were given this abandoned bāhā and its income as a means of support. The bāhā was then renovated with the help of the Uku Bāhā saṅgha. Most of this is extremely vague recollections of a legendary nature. However, some light is thrown on the whole question by the material which Bhikṣu Sudarsan has gathered in his book

on the history of Mahābuddha. A palmleaf document in the possession of Bābu Kāji Śākya dated N.S.782 mentions that in N.S.744 one Śākyavaṁśa Jayadeva was still residing at Yachu Bāhā. This man was the second son of Mayarāja the second son of Abhayarāja Śākya who initiated the construction of Mahābuddha Bāhā. This family, of course, were members of the Uku Bāhā saṅgha so by 744 the Uku Bāhā people were already in possession of this bāhā. As Bhikṣu Sudarsan notes Abhayarāja had three wives and friction developed within the family when he took the third wife. It is quite possible that this Jayadeva or his father was the one who settled at Yachu Bāhā and this was the beginning of the present saṅgha at Yachu Bāhā. Certainly Abhayarāja<sup>56</sup> himself was not connected with Yachu Bāhā. Yachu Bāhā is referred to in palm-leaf land deeds in N.S.750,777, 780, and 788.<sup>57</sup> The present torāṇa at the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is dated N.S.794. According to KTMV, the tiles were put on the roof in N.S.873; and the bāhā<sup>58</sup> was renovated in A.D.1922 and again in 1934.

6. Su Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṁskārita Jaya  
Manohara Varma Mahāvihāra\* [118]

Su Bāhā Tole

The Newāri name of this very ancient establishment has several forms. Su Bāhā and Suku Bāhā are still current variations of the name. Older forms of this name are Sāsvaka and Sālako. The bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Su Bāhā Tole, in one of the oldest sections of the city of Patan. At the end of the lane leading into the bāhā is a large caitya on a stone maṇḍala plus a small Licchavi style caitya. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, which faces west has the appearance of a very ancient structure and the northern wing of the quadrangle has retained the original architecture of open veranda above and below, screened by wooden lattice work, a feature usually associated with bahīs rather than bāhās. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions which are flanked by two large bells, one dated N.S.869 and the other N.S.879. The finely carved doorway is surmounted by a repousse brass torāṇa showing the Buddha (Mahā-akṣobhya, seated on his elephant throne), flanked by the Dharma (Śaḍa-kṣari Lokeśvara), on his right and the Saṅgha (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. The central figure has been separately cast as have the implements he holds in his hands. Below the torāṇa itself is a brass image of Vajrasattva and below

this one of Aksobhya who is the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā. Metal flags are placed on either side of the shrine doorway. The first storey has the usual five-fold window, the three central openings of which are covered with lattice work and the two end ones with ordinary bars. On either side of this window are two small windows with figures set into them, to the north Vairocana and to the south Amitābha. Above this is a row of seven Buddha figures, the seven Tathāgatas. The top storey has three openings and the tile roof is supported by six carved struts depicting multi-armed deities. The roof is surmounted by a triple finial and immediately below these is an image of Amitābha Buddha. In the paved courtyard are two votive caityas, one of them Licchavi style, and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

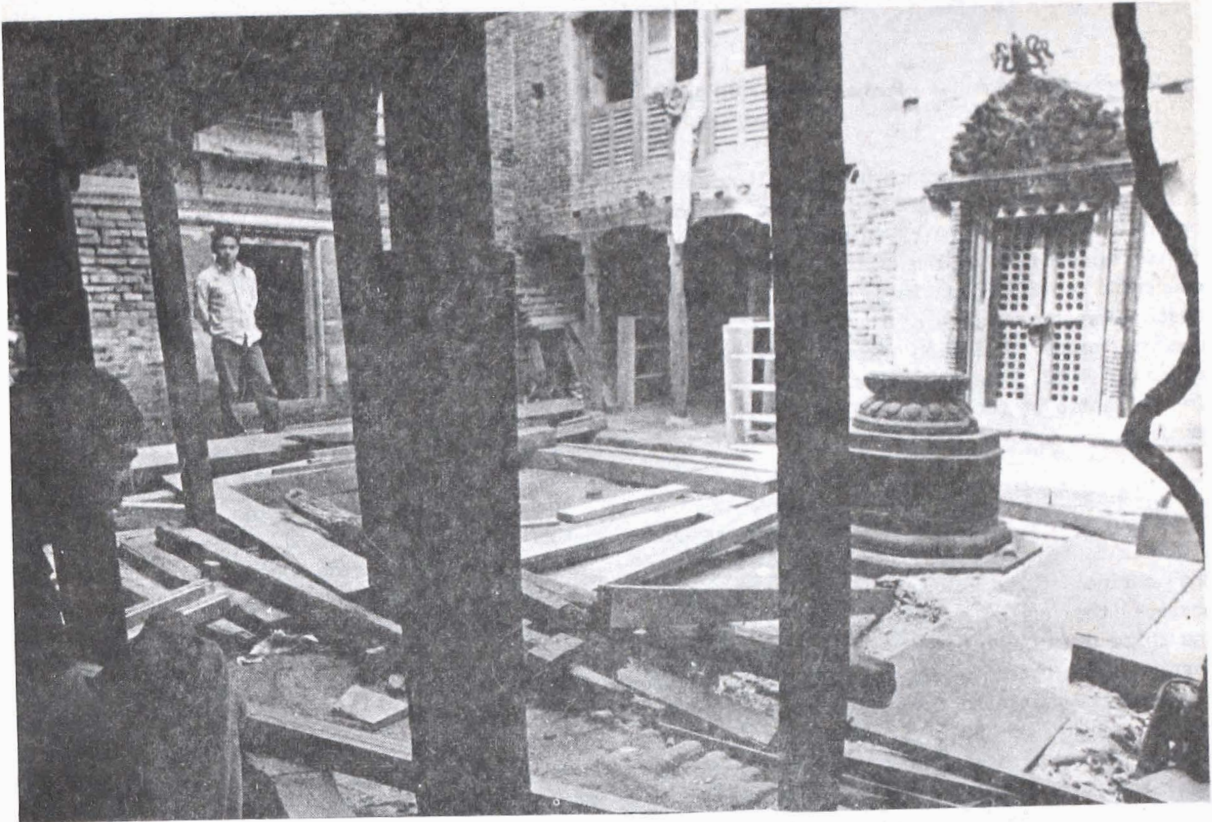
The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of sixty initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās. The term of service is eight days and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The annual festival takes place on the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. According to KTMV the bāhā was originally built on an old cremation ground and because of this the annual festival still has a connection with worship of the cremation ghāts.<sup>59</sup> This was confirmed by members of the saṅgha who say that they still perform an annual pūjā to the cremation ghāts at the bāhā. They also tell a peculiar story of a stone preserved in the bāhā itself. According to the story the saṅgha had at one time dwindled to only a father and son. The son had no children, the father was getting old and they both feared that there would be no one to perform their funeral rites. So on this stone they performed the srāddha ceremony for each other, the son for the father and the father for the son, in the bāhā.

The saṅgha is governed by a body of ten elders, five of whom perform the regular pūjās in the āgam of the bāhā, and five of whom look after the affairs of the saṅgha and see that the regular rituals are performed in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated down the street from the bāhā at a little shrine containing a non-descript deity whom the members of the saṅgha identify as Ganesha. No one has any recollection of whether this deity has always been worshipped at this

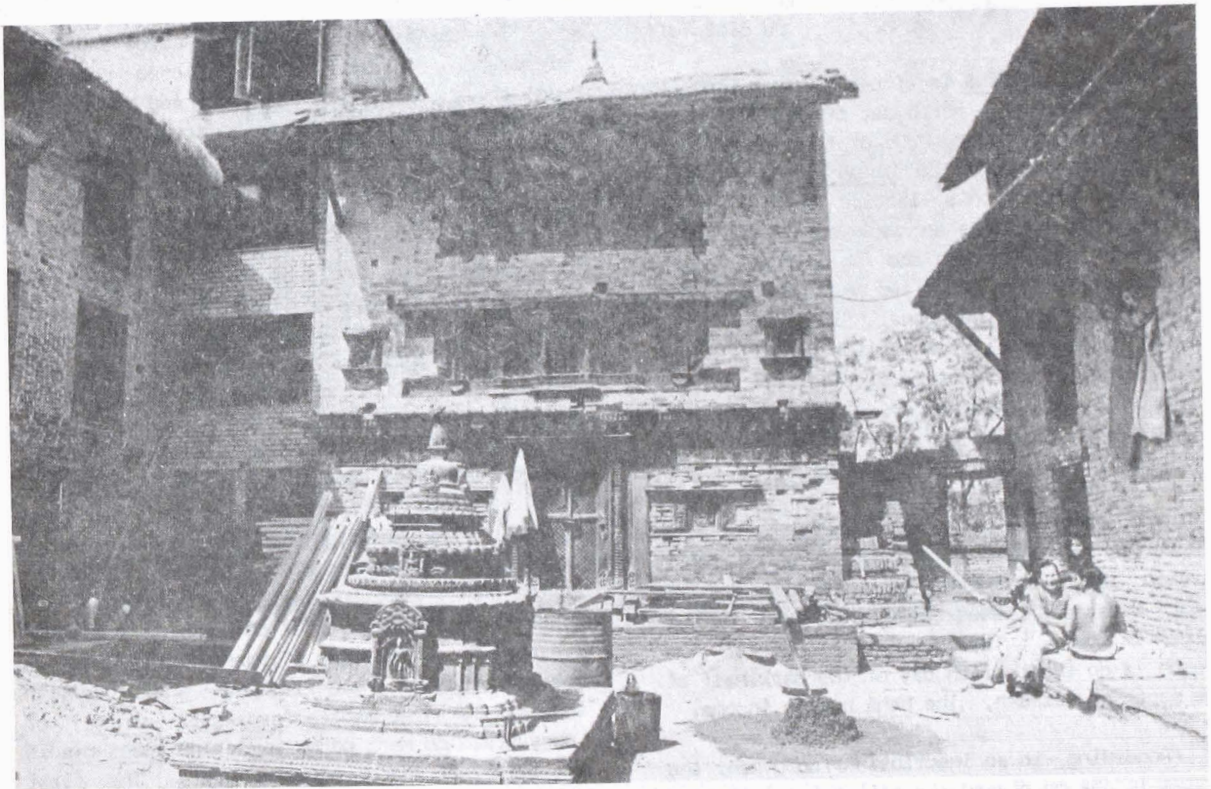
site or was originally 'brought' from somewhere else. The saṅgha no longer has any income, though at one time they had considerable.

This foundation is surely one of the most ancient extant bāhās of Patan. The site itself is ancient, as is this whole section of Patan; and there are two late Licchavi inscription near the bāhā. One is dated Sambat 182 and is found on a small caitya near the local water tap; the second is dated Sambat 187<sup>60</sup> and is found on a jaladroṇi next to a well. Neither of these tell us anything about the bāhā, but do attest to the antiquity of the site. The earliest reference to the bāhā is N.S.262. Among the palm-leaf land deeds found at Uku Bāhā is one dated with this date which refers to one Bhikṣu Vijaya Bhadra of Sālako Vihāra, and we have an almost identical form of the name found on a copper-plate inscription at Su Bāhā dated N.S.666.<sup>61</sup> The next reference to the bāhā is found in the colophon of a copy of the Niṣpanna-yogāvali dated N.S.338. The manuscript was copied by one Kāyastha Vajrācārya Bhikṣu Jñānarakṣita of 'Śrīmat-indriya Saṃskārita Śrī Jayamanohara Varmaṇa Mahāvihāra in Śrī Lalitapur-ryam'.<sup>62</sup> A manuscript copy of the Khaḍgapaṭjāvi-dhi, dated N.S.391<sup>63</sup> was copied by Bhikṣu Devamāna of Svake Vihāra. A copy of the Satasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā was copied in N.S.404 by 'Grhasrāma Bhikṣu-ācārya Sugatarakhita of Sri Madendriyadevarajña Saṃskārita Yāyamanoharavarṇa Mahāvihāra'.<sup>64</sup> According to a stone inscription at Su Bāhā itself the caitya was repaired in N.S.656 and the principal donor was Śākyabhikṣu Candra Simha of Śrī Indradeva Saṃskārita Mahāvihāra, Sri Sāsvaka Bāhāra.<sup>65</sup> There was a king by the name of Indra Deva in the Thakuri period; he began his reign in N.S.246. The above mentioned copper-plate inscription of N.S.666 records donations, including a golden finial over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya (kvācapātasa). The donor was Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Candra Simha of Indradeva Saṃskārita Śrī Sālako Vihāra.<sup>66</sup> Another inscription at the bāhā of N.S.815<sup>67</sup> also gives the name Sālako (or Sārako) Vihāra. It is interesting that the early colophon of N.S.356 refers to a Vajrācārya-Bhikṣu Jñānarakṣita. There are no Vajracaryas in this saṅgha at the present time. Also the colophon of N.S.404 has a curious reference to a Grhasrāma-Bhikṣu-Ācārya (i.e. a household-Bhikṣu-Ācārya), the only occurrence of this particular title that I have seen anywhere. At the present time this bāhā has two branches.





41. Puṇasundar Bāhā [119]



42. Thakun Bāhā [120]

a. Purnasundar Bāhā — Purnasundara Vihāra  
[119] Su Bāhā Tole

This very tiny branch bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard almost directly behind the main shrine of Su Bāhā. The shrine is a simple room on the ground floor of the courtyard containing an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small wooden torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya Buddha and dated N.S.1062, the only date in the courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard is a single stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of the saṅgha of Su Bāhā. The members of this household perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya each morning and observe the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Kartik. The branch has one elder, who at the present time is also the senior elder of the entire saṅgha of Su Bāhā. The bāhā has no income at the present time. Nothing is known about the date of the foundation of this branch.

b. Thakuñ Bāhā -- Ratnajaya Vihāra [120]  
Su Bāhā Tole

This branch bāhā is situated in a partially enclosed courtyard northwest of the Su Bāhā complex, on the very edge of the old city of Patan. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a plain brick building with a lattice doorway. The shrine which contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east has no torāṇa and no ornamentation. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and above the roof is a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of five households of Sakyas of the saṅgha of Su Baha. Service in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is for eight days and passes through the five households in turn. The annual festival of the branch is on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. The bāhā has no income.

According to an inscription found near the caitya in the courtyard the caitya was installed

in N.S.887; this date may also mark the foundation of the branch bāhā.

7. Bhiñche Bāhā — Śaṅkaradeva Saṁskārīta  
Mayūravarṇa Mahāvihāra\* [125]  
Bhiñche Bāhā Tole

Bhiñche Bāhā, also known as Viṣṇu Cheñ Bāhā, or Bisuni Cheñ Bāhā, is located in a large complex northeast of the Sūn Dhārā area in Patan. The main approach to the bāhā is from the north rather than the south and is marked by a large plastered gateway constructed in the style of a Chinese moon-gate. The gateway is surmounted by a finial in the shape of a caitya and on the sides of the gate are two large figures, on the east an image of Siddhi Ganesh and on the west a figure wearing a bodhisattva crown and ornaments, holding a large club in his right hand and showing the abhaya mudrā with his left hand. The figure is identified as Bhīm Sen whose temple is located in one of the branches of Bhiñche Bāhā. A little less than a hundred yards to the south of the gateway is the entrance to Bhiñche Bāhā itself. Just outside the gate is a well and a two-roofed temple of Ganesh.

The bāhā complex itself is large and well preserved, consisting of an enclosed courtyard with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and behind this a large enclosed nañi with an array of caityas and images. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, though situated along the eastern wing of the enclosed courtyard is not connected to the rest of the buildings of the courtyard and is hence actually a free-standing temple of three roofs dating to A.D.1939. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two large stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. On either side of the lions are large bells. The mounting of one is dated N.S.1001 and the other N.S.1022. The carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his right. Above these figures are the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana at the top. On either side of the doorway are brass repousse figures of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. On either side of these figures are two metal, double-triangle flags each inscribed with the six-lettered mantra (ṣaḍakṣari mantra) of Lokeśvara, 'om̐ maṇi padme huṁ'. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has the usual five-fold window, the cen-





43. Bhiñche Bāhā [125]

tral window of which is finished in gold trim. At either end of this window is a copper repousse plaque depicting Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. Just above the window are nine images, seven of them Buddha figures showing the usual five different mudrās with the bhūmiśparśa and the vara-da mudrās repeated. Hem Raj Sakya has identified these seven as the sapta tathāgata, i.e. Vipasyi, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Kṛacchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāsyapa and Śākya Muni. The end figures are Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjusri. Above these is an image of Vajrasattva set into a recess which is surmounted by a small torana also showing Vajrasattva. At this same level, which is actually the second storey, are two large, repousse plaques at the very end of the facade depicting sālabhañjika figures. Above this, the three tile roofs rise in stages. Each roof is supported by carved struts. At the top of the lowest roof, resting against the wall is a gilded caitya, and the top-most roof is surmounted by a triple finial of caityas resting on a sort of platform which looks intriguingly like a chimney. Since this is in effect a free standing temple the three roofs and their supporting struts go right round.

The courtyard of the bāhā is paved with brick. Immediately in front of the shrine are two pillars one with an image of Apāramitā and dated B.S.2001 and the second with an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara dated N.S.1034. In a line in front of the shrine entrance are a mounted, brass vajra, a recess for the sacred fire and a small votive caitya, a second votive caitya, a caitya on a pillar, another votive caitya, a pillar and a large, brass repousse dharmadhātu maṇḍala. In the four corners of the paved courtyard are two lions on the east side, in the southwest an elephant and in the northwest the figure of a devotee. As one goes round the shrine to the nani behind there are two small shrines, the one on the south having images of Mahākāl and Mañjusri and the one on the north having an image of Hanumān.

In the large nani behind the bāhā shrine are a number of caityas of various ages, none of them very old. However, there are two very interesting pieces a standing image of the Buddha in viśv vyākaraṇa mudrā which is of Gupta style and a standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara with an image of Amitābha on his crown. On either side of Lokeśvara are Aryatārā and Bhṛkṣuti Tārā. The image is badly abraded but may

well be seventh or eighth century, the one piece which lends some credence to the legend of this being a Licchavi foundation.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of four hundred eighty Vajracaryas and fifteen Sakyas. There are three lineages of Vajracaryas known as the Mantri Kawal, the Lākhe Kawal, and the Dakamī Kawal and one lineage of Sakyas. All of the members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine of the kuāpā-dya as dya-pālās by rotation according to seniority of initiation. The term of service is eight days and rituals are performed every morning and evening. The saṅgha observes three festivals in the year: on the fullmoon day of Baiśākh, the fullmoon day of Paus, and on the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha. No one was able to say which of these days is the actual busā-dañ. The governing body of the bāhā is composed of ten elders, one of whom serves as the cakreśvara. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluwegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' now worshipped at the bāhā but brought there from Mhaypi. The bāhā still has some income, but it is no longer enough to support the three annual festivals.

A copper-plate inscription from Nuwakot above Trisuli notes an interesting connection between the members of this saṅgha and a shrine there. In N.S.834 when the King Jaya Mahindra Malla of Kathmandu visited the place arrangements were made for an annual jātrā of Gaṇḍakī Bhairava and a gūthī set up to insure the performance of regular rituals and this annual festival. The gūthiyārs of this gūthī were one Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā [31] and two from Bhiñche Bāhā, Śrī Rakṣasa Bāhā and Śrī Sakadeva Bāhā.

Wright's Chronicle gives a legend about the foundation of this bāhā:

In the reign of this Rāja [Sankaradeva] there was a Brahman named Jayasri, who refused to become a convert to the doctrines of Shankaracharya, and married a daughter of a bikṣhu of Charumati Bihar, who, through fear of Shankaracharya, had himself entered into matrimony. The Rāja told him to remain as a Bandyā, or Banra [bare], if he did not wish to renounce the Buddhist religion, and he would make a bihar for him on the other side of the Bagmati. While they were uncertain



where to build the bihar, and where to place the image of the deity, a peacock came and alighted on a certain spot, and when this was dug, an image of Vishnu was found and taken out. On this spot an image of Bhagavan Sakya Sinha was placed; and for this reason the bihār built there was called Mayura-bārṇa (mayura = a peacock). Some people call it Vishnuksha Bihar.

This story of the peacock and the finding of the image of Viṣṇu are still current and still used by people to explain the names Mayū-ravarṇa and Viṣṇu Cheñ. However, the chronology in the chronicle is a jumble. There were three kings by the name of Śaṅkaradeva in the pre-Malla period of Nepal history. The first was the grandfather of Mānadeva I, the second is known to have been ruling in N.S.40 and the third is known to have ruled from N.S.189-202. The chronicle clearly intends the grandfather of Mānadeva I but places the common story of Śaṅkarācārya coming to Nepal and persecuting the Buddhists in an even earlier reign, which is several centuries too early for even the historical Śaṅkarācārya.

Despite this tradition there is nothing to indicate such an ancient foundation for this bāhā except for the images of Lokeśvara and Buddha now located in the nanī behind the bāhā shrine. There are no definite early references to this bāhā in manuscripts or inscriptions, which, of course, does not prove that it did not exist. The earliest reference to the bāhā is found in a palmleaf land grant dated N.S.550 which refers to Śrī Biṣṇucheñ Bāhāra. A copper-plate inscription dated N.S.741 attached to the cornice of the bāhā notes donations made in that year at 'Viṣṇucheñ Vihāra'. Extensive repairs were carried out in N.S.766 by members of the saṅgha under the leadership of the senior-most elder (Thakāli) Sri Indrajū, the Chakreśvara Śrī Jīna Simhajū and the ten elders (dasasthavira). By N.S.791 the shrine of the kwāpā-dya was in a state of disrepair and the shrine was repaired and enlarged to include a triple stage roof. The repairs were again carried out by the members of the saṅgha under the direction of the ten elders. An inscription of N.S.829 mentions both names, i.e. Viṣṇucheñ Bāhāra and Mayūravarṇa Mahāvihāra. In N.S.852 a new torāṇa was donated. In N.S.1004 all three roofs of the shrine suddenly fell down and the members of the saṅgha carried out repairs. In

N.S.1016 the present torāṇa over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya was donated. In N.S.1054 (i.e. A.D.1934) the shrine of the kwāpā-dya was completely destroyed by the earthquake. Renovations were undertaken immediately and the new, and present, shrine was consecrated in A.D.1939.

At the present time this bāhā has three official branches, one private branch, and two non-bare foundations assimilated to it.

a. Piñche Bāhā — Jñāna Candra Vihāra [121]  
Pinche Tole

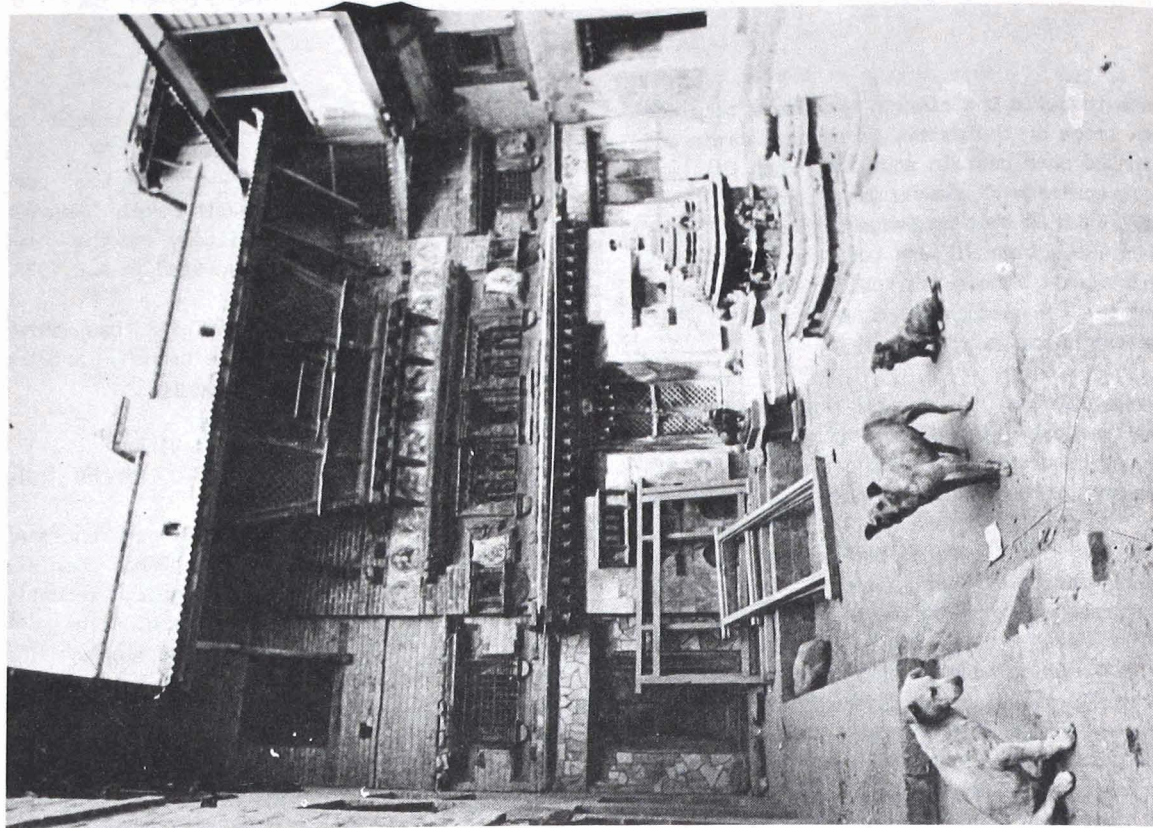
This branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard north of the Bhiñche Bāhā complex. The shrine of this bāhā is a small, recently renovated section of the courtyard. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions. The doorway is of wooden lattice work but has no torāṇa. On either side of the door are two small windows and on the left a row of three prayer wheels. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The facade of the ground floor has been faced with Godāvari Marble. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two tiny windows. The top floor has a small projecting balcony with lattice work windows. The tile roof is supported by four plain struts. Just below the balcony is a series of fading frescoes. In the courtyard is a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Vajracaryas of Bhiñche Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning only. Formerly each of the six households served in the shrine in rotation for one month at a time, but at the present time the pūjā is always performed by the one elder of this branch saṅgha. The annual festival of this branch is held on the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Bhādra. Though the branch used to have some income, this has been lost.

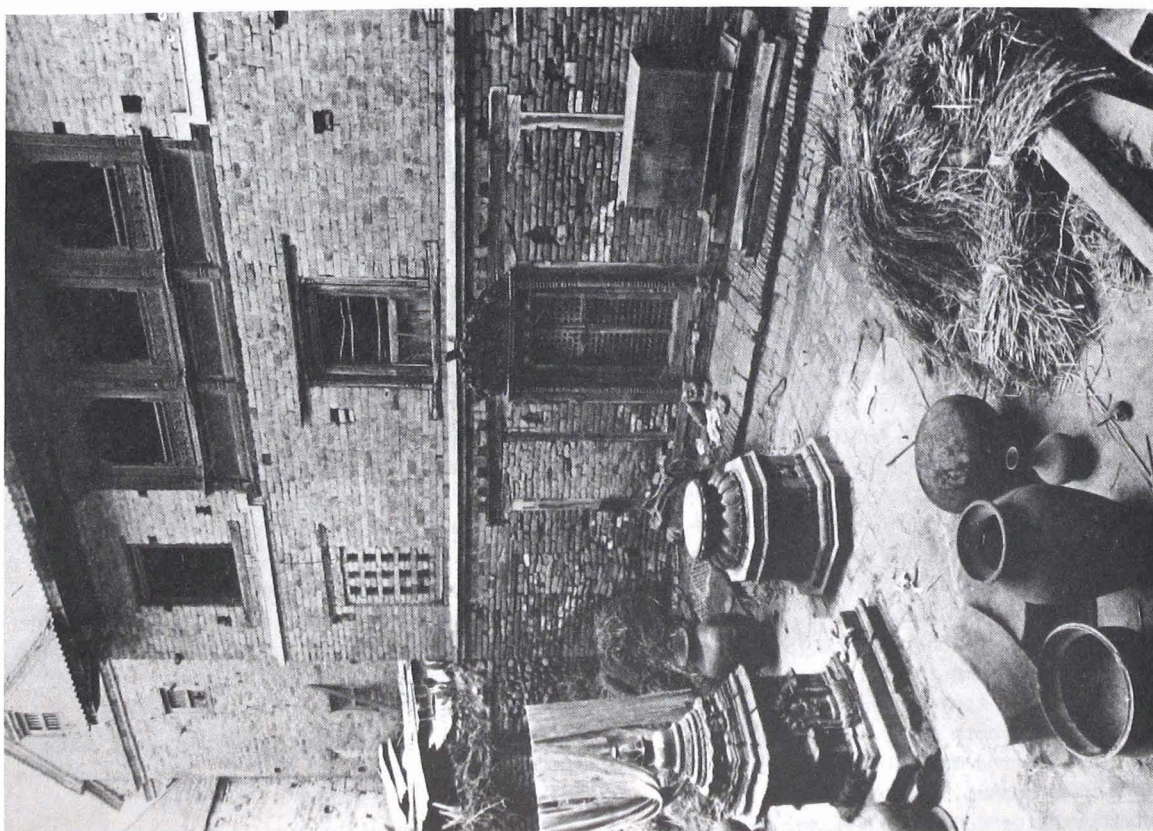
This branch was founded in N.S.789 by Janananda Vajracarya; and, according to another inscription, was renovated in N.S.1090 by Ratna Simha Vajracarya.

b. Pilācheñ Dathu Bāhā — Bhimacandra Vihāra  
[129] Pilache Tole

This branch is located in a small, enclosed courtyard off the southeast corner of the Bhi-



44. Piñche Bāhā [121]



45. Pilācheñ Dathu Bāhā [129]

nche Bāhā complex. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is merely a single room on the ground floor of the eastern side of the quadrangle. The lattice work door is surmounted by a small wooden torāṇa dated N.S.1004 and showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). The facade of the shrine is of plain, but crumbling brick. The rest of this three-storied building is an ordinary house with a corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a small, stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Vajracaryas of Bhiñche Bāhā, though hardly any of them live here any more. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the head of one of the households. Formerly the six households took turns supplying dya-pālās by rotation. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the full moon day of the month of Srāwan. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and the only date in the complex is that on the torāṇa, i.e. N.S.1004.

c. Pilācheñ Cidhañ Bāhā -- Pilākṣe Nāma  
Vihāra [128] Pilāche Tole

This small branch is also situated just off the southeastern corner of the Bhiñche Bāhā complex. The shrine has a plain, lattice-work door flanked by two small windows, but has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two tiny windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. Just off the northwest corner of the quadrangle is a shrine of Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bhiñche Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by one of the members of this household. The annual festival of the branch is observed on the twelfth day of the bright half of Paus. The branch has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch and there are no dates within the quadrangle.

d. Bhiñdyā Bāhā -- Hendupati Vihāra [115]  
Nuga Tole

This is a purely private branch of Bhiñche Bāhā. It is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Nuga Tole and usually referred to as the temple of Bhim Sen whose shrine is also located here. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small section of the southern arm of the quadrangle. The ground floor has only the doorway of the shrine which is of lattice work and at the present time has no torāṇa, though until fairly recently it did have a torāṇa showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The upper storey of the shrine has three ordinary windows and contains living quarters. The tile roof is supported by plain struts. In the courtyard is a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. Adjoining the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is the shrine of Bhim Sen, a narrow three storey building with a carved doorway and a wooden torāṇa.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bhiñche Bāhā. They are full-fledged members of the saṅgha of Bhiñche Bāhā and have their initiations there, and they say that this is a purely private branch which has no connection to Bhiñche Bāhā other than the fact that they are members of that saṅgha. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the elder of this household. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed and it has no income. These Vajracaryas have nothing to do with the worship of Bhim Sen which is carried out by a gūṭhī of Citrakāras; however there is an image of Dīpaṅkara inside the shrine of Bhim Sen which belongs to the bāhā.

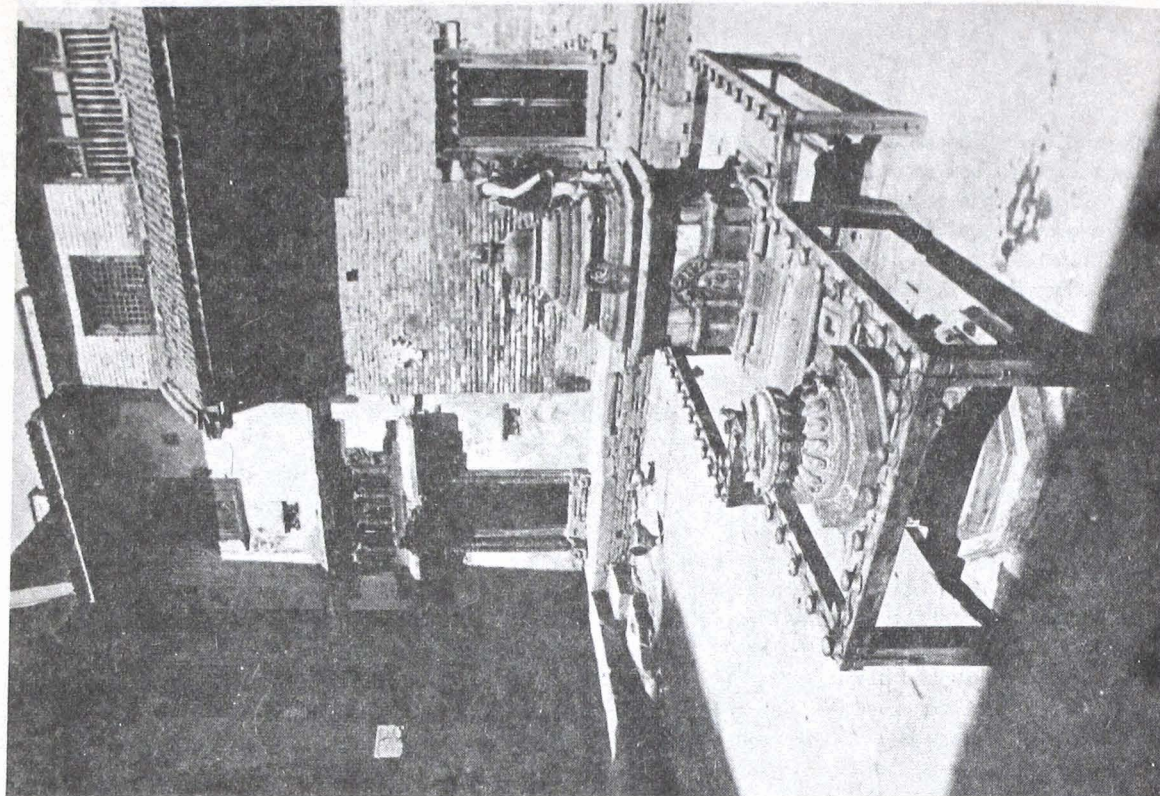
This branch was founded in N.S.835; in N.S.839 the image of Dīpaṅkara was donated; and in N.S.883 the courtyard was paved. Renovations were carried out after the earthquake of 1934.

e. Pilācheñ Bāhā -- Mayūravaraṇa Mahāvihārya  
Pilācheñ Vihāra [127]

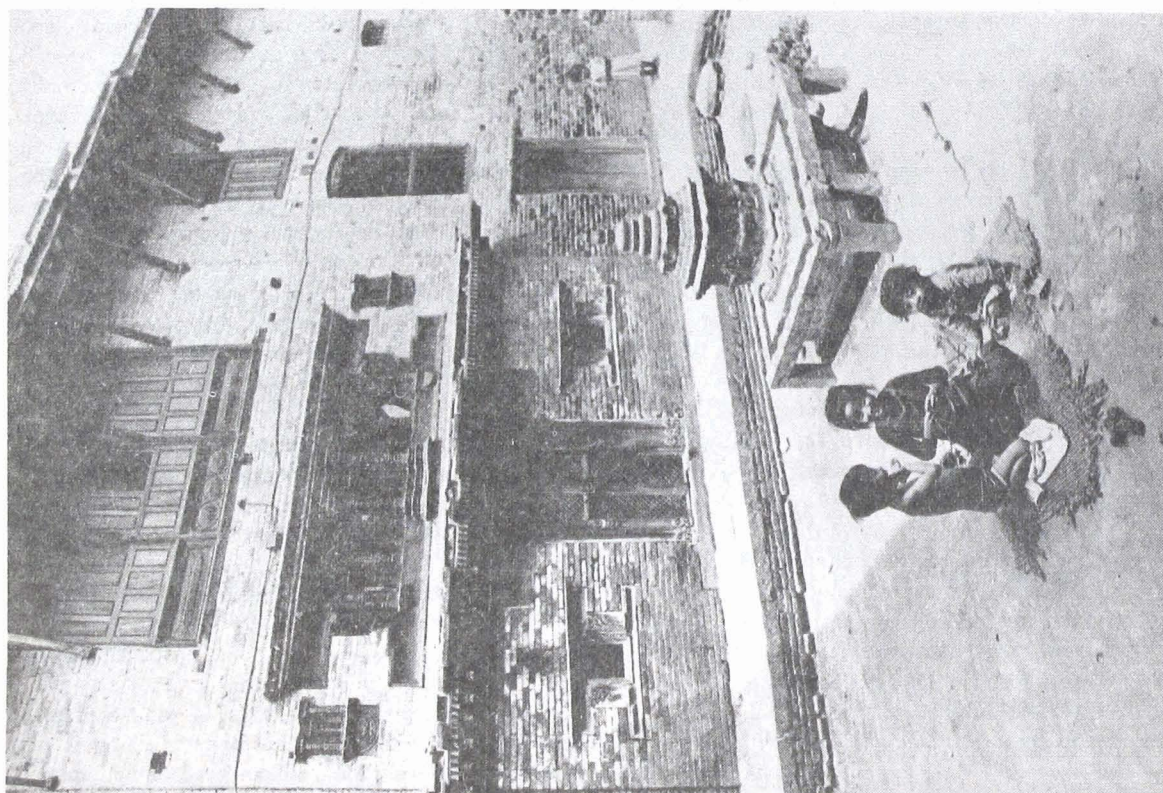
Pilāche Tole

At the present time this is an entirely open, modern shrine consisting of a line of monuments--the shrine, a caitya, a maṇḍala, another caitya, and another maṇḍala, set in the centre of an enclosed courtyard in Pilāche Tole. The shrine has an image of Akṣobhya facing





47. Bhindya Bāhā [115]

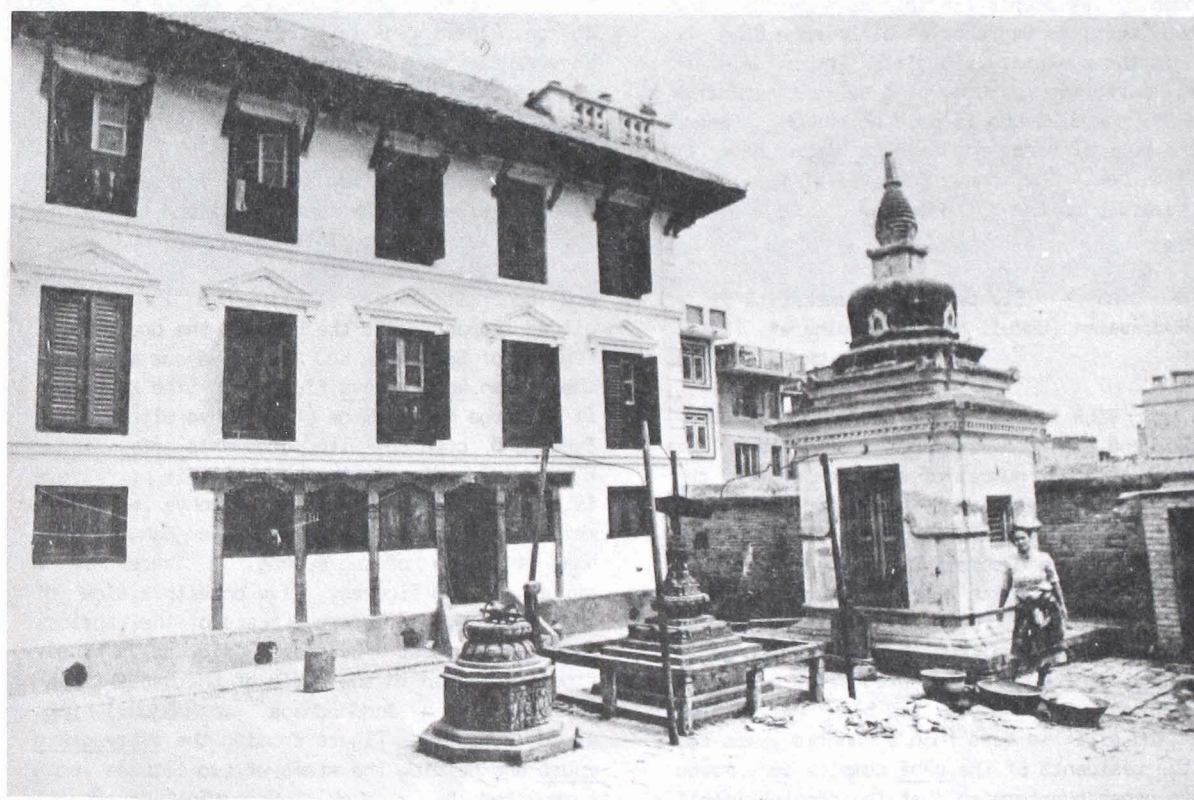


46 Pilācheñ Cidhañ Bāhā [129]





48. Pilācheñ Bāhā [127]



49. Tadhāñ Bāhā [126]

north. This bāhā has no saṅgha of initiated Bare and probably never did have. At the present time the people who live here are all Jyāpus and they carried out renovations in 1935 after the earthquake which resulted in the present state of the shrine. Before this time there was a proper bāhā shrine according to informants. It belongs to Bhiñche Bāhā in the sense that the nitya pūjā is always performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Bhiñche Bāhā. The annual festival is observed on the full moon day of the month of Aswin.

f. Tadhāñ Bāhā -- Jñāna Kīrti Vihāra\* [126]  
Pilāche Tole

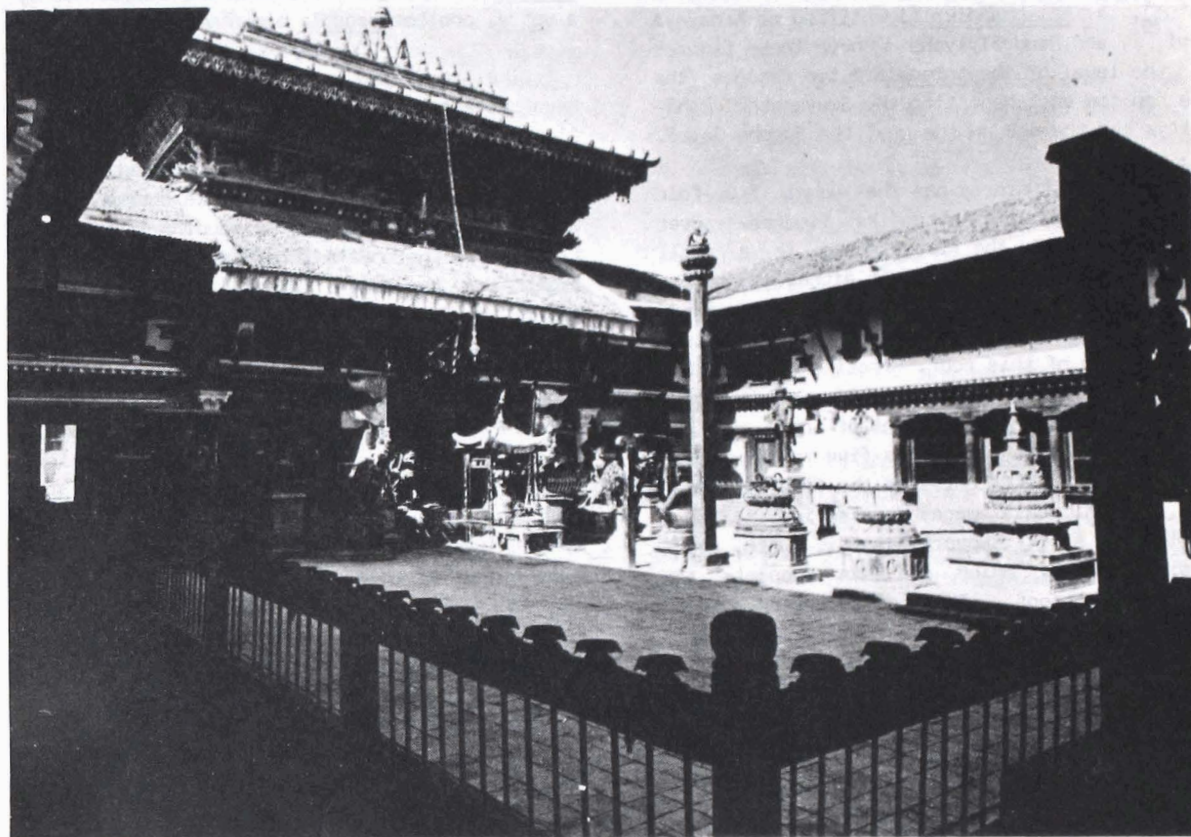
Like the preceding branch this is also a modern shrine built in recent times. The shrine is a free-standing, plastered shrine with an image of Akṣobhya facing east. According to an inscription at the site and to a Jyāpū informant (the grandson of the founder) this bāhā was founded in N.S.1054 by one Jñāna Bīr Dongol. Hence it was never a bāhā in the sense of having a community of initiated bare, but a 'bāhā' founded by lay people (in this case Jyāpūs) and turned over to Vajracaryas of Bhiñche Bāhā to perform the customary rituals. The rituals are still performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Bhiñche Bāhā who is paid an annual stipend of one muri of paddy and five pāthīs of rice for his services. The annual festival of the shrine is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin.

8. Uku Bāhā -- Śivadevavarma Saṃskārīta Śrī  
Rudravarma (Unkuli Nāma) Mahāvihāra\* [140]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

Uku Bāhā is one of the oldest, best documented and best preserved bāhās of Patan. It has the greatest number of branches of all the bāhās in the Valley (twenty nine) and the second largest saṅgha. The Newari name is sometimes given as U Bāhā and sometimes as Unkuli, Wāhkulī or Wāhku Bāhā, which are older forms of the name. The Sanskrit name is usually given as Rudravarma Mahāvihāra, but the old references to the bāhā, which will be noted below all have Rudravarma. The complex has been well cared for, and a little less than a hundred years ago all the residents of the bāhā complex were moved out to other quarters so that the complex itself could be preserved as a shrine.

The street entrance to the complex has two large stone lions and a plastered gateway with two modern, plastered lions above, each holding a flag. Passing through the gateway one enters the first compound which is a branch bāhā, U Bā Gathicā. The entryway from this quadrangle into Uku Bāhā itself is marked by two large stone lions which are actually images of Hariharivāhana Lokeśvara with the lion resting on an elephant which in turn rests on a turtle. They are dated N.S.1029. Over the doorway into U Bāhā proper is a new wooden torana put up at the time of renovations in 1982. The torana depicts the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his right.

The entire quadrangle of bāhā buildings has been preserved. The shrine itself is of three storeys with two roofs. On either side of the steps leading up to the shrine are large, cast lions, each standing on a crouching elephant and surmounted by a cast image of Simhanāda Lokesvara. Each of the lions holds a metal, double-triangular flag. The doorway is marked by a finely worked repousse arch of leaf and floral design. The torana is an unusual piece all done in repousse metal with caste images set into it. The central figure is Akṣobhya flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. To the side of these two figures are two small figures of Prajñāpāramitā and Śaṅkṣari Lokesvara. Instead of the usual makaras, snakes and garuḍa the torana has a rising leaf pattern into which are set images of the five transcendent Buddhas. The doorway and door itself are all finished in repousse gilded copper. At the base of the doorway are figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and above these, two bodhisattva figures. The kwāpā-dya is a large metal image of Akṣobhya with a red face and covered with ornaments of various kinds. Immediately in front of this main image is another small image of Akṣobhya whom the members of the saṅgha identify as Rahula Bhadrā, the son of the Buddha.<sup>76</sup> There are a series of ten figures, five on either side of the doorway, across the facade of the shrine. From east to west they are: Sāriputra, a kingly figure dressed in the style<sup>77</sup> of the Ranas (identified as King Suddhodhana), Mañjuśrī (two armed, standing figure showing the dharmacakra mudrā and holding the stems of two lotuses each surmounted by a book), Padmapāṇi Lokesvara, Samantabhadra (showing the dharmacakra mudrā and holding the stems of two plain lotuses), the



50. Uku Bāhā [140]



Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (holding a vajra and a bell), Ratnapāṇi (with the right hand showing the varada mudrā and holding the three jewels and the left holding the stem of a lotus on which are the three jewels), Viśvapāṇi (with the right hand showing the varada mudrā and holding a viśva-vājra and the left holding the stem of a lotus), a sālabhañjika (identified as Mahāyaya Devi), and Maudgalyāyana. Above these figures at the level of the torana are two frescoes the one on the east depicting the Swayambhu Mahā-caitya and the one on the west the Buddha Jatrā.

The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by sālabhañjika figures. Over the central of the five windows is a small torana showing Akṣobhya. At either end of the facade are cast metal peacocks. Six carved struts support the first roof which is tiled. At the top of this roof, resting against the facade of the next storey are five gilded caityas with a sixth set in front of them. The low facade of the next storey has five false windows into which are set figures of the five transdependent Buddhas, cast images donated in N.S.773. Eight short struts support a lattice work, overhanging balcony which in turn supports the gilded copper roof. This configuration continues right round the tower of the shrine which rises well above the rest of the buildings in the courtyard. The ribs of the roof all end in bodhisattva faces. The roof is surmounted by a row of fifteen gilded caityas. From the roof hangs a single banner which reaches down over the lower roof.

The courtyard of Uku Bāhā is filled with a large collection of pieces, some of them strangely incongruous. In front of the veranda of the shrine are eight bronze images, a pair of winged horses, a pair of garuḍas, a pair of horned horses and a pair of lions--New York Public Library style, totally unlike the traditional temple lions. To the west of these figures is a standing image of Juddha Shamsher Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal at the time of the earthquake of 1934 who donated money for the restoration of the complex after the earthquake. Stretching in a line toward the north in front of these modern pieces is a row of traditional pieces. First is a Licchavi style caitya covered with a gilded metal canopy which has a row of small prayer wheels round it. Next is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra, a recess for the sacred fire, a metal lamp on a

stand, and an image of Mañjuśrī with his consort. Next is a large image of a devotee who made substantial donations to the monastery. He was a Sakya, Ratna Maniju, and a member of the saṅgha, popularly referred to as Lomari Āju. The statue is dated N.S.837. Next is a dharmadhātu maṇḍala on an eight sided base and surmounted by a vajra, another maṇḍala and a votive caitya.

The remaining buildings of the quadrangle have retained the style of a bāhā. Two doors flank the shrine itself. one leading to the large naṇī behind and one leading upstairs to the main āḡam of the bāhā. This doorway has a wooden torana showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The eastern wing and the western wing both have an open area on the ground floor with doors at either end leading to store rooms, or to the area upstairs. The facade of the upper storey of these two wings has a triple window over each doorway and a five-fold window in the centre. The upper storey of the eastern wing has a large open room used as a sort of supplementary ḍiḡi; the western wing has a shrine of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara. The entire northern wing of the bāhā, was restored in 1982 and in the traditional style. The ground floor has open areas on either side of the entrance with doors in the corners. Over the eastern door is a wooden torana showing a four-armed form of Mañjuśrī flanked by Ganesh on his right and Mahākāl on his left. The upper storey has a lattice-work balcony and contains the ḍiḡi of the bāhā. The struts along the eastern section of the roof of this section are a series of exquisite sālabhañjika figures. These were originally located in the naṇī behind and supported the roof behind the shrine. At the time of the renovation they were removed and incorporated into the roof of the main complex to safeguard them. They are probably twelfth or thirteenth century pieces. The roof of the three sides of the quadrangle is entirely of tile.

The saṅgha of Uku Bāhā is the second largest in Patan consisting of 1200 initiated Sakyas, but only about 660 of these are now active members. The others have received their initiation but do not take a turn in the shrine or actively participate in the feasts of the saṅgha. There are five lineages in the saṅgha: The Dhuse Lineage, the Mahā Bū Lineage, the Nhūche Pu Lineage, the Baibu Lineage, and the



Suika Lineage (also called Tabu Lineage). The lineage deity of the entire saṅgha, i.e. of all five lineages is 'Yogāmbara', now worshipped at Kani Bāhā [133], but brought there from Puna-rcali to which he had been brought from Mhaypi. Though the saṅgha is one gūṭhī as a saṅgha, there are four Si (funeral) Gūṭhīs, a division that was made as a practical measure because of the large membership. All the members of the saṅgha are eligible to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, but as mentioned above, only about half of the membership does this any more. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of initiated from eldest to youngest. Rituals are performed at dawn, in the early morning (the nitya pūjā), between mid-day and 3PM, and again in the evening (the ārati pūjā).<sup>80</sup> The saṅgha has ten elders, three of whom are considered the senior elders and they alone perform the pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā by turn. The other seven take turns performing the daily rituals in the two branches attached to the Uku Bāhā complex, Ubā Gathicā and Yotalivi Nani. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, and unlike Kwā Bāhā, are never performed in any of the branch bāhās. When initiations are performed the Vajracarya who is the family priest of the family of the eldest boy being initiated officiates at the rites. This is usually a Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. Though this bāhā had a considerable income at one time, most of this has been lost. Because of this and the large number of members in the saṅgha, the entire saṅgha is no longer fed on the occasion of the annual feast. A feast is held to which the ten elders and at least ten other members of the saṅgha must be invited. Usually about fifty take part.

Another curious custom of Uku Bāhā relates to the Phu Dya. In Kathmandu there is the custom of a Bare (or in one case a 'Jyāpū Bare') coming at the end of the line at every pañcadāna ceremony. This Phu Bare receives whatever is left and with his passing the ceremony comes to an end. In Patan there is a Phu Dya, an image of Dīpaṅkara, kept at Uku Bāhā which is carried to every pañcadāna ceremony. Like the Phu Bare, he comes last in the line and receives whatever offerings are left. In effect this means that the Uku Bāhā people receive the remaining offer-

ings. This custom is referred to in the legend recounted below and is attributed to a king, who instead of going to the pañcadāna himself, sent an image of Dīpaṅkara.

Tradition assigns the foundation of this bāhā to a king by the name of Siva Deva and Wright's Chronicle confirms this tradition. Speaking of Sivadeva-barma the Chronicle says:

After this [i.e. a meeting with a Fakir who advised the king to worship the Buddha alone and become a bhikṣu] Sivadeva-barma went roaming about, and one day met a bhikṣu, who was living in the Banprastha state. He made this bhikṣu his Guru, and built a bihār, in which he placed images of Swayambhu and Sakya Sina Buddha, and then he himself became a bhikṣu. Four days after becoming a bhikṣu, the Rājā told his Guru that it was impossible for a man, who had enjoyed the comforts and luxuries of a king, to lead that kind of life. He therefore begged him to show him some means, by which he could live comfortably in this world, and yet obtain salvation in the next. 'It is written,' replied the Guru, 'in the Dharma-shāstra, that a bhikṣu can return to the grihastha mode of life, and is then called a Bajradhrik or Bajracharya. Also, that those who are descendants of Sakya Muni, are, after the ten sanskāras or ceremonies, Bandyas or Bhikshus, and they can also worship Kuliseswara [i.e. the Buddha], and still lead a grihastha life.' Having said this, the Guru took off the ochre-dyed cloth from the Rājā's body, and performed the ceremony of Acharyabhisheka. The Raja then, with the sanction of the Guru, built a bihar near his own, and lodged the Guru in it. For his maintenance he assigned some land, which up to the present time is given only to those who live as bhikshus in that Bihār. The Rājā then with the Guru's sanction, placed an Āgama-devata or Buddha in his own bihar, meditated there daily, and performed his devotions and worship there. He then married, and many sons and daughter were born to him. It was his daily custom to sit before the Kuliseswara or Buddha, which he had erected; and one day, while thus meditating, his skull burst, and the soul escaping, he obtained salvation. At the time his skull burst, a mani, or jewel, came out of it. Only one person at a time is allowed to enter that Agama, lest, if more entered together,

they should begin to discuss among themselves the size and shape of that jewel.

Narendradeva-barmā had been placed on his brother's throne, and Punyadeva-barmā, the son of Sivadeva-barmā by the wife whom he married after becoming a Bajracarya, performed his father's funeral rites, and led the same life as his father.<sup>81</sup>

Speaking of a later king, whom the Chronicle places within the Malla dynasty after Ānanda (or Ananta), it recounts the following:

Rudra-deva Chhetri Rājā, who, being learned in Tatwa-gyana, or the knowledge of the elements, had after a brief reign abdicated in favour of his son Mitra-deva, and occupied himself in acquiring religious merit, at this time he first practised Bauddhachārya, then Mahayanikacharya, then Tribidhibodhi. After this he repaired the old Onkuli Bihār, built by Rājā Sivadevabarmā, and after performing the churā-karma he lived in it as a bandya, the sure way of obtaining mukti, and thus he earned salvation. This Rudra-deva Rājā on one occasion sent an image of Dipankar Buddha to receive pindapatradan instead of himself. He also kept a guthi, by name Bepar Madhi, in the name of his ancestors, Bama-deva, Harkha-deva, Sadisiva-deva, Man-deva, Narsinha-deva, Nanda-deva, and of himself Rudra-deva, for his own bihār, in order that people living in it might be allowed to follow any trade. To make this more secure, he informed his grandson Jaya-deva Malla of his having established this custom.<sup>82</sup>

The much later account of the reorganization of the bāhās of Patan during the time of Siddhi Narasimha contained in the same chronicle confirms these two accounts. Among the bāhās the chronicle lists 'Onkuli Rudrabarn, built by Sivadeva-barmā.'<sup>83</sup>

In these accounts the Śivadeva referred to precedes Āmśuvarma and would thus be Śivadeva I from the Licchavi period whom we know to have been ruling from about A.D.590 to 604. However, the chronology of the chronicle is chaotic and little can be proved from it other than a confirmation of the still current tradition that the bāhā was founded by a king called Śivadeva and renovated later by another king called Rudradeva or Rudravarmā.

Coming to solid historical evidence we have twelve early references to this bāhā from the collection of palm-leaf land grants found in a storeroom at the bāhā. The references bear the following dates: N.S.239, 245, 251,<sup>84</sup> 262, 273, 289, 294, 296, 306, 309, and 349. In all of the references the bāhā is called Sri Rudravarmā Mahāvihāra. Four of these references, those of N.S.239, 261, 273 and 349 add 'Sri Sivadeva Samskārita'. If we accept the tradition that this vihāra was founded by a king called Śivadeva and later renovated by another king called Rudradeva, the Śivadeva would have to be one of the two Licchavi kings of that name and Rudradeva would probably be the Rudradeva from the 'Thakuri' Period who ruled from about N.S.128-135. There is a Thakuri Śivadeva who ruled from about N.S.221-243 and who was consequently actually the king at the time of the first palm-leaf reference to the vihāra in N.S.239. Hence he cannot be the founder if, at the time of the reference, the vihāra was considered to have been subsequently renovated by another king.

Of the two Licchavi kings, Śivadeva I who ruled from about A.D.590-604 is the more likely. There are two Licchavi inscriptions from the time of Narendradeva, who preceded Śivadeva II, which refer to a Śivadeva Vihāra. One of these inscriptions was at the Vajraghara at Paśupati-nāth (now preserved in the Nepal Museum), the second is at Yāg Bāhā in Patan. Both inscriptions are nearly identical and refer to a donation which Narendradeva has made to the Ārya Bhikṣu Saṅgha living round the Śivadeva Vihāra.<sup>85</sup> The Gopālarājavamsāvalī credits Śivadeva I with building a caitya in a vihāra.<sup>86</sup> Since the two inscriptions give to the Ārya Bhikṣu Saṅgha of the Śivadeva Vihāra the care of and income from water taps built in the area of Paśupatināth, Dhanavajra Vajracarya argues that the vihāra must be located somewhere near Paśupatināth. Adding to this the reference from the Gopālarājavamsāvalī to the 'Khasau caitya', he identifies the caitya as Baudhanāth (still called Khasa Caitya in Newari) and places the vihāra there. Accepting the story from Wright's Chronicle that Śivadeva built a vihāra and retired there first as a bhikṣu and then as a household bhikṣu, Vajracarya concludes that the place to which he retired was Baudhanāth.<sup>87</sup> This is contrary to the consistent tradition of Patan which is still current and which we find in Wright's Chronicle that the place where Śiva-

deva retired is Uku Bāhā. Furthermore, from documents contemporary with the early references to Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Rudravarma Mahāvihāra in Patan we know of at least two other vihāras that were attributed to Śivadeva. The first is in Patan and referred to in the same collection of palm-leaf deeds. Deeds dated N.S.235 and 304 speak of a Śrī Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Maṇipura Jaiva<sup>88</sup> Mahāvihāra at Tegvalaka in Lalitakramāyām. The second is Te Bāhā in Kathmandu which in N.S.265 is referred to as Śrī Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Śrīmat Teda Vihāra.<sup>89</sup> Hence we cannot say with any degree of certainty which one is the Śivadeva Vihāra of the two Licchavi inscriptions. In N.S.239 Uku Bāhā was known as a vihāra founded by Śivadeva. If this Śivadeva is indeed a king, it is probably Śivadeva I of the Licchavi period. He may well have founded more than one vihāra, however there is no hint in the Licchavi records that he retired and became a bhikṣu. The legends recounted in Wright's Chronicle look very suspiciously like an attempt to justify or explain the householder status of the medieval Newār Buddhist bhikṣus, tracing it back to two royal personages who retired to the monastery, but continued to live as householders as advised by their teachers.

Returning to the evidence we have from Uku Bāhā itself there is an inscription of N.S.481 which records the setting up of an image of Śrī Śrī Saṃvara. The bāhā is called Śrī Raudravarmma Mahāvihāra.<sup>90</sup> There is an inscription dated N.S.511 at U-Bāhā Bahī which refers to the vihāra for the first time by the alternate name Rudravarma instead of Rudravarma.<sup>91</sup> Another inscription<sup>92</sup> of N.S.667 also speaks of Rudravarma Mahāvihāra. From this time on there are numerous references to Rudravarma Mahāvihāra or to Waku, Wankuli, or Okuli Bāhāra, variations of the Newari name for the bāhā.

Uku Bāhā has the largest number of branches of any bāhā in the Valley. At the present time there are twenty seven functioning branches, one jyāpū bāhā which is usually said to be attached to Uku Baha, and one abandoned bāhā which may have been a branch of Uku Bāhā. In addition to these, some lists also give Yacchu Bāhā [114] and U Bā Bahī [139] as branches of U Bāhā. I have not included them here because, though their saṅghas originally came from Uku Bāhā, they now have separate saṅghas performing their initiations in their separate foundations. The only connection which remains is their common

worship of the lineage deity of Uku Bāhā. (See the sections on these two bāhās.)

a. U Bāhā Gathicā — Khaṇḍa Cūka Vihāra [141]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is the first quadrangle that one enters as he comes into the Uku Bāhā complex from the main gate to the north. It is an enclosed courtyard, the northern wing of which is the back side of the facade which faces the street. The southern wing is the facing of Uku Bāhā itself. The western wing is the only old building remaining. The ground floor has what appears to be an ill-kept kwāpā-dya shrine but in fact is an āgam. In the centre of the courtyard are two self-contained shrines, one facing east and one facing west. The one facing east, a modified śikhara temple, contains an image of Aksobhya who is the kwāpā-dya of this branch. The other, also a śikhara temple of stone, contains an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara. This temple is the principal attraction of the branch.

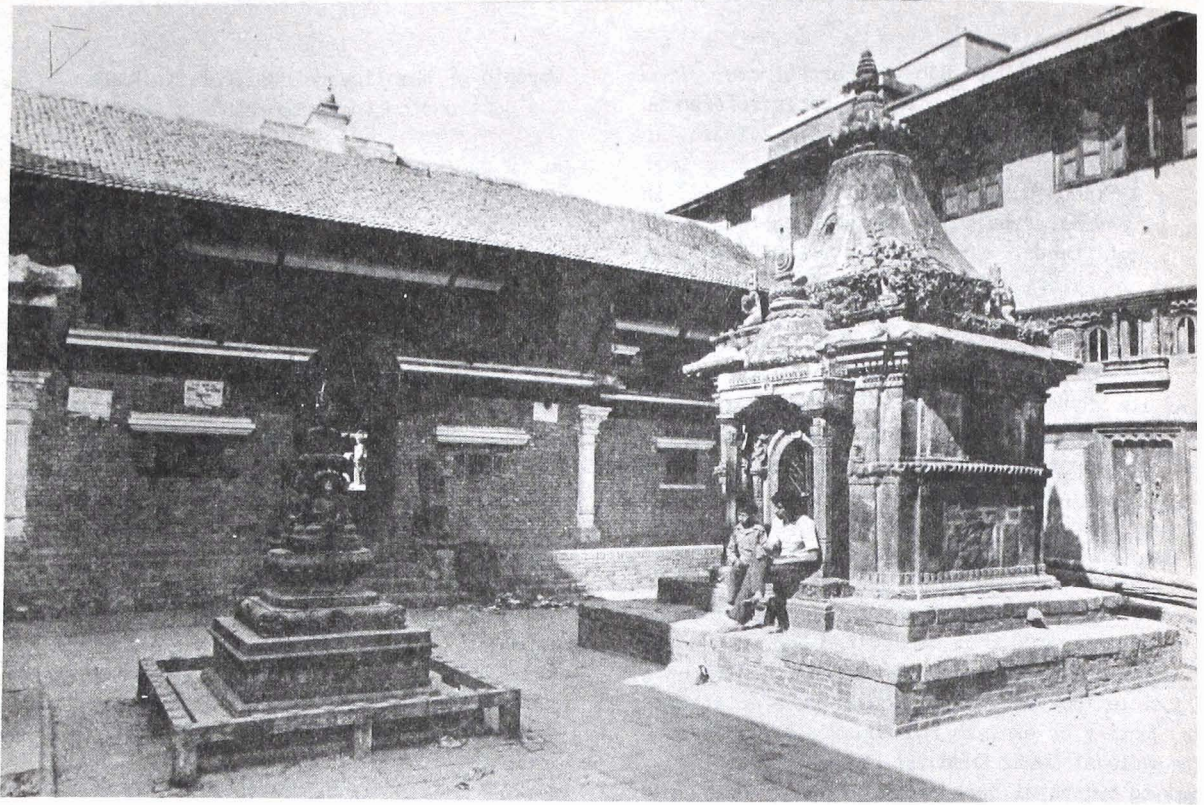
This is classed as a branch of Uku Bāhā, and the saṅgha of the bāhā is the Dhusa Lineage of Uku Bāhā. However both this branch and the caitya area behind are the responsibility of the entire saṅgha of the bāhā. The nitya pūjā is performed here each morning and evening in turn by the seven junior elders of the entire saṅgha. The members of the saṅgha, i.e. the Dhusa Lineage have no duties to perform here any longer. The branch has no annual festival or feast separate from the annual observance of Uku Bāhā itself.

The present complex was constructed in N.S.800 by one Dhāna Jyoti Śākya and was renovated<sup>93</sup> in the nineteenth century by Ratna Dhaju Dhāna.

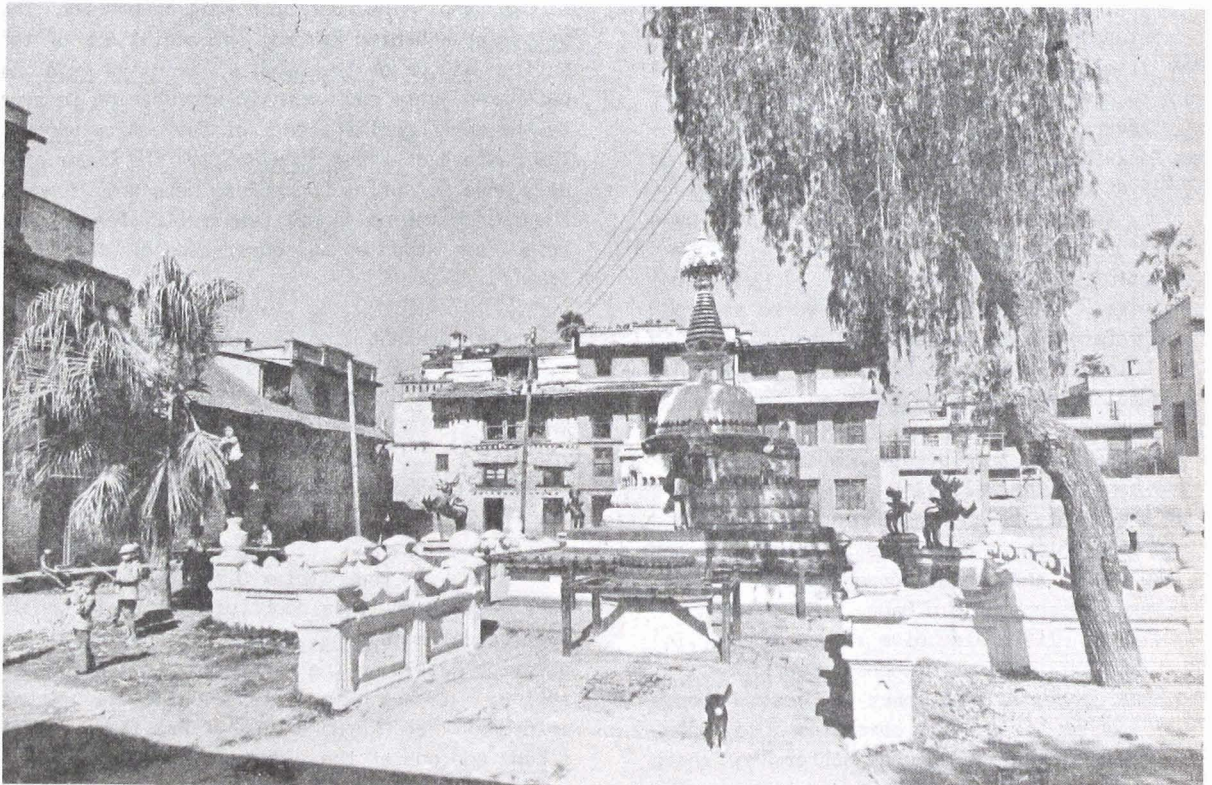
b. Tago Cibahā — Yantarivi Vihāra [142]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is the complex directly behind Uku Bāhā itself and it is doubtful whether it should even be called a bāhā. It is a grassy area with a large caitya in the centre and no kwāpā-dya shrine. It has been included, however, because informants at Uku Bāhā insist that it is indeed a bāhā and one of the branches of Uku Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is considered either to be Amitābha Buddha or all of the five transcendent Buddhas





51. U Bāhā Gathicā [141]



52. Tago Cibāhā [142]



who are represented on the large caitya. The nitya pūjā is performed morning and evening in turn by the seven junior elders of Uku Bāhā. It has no festival separate from the annual festival of Uku Bāhā itself.

According to an inscription at the site the caitya was constructed (or repaired?) in N.S.805 by one Ratna Sīmha and his family. The inscription gives the name Yantarivi Vihāra.<sup>84</sup> Another inscription, evidently of the same time, gives the names of all the Buddhist deities enshrined in the caitya, a total of 56.<sup>95</sup>

c. Mahabuddha Bāhā -- Bodhimaṇḍapa Vihāra\*  
[135] Mahābuddha Toile

This branch of Uku Bāhā is deservedly one of the best known shrines in Patan. It is situated in a small, cramped courtyard north of Uku Bāhā and consists of a large, terracotta śikhara temple in the centre of the courtyard which houses the shrine of the kwāpā-dya with a shrine to the mother of the Buddha to the side. All of the other buildings round the courtyard are of fairly recent origin and are ordinary dwellings.

The shrine is often called the 'Temple of the Thousand Buddhas' since there is an image of the Buddha on every brick of the temple. The images are not all the same and correspond to the directions of the Transcendent Buddhas, i.e. all of the bricks facing west have images of Amitābha, those facing east have Akṣobhya, etc. It has also often been said that this temple has been built in a purely Hindu style.<sup>96</sup> The statement reflects the common misunderstanding of the relationship between Hinduism and Buddhism in the period when Buddhism flourished in India. The Buddhist's used all of the art forms and forms of ritual that were common to Indian culture. This type of temple, the śikhara temple, was common in India for Buddhist shrines as is evident from the remains at such places as Nalandā and the descriptions left by the Chinese travellers. Few Buddhist temples of any type remain in India today. One that has remained right down to the present day through many renovations is the temple in Bodh Gayā which is a śikhara temple. It is often said that the Mahābauddha is a copy of the Bodh Gayā temple. A comparison of the two temples shows how inaccurate this statement is. This temple was inspired by that of Bodh Gayā, but it is not a

copy.

In the Nepal Valley almost all of the Buddhist shrines are either bāhās or simply stūpas. By the middle ages the architecture of the bāhā had become standard with an enclosed quadrangle of buildings containing a shrine of the Buddha which was a part of the architectural complex. In the later bāhās the shrine was often enlarged and raised above the level of the two-storied quadrangle, but the raised part was built in the typical, multi-roofed style of the Newārs. However, examples of śikhara temples as Buddhist shrines and even as a part of a bāhā are not unknown even in Nepal. The best known example is the temple of Buṅgadya in Buṅgamati, which probably represents a common earlier form.

The Mahābauddha shrine as it stands today, though rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934, is still a magnificent and imposing structure. However, the court which encloses it is so small that it is impossible to get a real perspective on the shrine; and this difficulty has been compounded by two new buildings built within the last ten years which have further encroached on the area round the shrine in the northwest corner. The ground floor of the shrine is a square base above which rises the main tower (śikhara) with four smaller towers rising from the four corners of the base.

Bernier's short description of the shrine expresses the beauty of this structure well:

The concept of multiplicity so important in the evolution of Indian architecture is nowhere more clearly illustrated in Nepal than in this temple. The śikhara towers, the horizontal ledges and cornices, and above all the sculpted bricks lead upward upon themselves in an almost musical rhythm to the pointed pinnacle high above all the surrounding rooftops. There is a sharpness of detail which keeps our eyes from travelling quickly over the whole, and if unity is lost, it is lost to the beauty of fine workmanship. There is an elegance of extreme ornamentation here which presents us with the lushness and exotic overdecoration of certain works of Angkor, but at the same time there is the insistently clear, constant reference to the life of Lord Buddha. The warm golden-red color of the brick stands out sharply against the blue sky, and we are also attracted by a



53. Mahabuddha Baha [135]

certain exuberance, especially in the larger figures, which gives the temple a note of excitement and movement. The flying apsaras, the grinning leogryphs and the various rotund figures of kings and demons add an aura of immediate life to this temple which is not to be found in the more formalized carvings of most Nepalese works.

Mahābauddha is marked by several door and window openings along its considerable height and the whole inward curvature of the large tower is made up of squared elements in a way quite pleasing to the eye while accentuating the structure's height. It is unfortunate that one is made to come face to face at close range with the temple wall immediately after passing from the entrance alleyway into the courtyard, for there is no place within the enclosure where one may stand for an easily obtained overall view of the building. Barely visible below the finial are large figures of standing beasts as seen at Bhuvaneshvara and elsewhere in India. At the base of the main shikhara rearing beasts are again seen, these having male riders. A few small metal banners have been added below some of the ledges after Nepalese tradition, and a very small metal umbrella is mounted over the spire. There is a railing of oil lamps placed all around the main spire and the main shrine [i.e. the small shrine to the south], which is dedicated to Māyā Devi, mother of Lord Buddha.

The main door of the shrine opens to the east and behind this door is a large image of Akṣobhya Buddha, the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā. In front of the doorway is a single stone maṇḍala. Behind the temple to the west is a raised platform where worshippers and singers can gather. The temple of the mother of the Buddha is situated along the southern side of the quadrangle almost opposite the main shrine and is said to have been built with the bricks left over from the main shrine. There are no other religious structures within the compound and no caitya. The shrine is reached through a narrow alleyway from the street which passes between a row of houses. Over the entryway on the inside is a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara) on his left. Directly above this torāṇa is the āgam shrine of the bāhā. There is no torāṇa over the doorway of the shrine itself.

The saṅgha of Mahābuddha is large and consists of five sub-lineages of sixty households comprising about four hundred Sakyas of Uku Bāhā. The whole group is referred to as the Mahā Bū Lineage. Only five households of these sixty actually live at Mahābuddha. The rest live in fourteen other bāhās which are in effect sub-branches of this main or official branch. Mahābuddha itself is considered to be the principal bāhā of this lineage whose common ancestor Abhayarāja conceived the plan of this temple. The usual rituals are performed here morning and evening by the members of these sixty households in turn. Each household serves for a year at a time. Hence the members of these households serve as dya-pālās in three places: in Uku Bāhā (their main bāhā), in Mahābuddha (the main branch), and in their own private branch. The term of service is one lunar month and service passes through the entire roster from eldest to youngest. The branch has five elders, one from each sub-lineage. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āswīn. Members of the saṅgha say that the bāhā has no income now, but it certainly had a considerable endowment at one time.

Wright's Chronicle gives an account of the history of this branch bāhā:

In this reign [that of Amar, alias Narendra, Malla of Kathmandu] there lived a Bauddhachārya, by name Abhayarāj, clever and devoted to his religion. He had three wives, two of whom had been faithful, one having two sons and the other four. He then married a fourth wife, and seeing that his elder sons were displeased at this, he left the wife with four sons at Onkuli Bihār [Uku Bāhā], and the other with two sons at a house which he had recently built, and he himself went to Bauddha Gayā with his newly-married wife. He remained there three years as a devotee of Buddha. One day he heard a voice from the sky, telling him that Mahābuddha had accepted his service and worship, and that he should now return to his home, where Mahābauddha would come to visit him, and where he would receive the royal favour. The voice also told him that she who spoke was Bidyādhari-devi, a handmaid of Mahābuddha. At this time, however, Abhayarāj's wife was pregnant and they therefore could not undertake the

journey. In due season a son was born, and named Buddhaju. After this they returned home, taking with them a model Bauddha image from that place. On arriving at home, Abhayarāj built a three-storied Buddhist temple, and erected a Bauddha with an image of Sakya Muni, in which he placed the model image. To the east of the temple, in his former house, he built an Agama, and placed there an image of Bidyadhari-devi. Rāja Amara Malla called him before him, and told him that, as his (the Rājā's) father had appointed Madhana, Abhayarāj's father, as Dīthha Naikya, to superintend the making of piṣṭa, he now appointed him to the same post.

A little farther on the chronicle picks up the story again.

In this reign [that of Sadāsiva Malla of Kathmandu], one Jivarāj, the son of Bauddhaju, the son of Abhayarāj, the great devotee of Buddha, who was born at Bauddha Gaya, visited that holy place, and after returning home built a large temple, like the one at Gayā, consisting entirely of images. It was named Mahābuddha-devalaya. This Jivaraj, after performing a great pūjā, and thinking of 'taking some prasāda of the Mahābuddha to the Lamas of the north, went to the Lama of Sikkim and told him how he built the great temple. The Lāma gave him a plateful of gold, and he returned home and made golden Lutham (shafts) for the rath of Machchhindra-nātha, and assigned land for their maintenance, which is called Lutham-yūthī. Jayamuni, the son of Jivarāj, seeing the Bauddha-mārgis of Nepal were deteriorating, for want of clever Pandits, well versed in the Bauddha-mārgi shastras, and for want also of good books, disguised himself as a Dandī and went to Kasi (Benares), where he studied Vyakarana (grammar), etc., and then returned to Nepal, with a great collection of Bauddha-mārgi books. Thus he promoted the Bauddha religion, and himself became famous as the great Pandit of Mahabuddha.

This account is partially correct but contradicts a number of facts known from other sources. This confusion has given rise to a number of inaccurate accounts of the building of Mahābuddha. In a recent booklet on the shrine Bhikṣu Sudarsan has collected the various versions and tried to come up with an account

consistent with the known facts and the data in a geneology of the family still preserved by the saṅgha of this branch. Abhayarāja was a Sakya and a member of the saṅgha of Uku Bāhā. His father was Śrī-mad-nayaka (i.e. he was one of the elders of the bāhā). At some stage in his life Abhayarāja went to Bodh Gayā and while there in addition to his devotions he learned how to make copper coins. When he returned to Nepal he began to make copper coins, was given a prize for this by the king of Kathmandu, Amar Malla (there was no separate king in Patan at that time), and was appointed an official coin maker. While in Bodh Gayā he evidently conceived the plan of building a temple similar to the one there, and the lucrative business of coin making soon left him in a position to finance such an undertaking. A plan was made and in N.S.685 the foundation of the Mahābuddha temple was laid. By this time Mahendra Malla was ruling in Kathmandu. Abhayarāja died before much more work could be carried out on his project and left five sons to carry on the work. These five sons were Mayarjū, Byadharjū, Jagannāthjū, Herājū and Buddhajū. However, he is known to have had at least two other sons (probably from the last wife) in addition to these, Abhayajyoti and Dujajū. Three of these sons, Mayarjū, Byadharāja and Herājū took up the work of the temple, but were able to complete only one storey within their lifetime. One year after the death of the last of these three, a fourth son, Buddhajū with the help of his son Jivarāj and his grandson Jayamuni again took up the work. Buddhajū died before the shrine could be completed, but his son and grandson finally finished the work and in N.S.721 on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Aṣāḍh the shrine was finally consecrated in the presence of the king of Kathmandu, Śivasimha Malla.

The family of Abhayarāja grew and prospered and his descendants are now scattered in a number of further branches of Uku Bāhā. According to tradition his immediate descendants built or repaired five bāhās which became branches for their families: Yachu Bāhā [114], Naudau Bāhā [162], Sikuca Bāhā [157], Twāya Bāhā [111], and Jātha Bāhā [149]. Another lineage broke off and took up residence in U Bāhā Bahī [139], making that their own, thereby becoming a separate saṅgha established in a bahī. The descendants of Abhayarāja still inhabit these branches and in later years built further branches as



will be evident from the list below.

The story of the chronicle about the descendants of Abhayarāja donating the fixtures for the ratha of Bungadya is confirmed by other evidence. The fixtures were donated in N.S.774 as recorded in a thyāsaphu reference. The account says that Jayamuni (son of Jivarāj) a paṇḍit from Mahābuddha went to Sikkim and offered to the Rājā of Sikkim a plate of prasāda from the Mahābuddha enshrined in his vihāra. In gratitude the king filled the plate with gold. When Jayamuni returned with the gold, he called a meeting of the members of the saṅgha to determine what to do with the gold. It was decided to make fixtures for the ratha of Bungadya. The reference speaks of the side panels for the four sides, the toranas, and the decorations above the toranas. The fixtures were placed on the ratha for the first time in N.S.774 after the ratha had reached Ga Baha. A gūthī was then set up to ensure the safe keeping and maintenance of the fixtures. This is further confirmed by a lāl mohar of King Raṇabahādur Shah dated Sambat 1847 (A.D.1790). In this year a dispute arose about the use of the gūthī land and the lāl mohar was given to settle the dispute and confirm the rights of the gūthī over these lands. The lāl mohar identifies the petitioner as Ram Ānanda Bānda, a descendant of Jiva Rāj Bāṇḍā who offered golden ornaments for the ratha of Sri 5 Macchendraṇāth and set up a gūthī. The document allows him and his descendants to retain the lands and to use the income to keep these fixtures in good repair, etc. The fixtures are the ones still in use and they are still stored at Mahābuddha. The endowment still exists but has dwindled so that what income is received is barely enough to pay those who carry the fixtures to the ratha and back and to provide a feast for the members of the gūthī. The fixtures are now in a sad state of disrepair.<sup>102</sup>

The shrine has been repaired at various times. In the earthquake of A.D. 1934 the entire tower fell to the ground. After this Buddhi Narasimha of Jothā Bāhā and Devarāj of Mahābuddha undertook the restoration. They were unable to find the original plan of the shrine, but it was repaired as nearly as possible like the original.<sup>103</sup> Informants, however, say that the tower is not as tall as the original. Following are the sub-branches of this branch.

i. Twāya Bāhā — Noghalabhota Mitravarṇa

## Vihāra [111]

Nuga (Sundhārā) Tole

Twāya Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard off the north west corner of the Sun Dhārā square. The courtyard is surrounded by ordinary Newār houses and the kwāpā-dya is housed in a free-standing shrine of two roofs in the centre of the courtyard. The shrine faces west. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. Across the front of the shrine are three lattice work doorways. The central doorway is surmounted by a new torana depicting Amitābha flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is considered the ritual friend (mit or twāya) of Bungadya; and on the day of the Sun Dhārā Jātrā devotees always visit this shrine after performing their devotions at the ratha of Bungadya. They must make the same offerings to this deity that they make to Bungadya and to Minnāth. Their offerings include cooked rice, an unusual offering for lay people. Above the ground floor are three openings. The first tile roof is supported by carved struts. Above this roof is a squat storey with a single opening surmounted by a second tile roof and a single finial. To the west of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā, of the Mahā Bu Lineage. At the present time few of them actually live here but are scattered in different toles of the area. They perform the usual rituals each morning only. The period of service is one month and passes in turn through the three households. This branch saṅgha has three elders. The annual festival is observed here each year on the day of the Sun Dhārā Jātrā of Bungadya. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

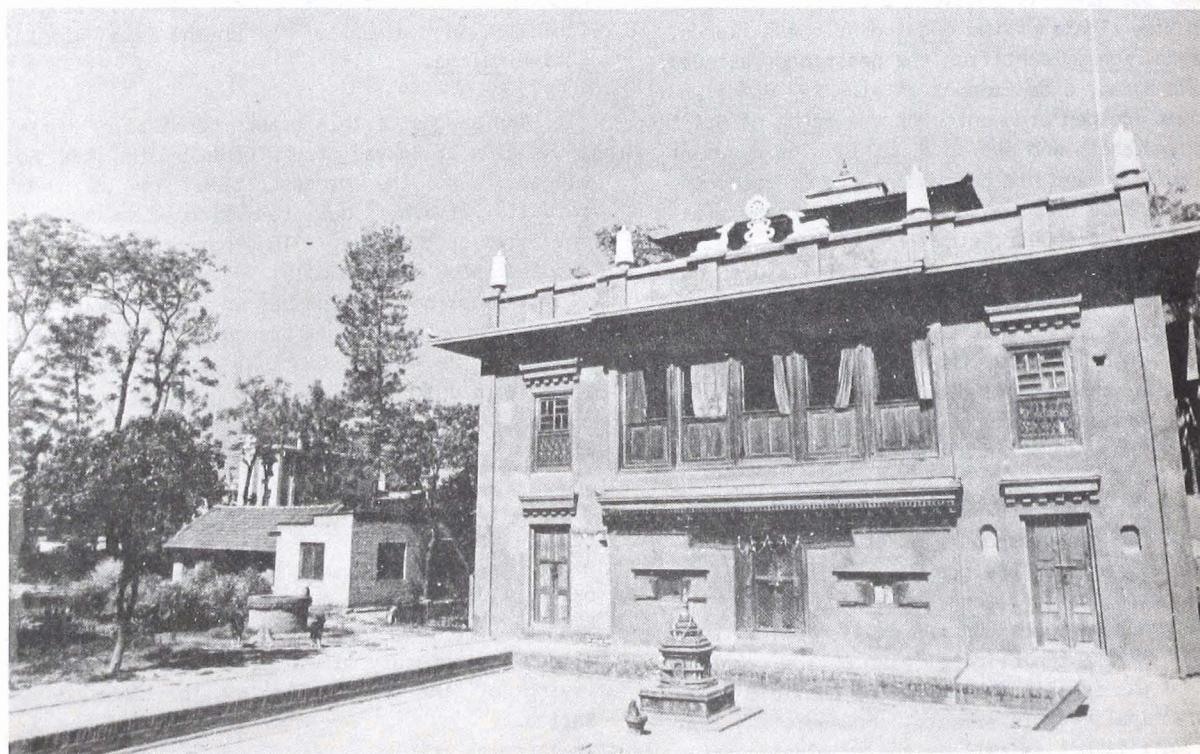
Little is known about the history of this bāhā or the origin of the connection to Bungadya other than the fact that the kwāpā-dya is also Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. According to KTMV the bāhā was constructed in N.S.649.<sup>104</sup> This date is almost contemporary with, but earlier than, the laying of the foundation of the Mahābuddha Shrine.

ii. Jyātha Bāhā -- Padmavarṇa Vihāra [149]

Jyātha Tole



54. Twāya Bāhā [111]



55. Jyātha Bāhā [149]

This branch is situated in a long rectangular courtyard in Jātha Tole. The complex consists of a neatly paved courtyard surrounded by a wall except for part of the western side which has a shrine with a couple of rooms on either side of it. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is located on the ground floor and contains a large painted image of Akṣobhya facing east. The shrine doorway, which is beautifully carved has no torāṇa, but up near the top of the building in modern plaster work are two prayer wheels, the wheel of the law and a pair of deer. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and the image of a devotee.

This branch bāhā was the home of three households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū lineage. However, a few years ago they donated the property to Mahāyāna bhikṣus who now reside here with one Tibetan monk. In a building behind the shrine there are also a couple of Theravāda nuns. The original saṅgha has more or less abandoned the site, but the nitya pūjā is still performed each morning by a member of one of the households of the original saṅgha. The members of this household take turns serving as dya-pālās for a month at a time. The annual festival is no longer held. The sub-saṅgha, however, still exists and has one elder.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this branch. It must surely go back to about the time of Abhayarāja and perhaps earlier. It has been here long enough to give its name to the entire tole. The only date, however, is N.S.1008 on an inscription to the side of the shrine.

iii. Sikucā Bāhā -- Simha Cuka Vihāra [157]  
Thainā Tole

Nothing is left of this bāhā but the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in an enclosed courtyard in Thaina Tole which has been encroached upon by new buildings. The shrine is of three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa. The torāṇa shows the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. Above these figures are two attendants with yak tail fans, the four other transcendent Buddhas, two seated figures of Avalokiteśvara and finally Vajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The door-

way of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and the first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging, lattice balcony whose struts support the tile roof. Above the roof is a single finial in the shape of a caitya. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and to the side of the shrine an image of Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of nine households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. This sub-saṅgha has two bāhās, this one and Pālu Bāhā [156]. Members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in this bāhā and Pālu Bāhā simultaneously. Rituals are performed only in the morning, and the period of service is an entire year rotating through the nine households in turn. The saṅgha has one elder, but the annual festival is no longer observed either here or in Pālu Bāhā. The bāhā still has a little income from gūthi endowments.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā other than the tradition that it was founded by one of the early descendants of Abhayarāja. There are no inscriptions here, but KTMV dates the caitya to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

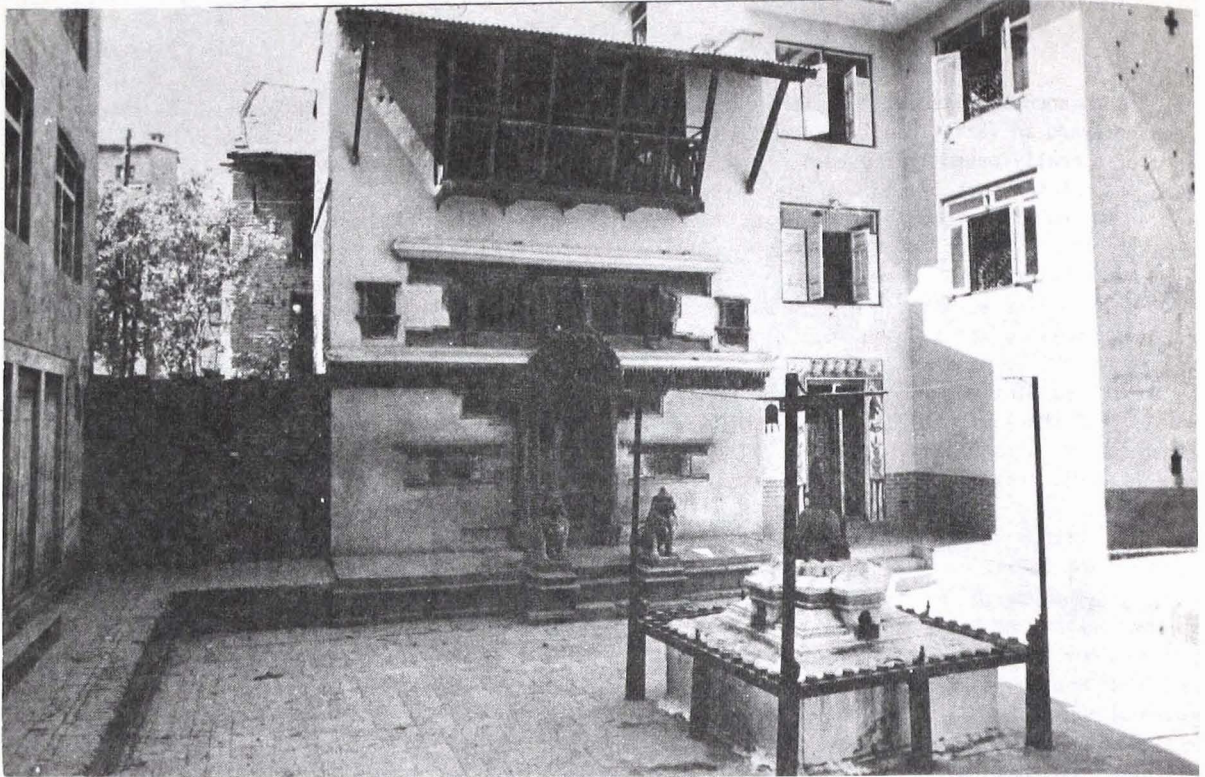
iv. Pālu Bāhā -- Samantabhadra Vihāra [156]  
Thapā Tole

Much of the architecture of the original bāhā has been preserved here, but is in a poor state of repair. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is along the western arm of the quadrangle. The doorway of the shrine is plain with a lattice work door and no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a lattice work balcony surmounted by a tile roof. The rest of the quadrangle buildings follow the same pattern. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

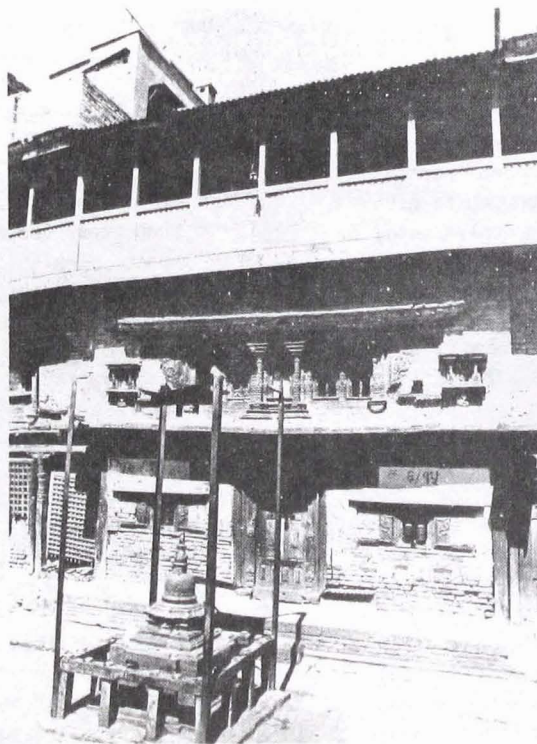
The saṅgha of this branch is the same as that of Sikucā Bāhā above. The usual rituals are performed here each morning by the same dya-pālā who functions in Sikucā Bāhā. The annual festival is no longer observed.

According to a copper-plate inscription





56. Sikuca Bāhā [157]



57. Pālu Bāhā [156]



nailed to a beam to the right of the shrine doorway this branch was constructed in N.S.754. Renovations were carried out after the earthquake of 1934.

v. Naudo Bāhā -- Devadatta Vihāra [162]  
Naudo Tole

This bāhā has also preserved its original form with the bāhā buildings extending right round the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is marked by two stone lions, a pair of brass triangular flags, an archway of lamps, and an iron railing running round the veranda in front of the shrine. The well carved doorway is surmounted by a brass repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has an exquisitely carved five-fold window flanked by two equally well-carved small windows. The whole of the facade of the ground and first storey has been plastered and whitewashed. The top floor has an overhanging wooden lattice-work balcony which supports the tile roof. From the balcony hang seven halampos depicting Buddhist deities. Above the tile roof rises a cupola faced with lattice work and surmounted by a tile roof. The buildings round the courtyard are similar and the balcony of the second story extends right round the quadrangle. At the time of writing the entire shrine has been torn down for renovations. In the quadrangle are two votive caityas and a stone dharma-dhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū lineage. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine by rotation for a month at a time. The saṅgha has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the day of Sri Pañcami. The bāhā has no income.

There used to be several copper-plate inscriptions in this bāhā, but they have been removed for safekeeping. These indicate that the bāhā was founded in N.S.760 by Devi Singh Sakya. A samyak ceremony was held here in N.S.767.

vi. Jati Bāhā -- Jayativarṇa Vihāra [137]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is a renovated kwāpā-dya shrine. All the other buildings of the quadrangle are recent. The shrine has a plain entrance with no ornamentation and no torāṇa. The plain doorway is flanked by two small windows and the shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The facade of the ground floor has been plastered with plain cement and that of the first storey has been plastered and white-washed. The top storey has a plain veranda with a modern railing. The roof is of plain tile. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

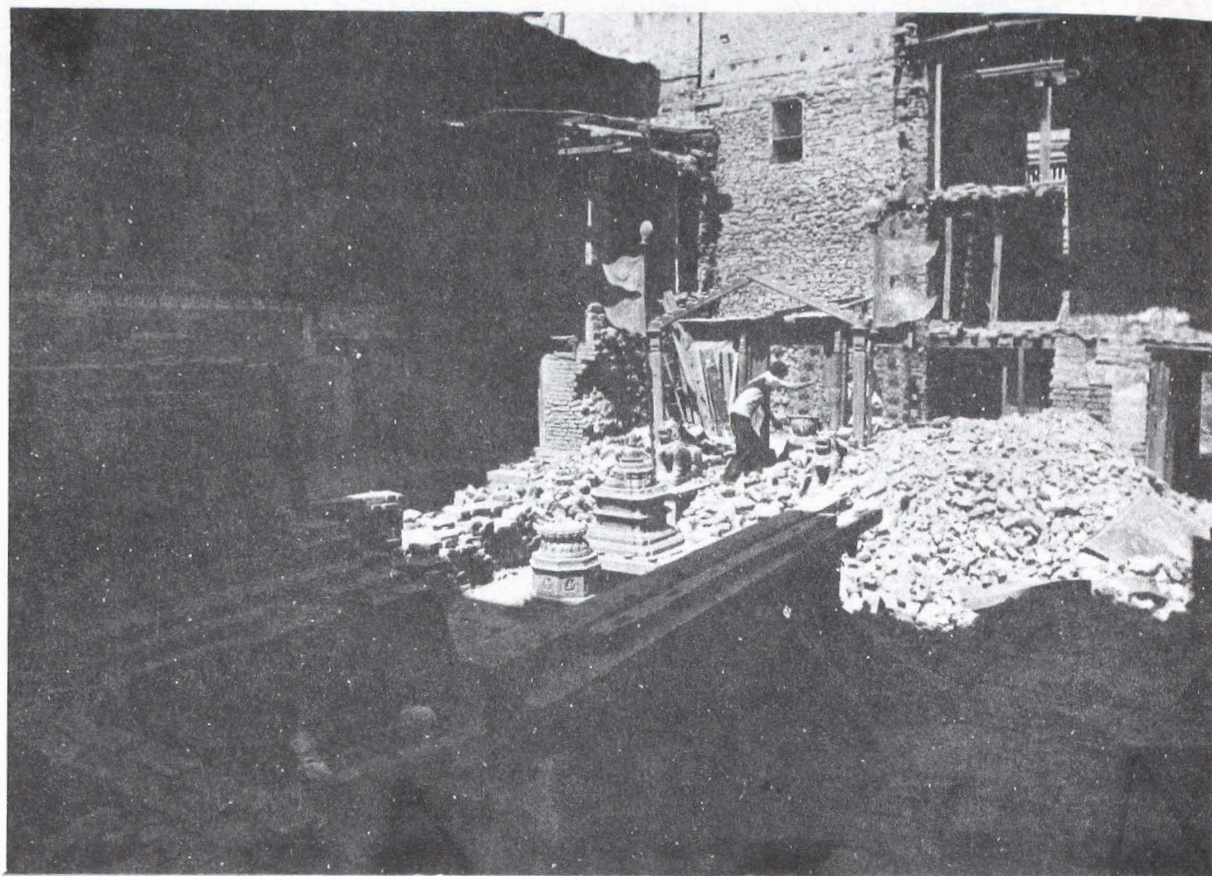
The saṅgha of this bāhā is the same as that of Naudo Bāhā [162]. None of the members of the saṅgha live here any longer and the daily rituals are performed each morning by the current dya-pālā of Naudo Bāhā. The annual festival is observed on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh. The bāhā still has a little income left, an annual total of 3 murīs of paddy.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and there are no inscriptions in the courtyard. The bāhā was renovated after the earthquake of 1934.

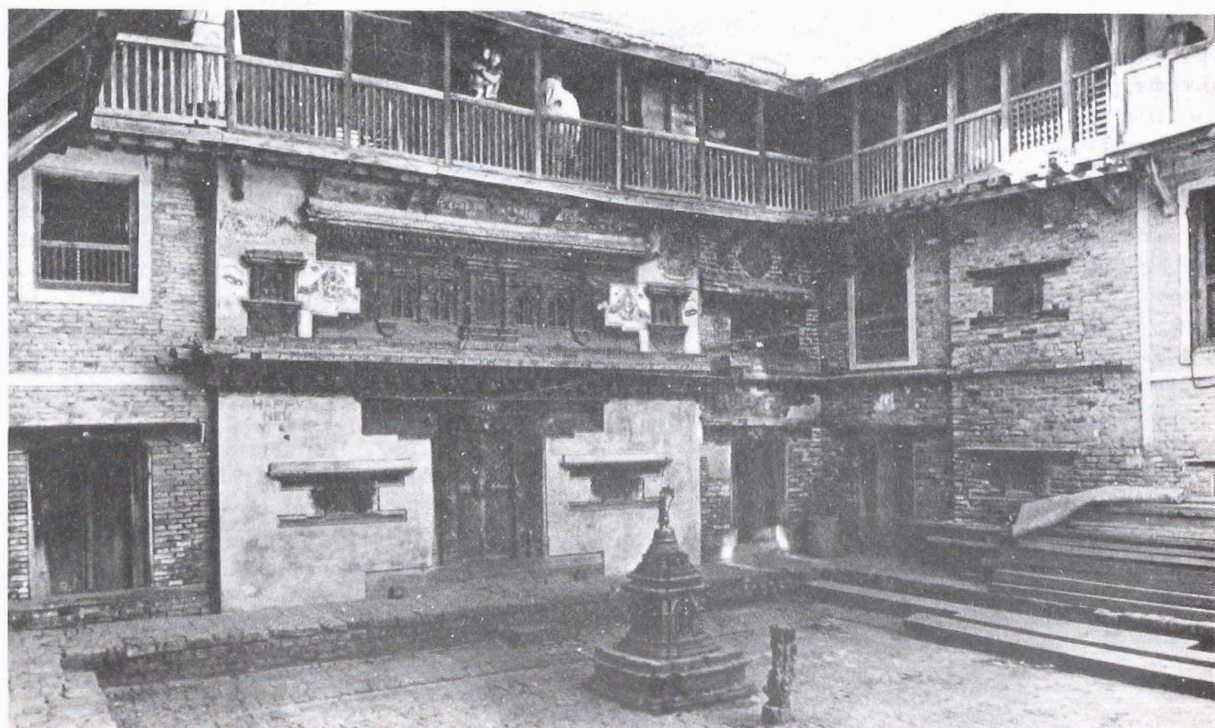
vii. Dathu Bāhā -- Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra\* [112]  
Nuga Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is the kwāpā-dya shrine, a squat building of poor quality brick in a partially enclosed courtyard in Nuga. The door to the shrine, which is set almost at ground level has no markings and no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey of the shrine has a carved triple window flanked by two small windows. Plain struts support the tile and grass-covered roof. The roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for a month at a time. Service rotates through the four households, and rituals are performed only in the morning. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival on the day of Śrī Pañcami. The bāhā has no income.



58. Naudo Bāhā [162]



59. Jati Bāhā [137]





60. Dathu Bāhā [112]



61. Nuga Nhū Bāhā [113]

According to an inscription preserved at the bāhā this was founded by in N.S.798 by Kamarajū Sākya. In the month of Māgh of this year he and his family consecrated the bāhā and installed images of the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Ga-nesh, Mahākāl, Cakrasaṃvar-Vajravārāhī and the caitya. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā.

viii. Nuga Nhū Bāhā -- Amṛtavajra Saṃskārita  
Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra [113]

Yacchu Tole

This branch located in Yacchu Tole has a finely preserved bāhā shrine with the original teliya bricks. The other buildings of the enclosed courtyard are modern. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows, but has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large, open windows. The tile roof is supported by nine plain struts and surmounted by a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the well paved courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha take turns as dya-pālās in the shrine for a month at a time. Service passes through the four households in turn. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bāhā on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Phalgun. The bāhā has no income.

There is a single inscription in the courtyard which tells that the bāhā was founded in N.S.762 by Amṛtavajra Sākya. <sup>106</sup> It was last renovated in A.D.1956.

ix. Naga Bāhā -- Rupavarṇa Vihāra\* [146]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

Naga Bāhā, just down the street to the west of Uku Bāhā is one of the best preserved bāhās in the area. Both the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and the building facing the street have preserved their original form with the teliya bricks. The shrine is plain but the brickwork and carving are exquisite. The carved doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows.

The doorway has no torana, but there is a small figure of the Buddha on the lintel of the door. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two exquisite small windows. The top storey is an open and slightly overhanging balcony. Carved struts support the tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya, plus images of Ganesh and Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of twelve households of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha act as dya pālās performing the usual rituals each morning. Service is for one month and passes in turn through the twelve households. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bāhā on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. Income from gūthī lands has dwindled to only five pāthīs of paddy.

According to a copper-plate inscription preserved at the bāhā, this branch was built in N.S.782 by Rugujū Sākya. It was last renovated in A.D.1933 by the members of the saṅgha. <sup>107</sup>

x. Basu Bāhā -- Vasuvarṇa Vihāra [148]

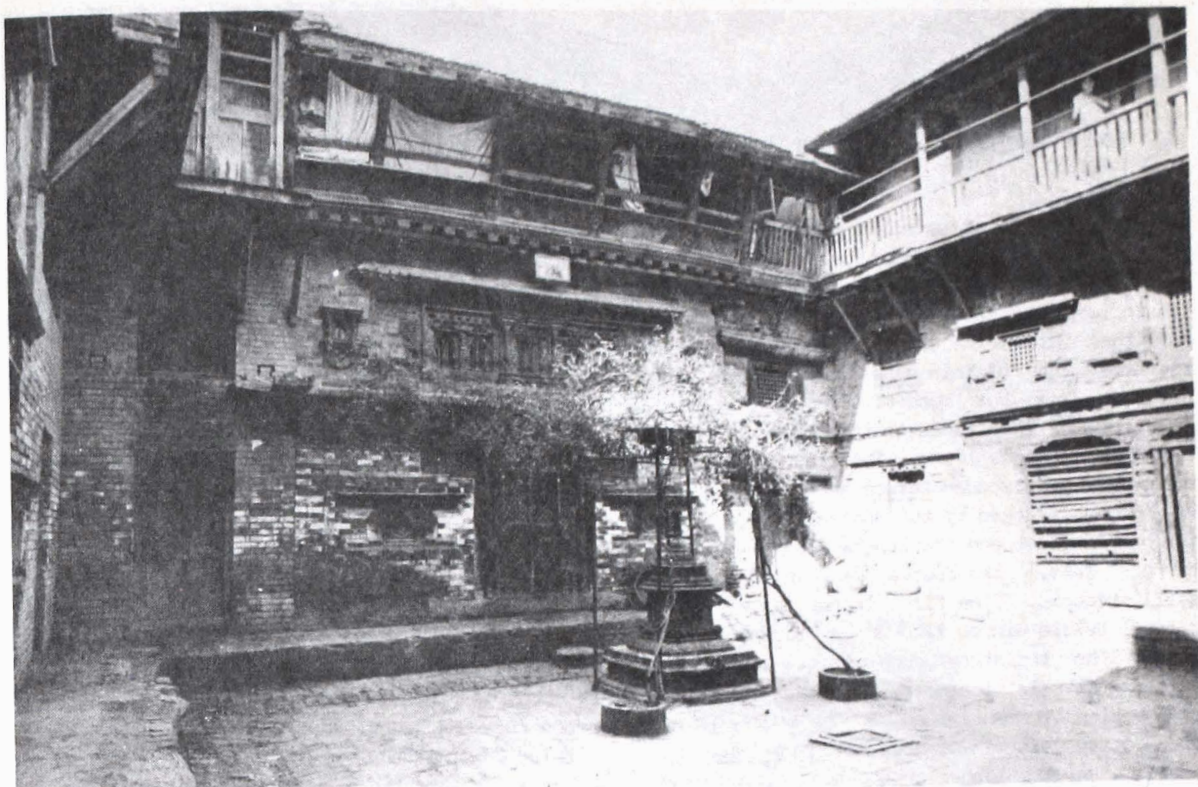
Jyātha Tole

As it stands now this is simply a modern foundation consisting of two plastered shrines in a small, fenced-in courtyard with no buildings around it. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a brick and plaster affair decorated with some terracotta fragments reputed to be left over from the Mahābuddha shrine. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The shrine has no torana. Facing this is another small, plastered Buddha shrine. There are no caityas or maṇḍalas in the courtyard.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of only one household of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of this household serve as dya-pālās in the shrine performing the usual rituals each morning only. The saṅgha has one elder and used to observe an annual festival on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Māṅsir, but this has now been abandoned. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this shrine. As it now stands it is certainly a modern construction. Whether this is a new foundation or the reconstruction of a





62. Nagu Bāhā [146]



63. Basu Bāhā [148]

ruined bāhā is not known.

xi. Hiti Phusa Bāhā -- Jinavarṇa Vihāra  
[150] Hiti Phusa Tole

This bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just next to the water tap known as Thapā Hiti. That this has long been a Buddhist centre is indicated by the two Licchavi style caityas on either side of the water tap. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya of this bāhā has preserved its original form but much of the brickwork is crumbling. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved triple window flanked by two small windows. The top story has a small overhanging balcony with lattice-work openings. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. Over the larger of the two caityas hangs a metal canopy.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of a very large number of households of Sakyas of the Mahā Bū Lineage of Uku Bāhā. Originally there were four households here, but they have so often divided that they are now referred to as four sub-lineages and the whole group is often referred to as a separate lineage within Uku-Mahābudha Bāhā, the Hiti Phusa Lineage. Three of the lineages still live here in the bāhā complex, but the fourth now lives in Thainā Tole. Members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the bāhā for one month at a time. Terms of service rotate through the four lineages and within each lineage through the various households. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. At the present time this bāhā has no income.

This must be at least a sixteenth or seventeenth century foundation but there are no inscriptions left in the complex, and the members of the saṅgha have no old documents or inscriptions which would help to date the foundation.

xii. Jothā Bāhā -- Jayaśrī Vihāra\* [159]  
Thainā Tole

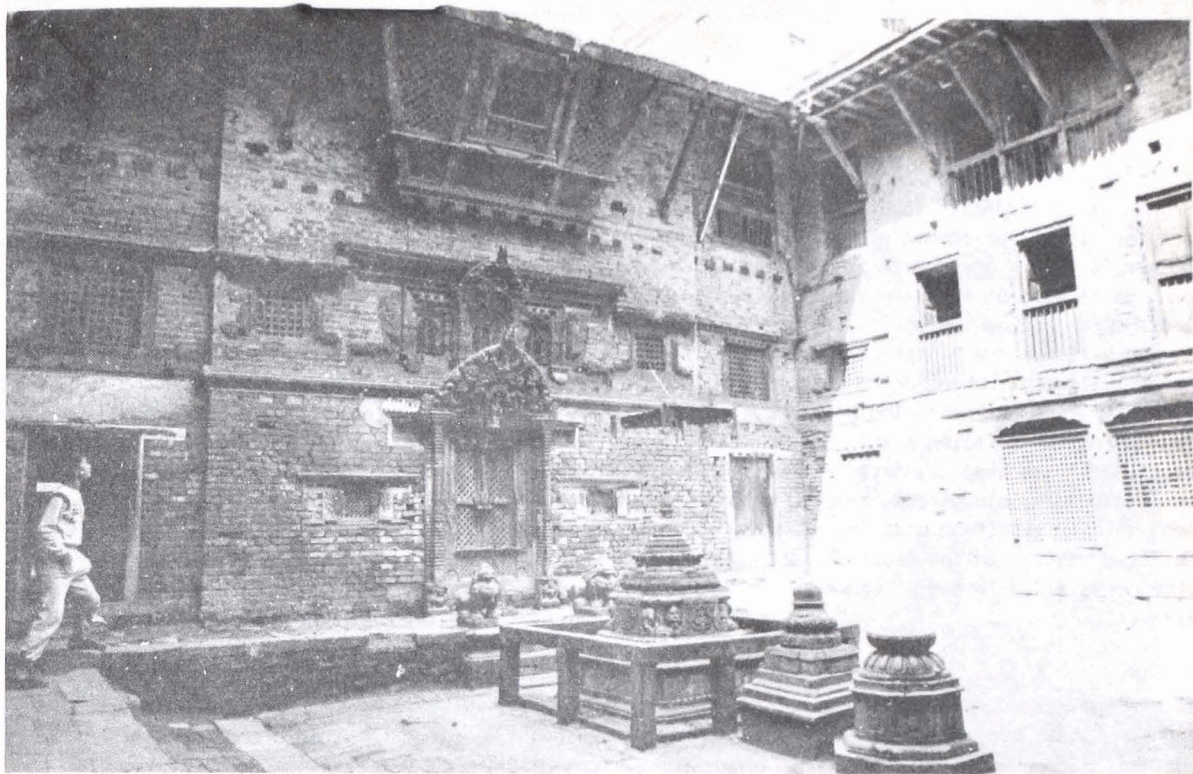
This branch is situated in an entirely enclosed courtyard in Thainā Tole. Though the complex has preserved its original architectural form the buildings have all been plastered with plain cement. The entryway to the shrine is unmarked and has no torāṇa. The carved doorway has a lattice work door. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony, which extends right round the courtyard and is enclosed with lattice work. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha act as dya-pālās in the shrine by turn for a month at a time. Service passes through the four households in turn. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bāhā on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

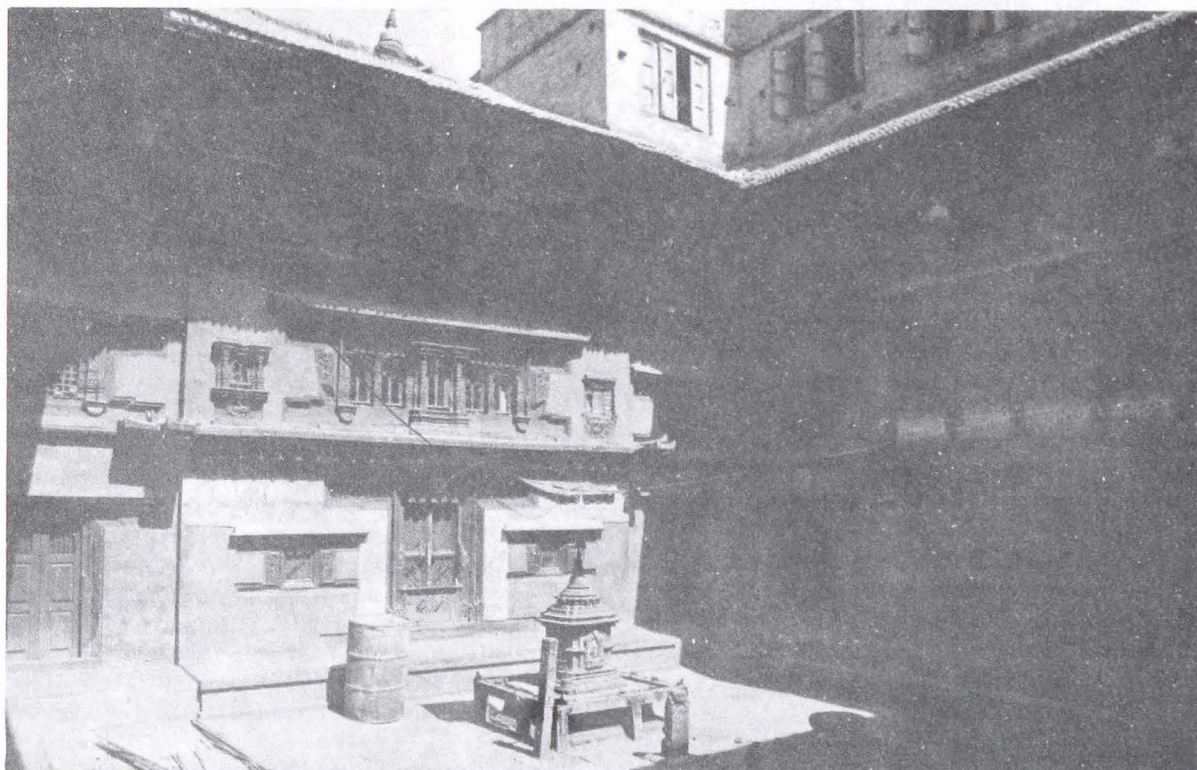
According to a copper-plate inscription attached to the doorway of the shrine this bāhā was constructed in N.S.773. There is a tradition among the members of the saṅgha that on the day of the consecration of this bāhā the King of Patan (Siddhi Narasimha Malla) was invited to the ceremony and placed on a golden throne. To confirm the people's loyalty the king then ordered the throne to be placed on the pedestal of the Krishna temple in the darbar square of Patan. This custom is still observed each year on the fullmoon day of Jyestha.<sup>108</sup> Wright's Chronicle has a reference to this bāhā from a later reign. During the reign of Viṣṇu Malla (N.S.849-65) a new section was built at the Patan Darbar. 'On the day of the roofing of the darbar, Jothajū of Thainayaka brought to assist in the work a great crowd of people whom he had assembled to help in roofing the Jothā Bihār, which he had built. For this service he received a dress of honour [dosālā]'.<sup>109</sup> We know from the above inscription that Jothā Bāhā was built much earlier than this. Either this refers to the putting of a new roof on the bāhā or the event has been placed in the wrong reign.

xiii. Kwātha Bāhā -- Kuṭa Simha Vihāra [158]





64. Hiti Phusa Bāhā [150]



65. Jothā Bāhā [159]

## Thainā Tole

This small branch bāhā is situated in a tiny courtyard adjacent to Jothā Bāhā, and is in fact a sort of sub-branch of that bāhā. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small section of the western wing of the courtyard. The ground floor which houses the shrine of the kwāpā-dya has no markings but a sort of open veranda with carved pillars, behind which is the plain entrance to the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey, which has been plastered and whitewashed, has a carved triple window. Above this is an open balcony with four plain struts supporting the tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and images of Ganesh, Mahākāl and Sarasvatī.

This bāhā was constructed as the saṅgha of Jothā Bāhā expanded, and it has no separate saṅgha. It is the property of the whole group and the current dya-pālā of Jothā Bāhā also functions as dya-pālā here. The annual festival of the two is also celebrated simultaneously. This branch has no income.

The only inscription in the complex is dated N.S.980 and may well have been put up at the time of the construction of this small sub-branch. Nothing further is known about the history of this foundation.

xiv. Dhanananda Bāhā -- Śrī Gana Vihāra [136]  
Mahābuddha Tole

This tiny little branch is situated in a partially enclosed area just to the north of the Mahābuddha shrine. It consists of a small, free-standing Buddha shrine with a plastered top. The image is Akṣobhya facing west. The shrine does not have a proper torāṇa, but simply a figure of the Buddha over the doorway. Opposite this shrine is another plastered shrine which at the present time has no image.

The saṅgha of this little branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of this household perform the usual rituals each morning only. They have no annual festival and no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this little branch, but it is surely a modern foundation.

d. Duni Bāhā -- Puṇacandra Vihāra\* [138]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This small branch bāhā is located in a enclosed courtyard in the area directly east of Uku Bāhā. The shrine is a plain building that has been plastered and whitewashed. The shrine is unmarked and has no torāṇa; but above the lattice door are figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a finely carved triple window with a small torāṇa over the middle window. The squat top storey has one large window in the centre. Plain struts support the tile roof. In the centre of the courtyard is a brick shrine with three plastered roofs containing another image of Akṣobhya facing west. The topmost roof is surmounted by the wheel of the law.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Che Pu Lineage. Only about ten members of the saṅgha actually serve as dya-pālās in the shrine, rotating the service each month. Rituals are performed only in the morning. The branch has one elder and used to celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the full moon day of Aswin, but this has been discontinued since they no longer have any income to support the feast.

According to a copper-plate inscription attached to the lintel of the shrine the bāhā was founded in N.S.779 by Puṇya Śākya. The inscription also contains the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. Another inscription is dated N.S.851.

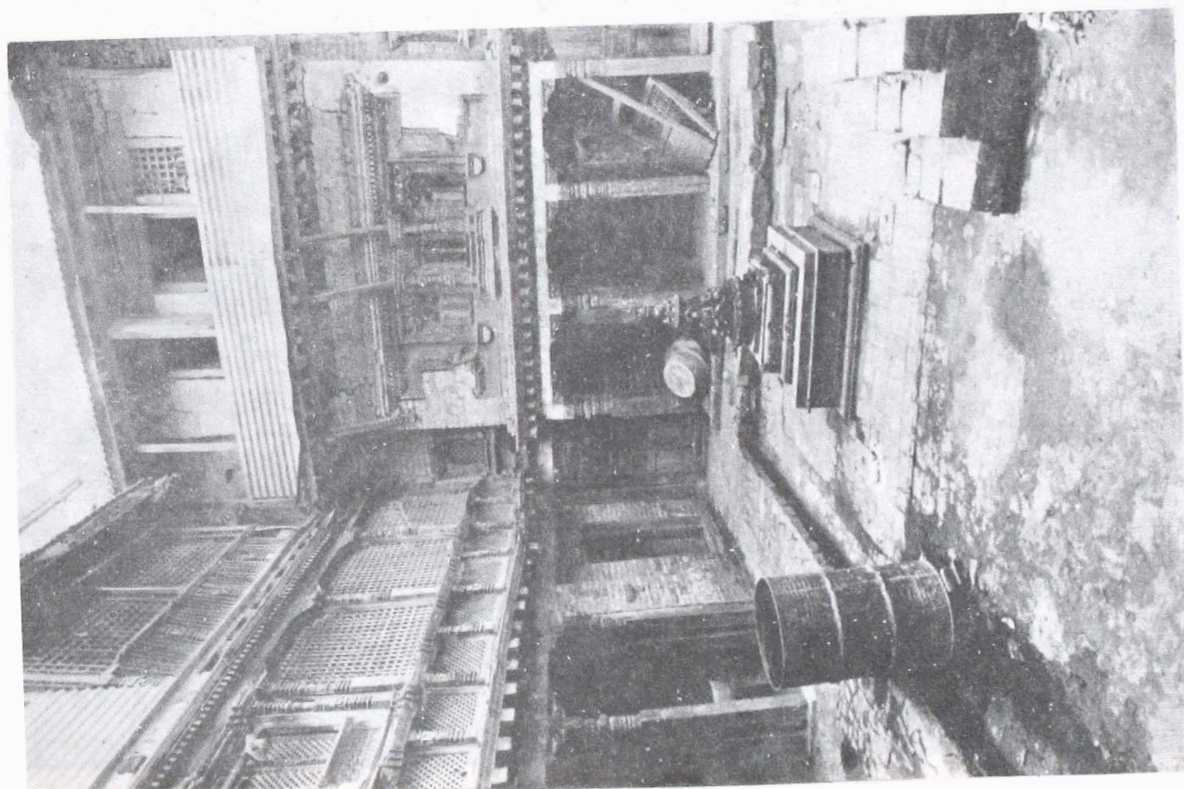
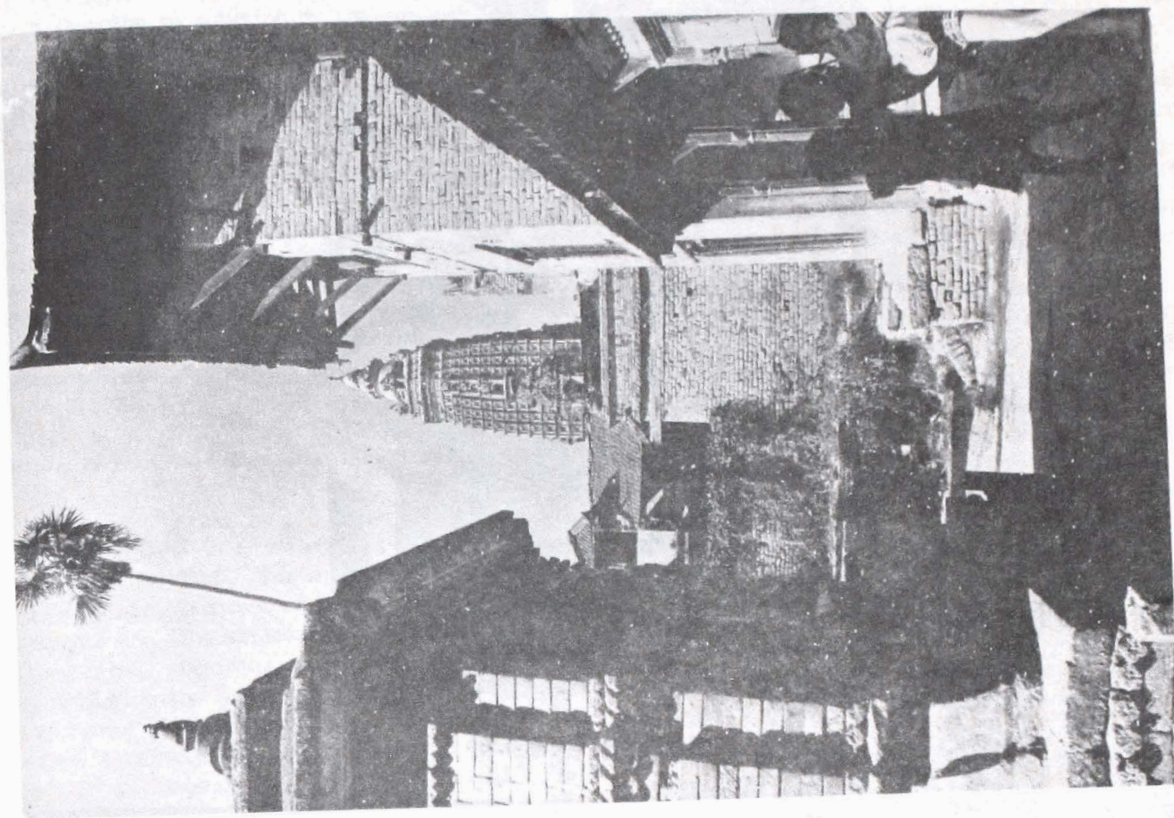
e. Yatāliivi Nhū Cheñ Bāhā -- Bhima Kṛta  
Ratnalābha Vihāra [160]

Uku Bāhā Tole

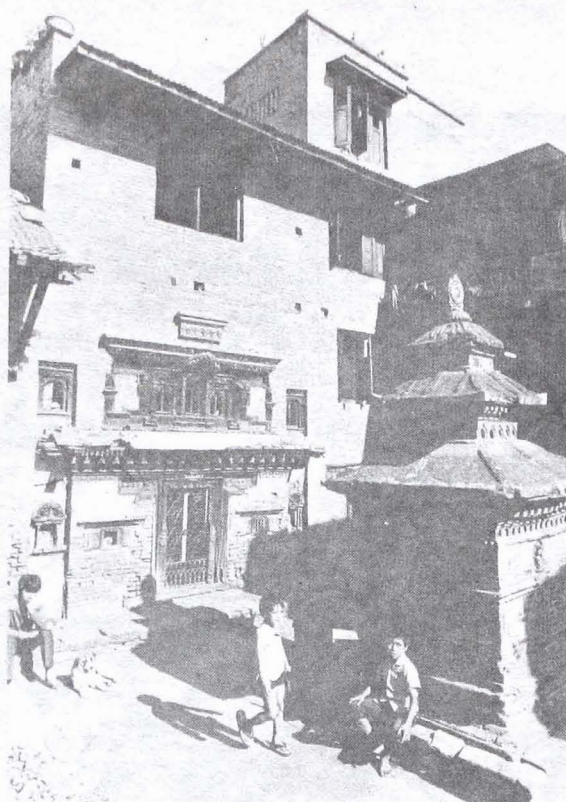
This small branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the north west corner of the area of the Yatāliivi Caitya. At the present time it consists of a modern, plastered shrine with an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In front of the shrine is a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. Informants insist that this is an old foundation and the present form dates from a recent renovation after the ancient buildings had crumbled.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of two households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Che

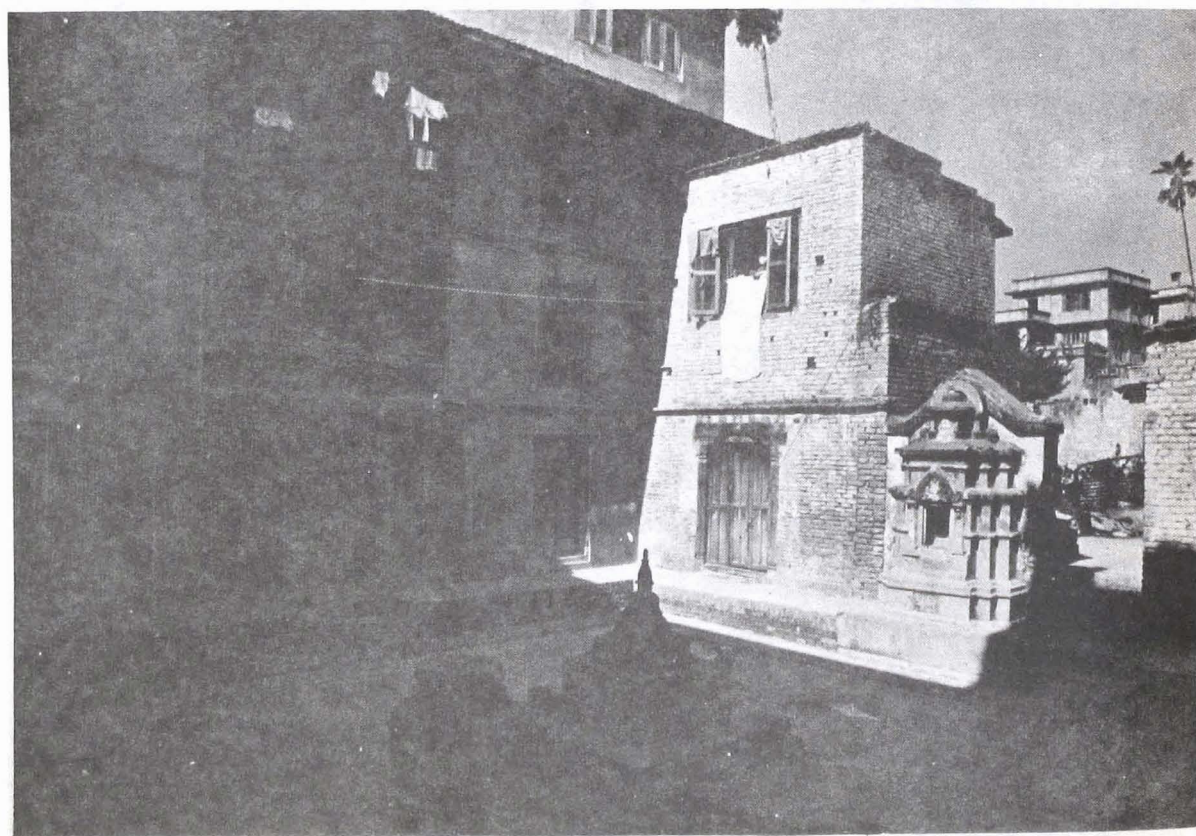








68. Duni Bāhā [138]



69. Yatalivi Nhū Cheñ Bāhā [160]

Pu Lineage. The usual rituals are performed each morning in rotation by the members of only one of these two households. The saṅgha has one elder and celebrates the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Disi Pūjā during the month of Paus. At the present time this branch has no income.

Members of the saṅgha say that this is a very ancient foundation and say that they have an inscription about 300 years old giving them the right to make coins. There are no dated inscriptions in the present complex and the present form of the bāhā dates to a renovation in N.S.1079.

f. Ta Ja Bāhā -- Ikṣuavarṇa Vihāra [145]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

Ta Ja Bāhā is in an entirely closed courtyard near Uku Bāhā. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a plain structure of three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. Over the carved doorway is a torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokitsvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked by two small windows and part of the facade has been plastered, but the plaster is crumbling. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has three large, open windows flanked by two small windows. The corrugated iron roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Chē Pu Lineage. The members of this household serve as dya-pālās by turn in the shrine, performing the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has a single elder and observes the annual festival of this branch on the first day of the dark half of the month of Magh. At the present time the bāhā has no income, but used to have some.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā. There are two inscriptions in the compound, one near the shrine of the kwāpā-dya dated N.S.1005 and the other on one of the lions dated N.S.1017.

g. Kuldev Bāhā — Kulacaitya Kīrti Vihāra  
[161] Thainā Tole

This bāhā consists in nothing more than a modern, plastered shrine standing separately from the buildings of the enclosed courtyard. The kwāpā-dya is a small image of Akṣobhya facing east. In front of the shrine is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a votive caitya with a canopy over it.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Chē Pu Lineage. The members of these households serve as dya-pālās at the shrine performing the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh. The branch has no income.

According to KTMV this little branch was founded in A.D.1928. <sup>110</sup> Probably the caitya is much older than the kwāpā-dya shrine.

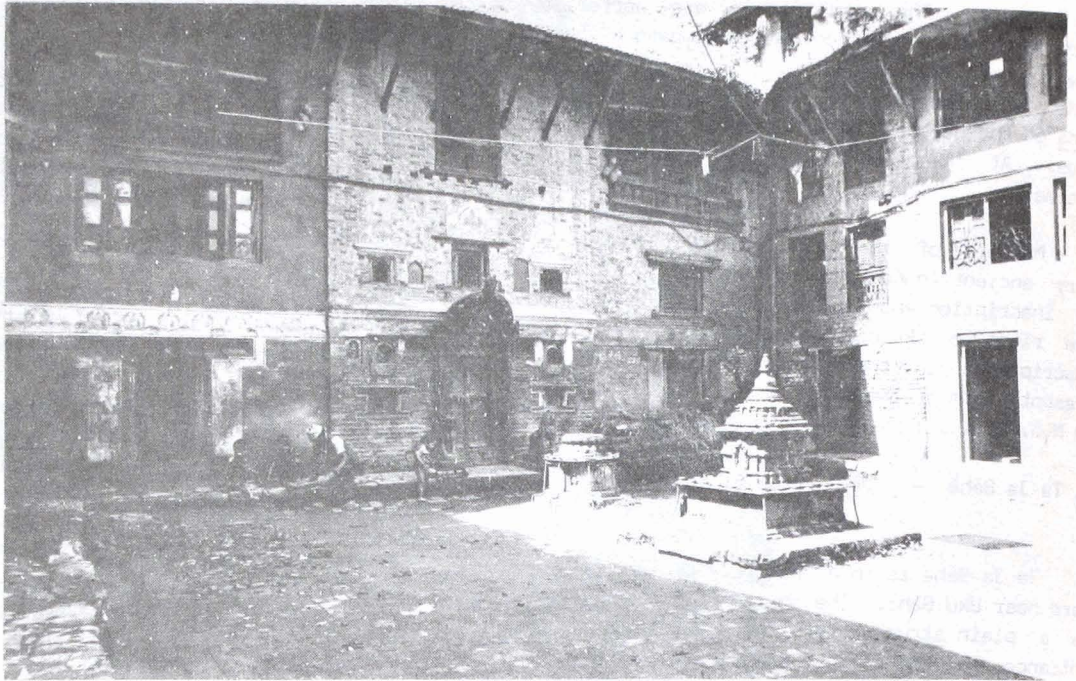
h. Yaṅga Bāhā — Yogalākṣya Vihāra [132]  
(Sumaṅgala Vihāra)  
Lunkhusi Tole

This bāhā complex consists of a long, rectangular courtyard, partially enclosed and containing a very simple kwāpā-dya shrine. The plain doorway has no torāṇa and the kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya dated N.S.1063.

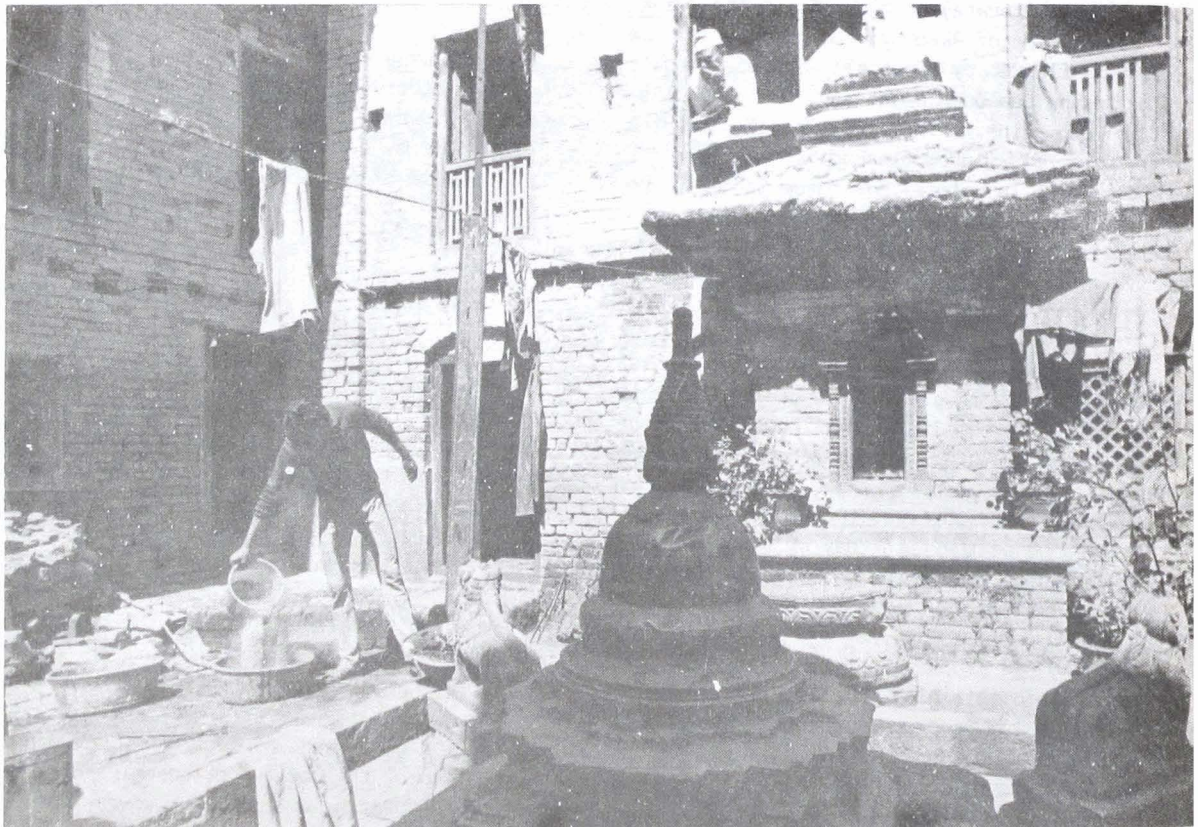
The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Chē Pu Lineage. However, none of the members of this household live here anymore. Some years ago they left the place and turned the property over to the Theravāda Bhikkhus who now reside here. They have renamed the place Sumaṅgala Vihāra. The family āgam of the original saṅgha is still here and one member of the household still comes to perform the usual rituals each morning. The annual festival of this branch is observed on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Caitra and the branch still has a little income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā and the only date is the one on the caitya, N.S.1063. However, the foun-

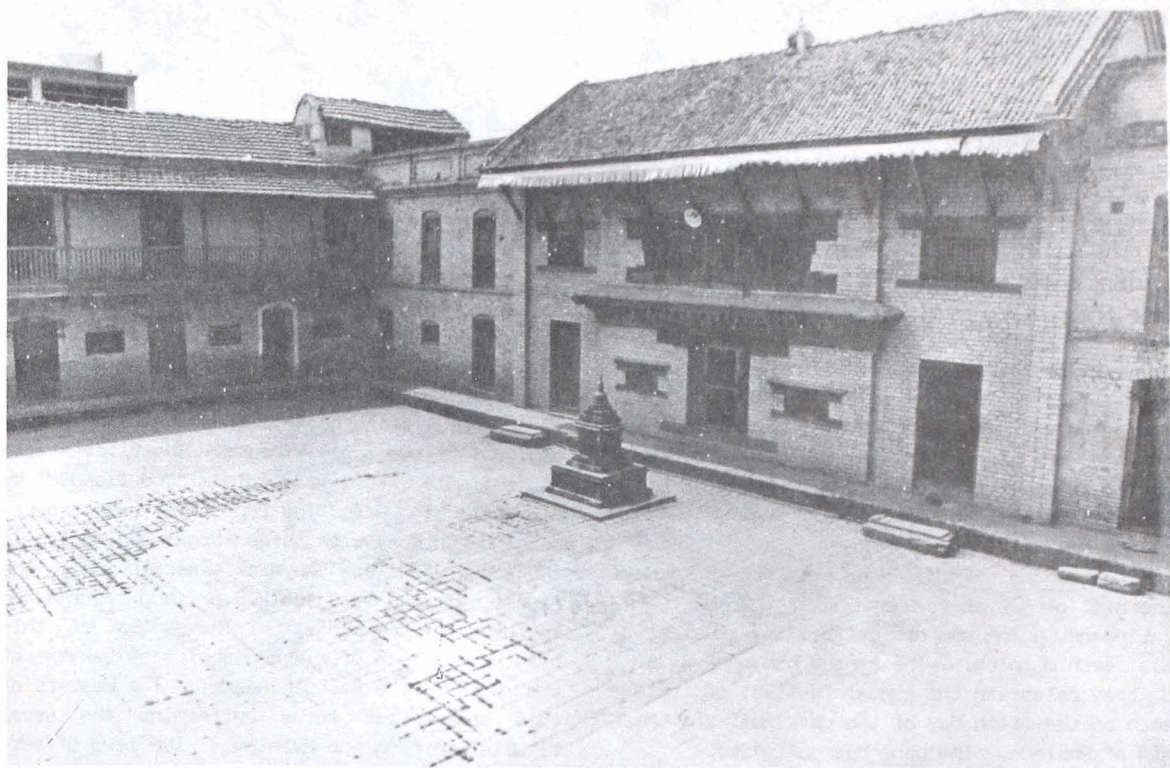




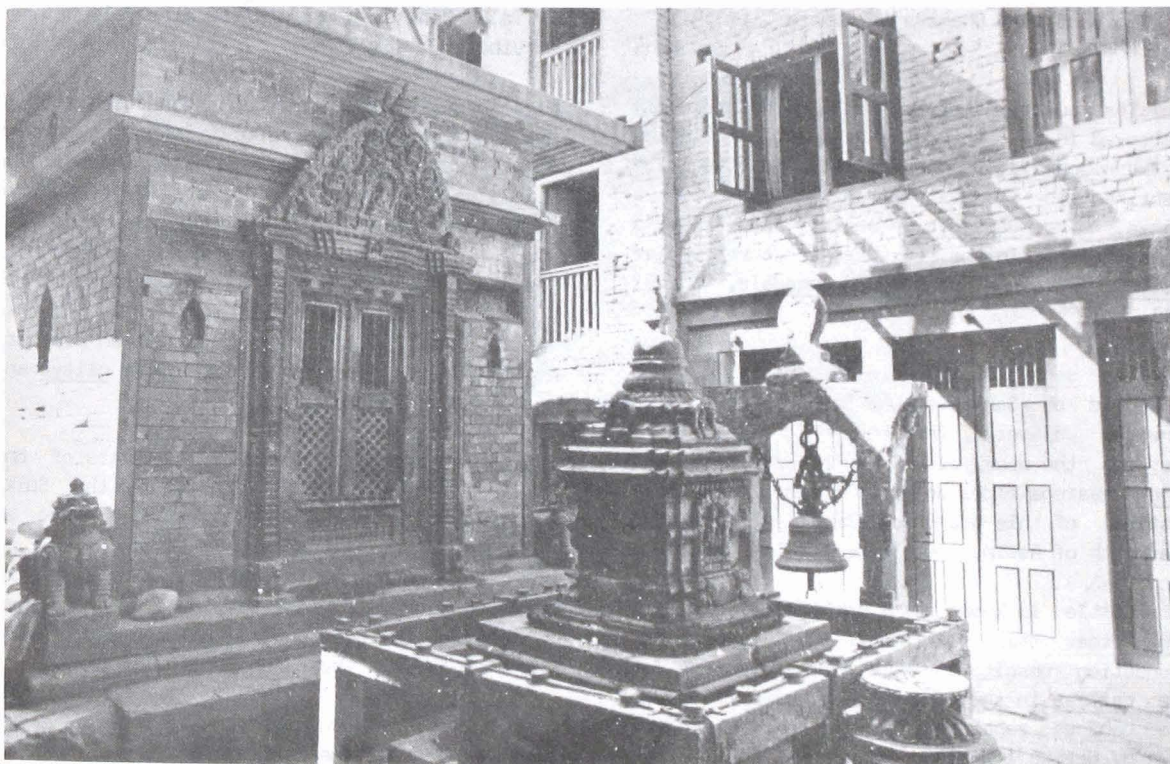
70. Ta Ja Bāhā [145]







72. Yaṅga Bāhā [132]



73. Dhana Bāhā [147]

dition is certainly older than this date.

i. Dhana Bāhā -- Dhanavīra Sīmha Vihāra\*  
[147] Jyāthā Tole

This bāhā consists of a free standing temple in the centre of a tiny courtyard in Jyāthā Tole. The shrine is a brick and plaster building with one roof. The carved entrance has a small torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya flanked by the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi on his right and Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Chē Pu Lineage. The members perform the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and they celebrate the annual festival of this branch on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Phalgun. The bāhā has no income.

According to an inscription to the side of the shrine the bāhā was founded in N.S.965 by one Dhanbir Singh.

j. Nhū Bāhā -- Dhanavajra Vihāra [134]  
Uku Bāhā

The buildings of this bāhā were completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya was not rebuilt, but the image enshrined in a small brick niche topped by a caitya. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are three votive caityas, a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala, and a well.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Baibu Lineage. Whoever of this household is available performs the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of this branch on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin. The branch has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā other than the fact that it is an old foundation despite the modern shrine. One of the caityas in the courtyard is dated N.S.782. The bāhā was repaired after the earthquake of 1934 by Herākāji Śākya.

k. Kani Bāhā -- Kanakavarṇa Vihāra [133]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This bāhā, which is situated in an enclosed courtyard near Uku Bāhā right at the edge of the old city of Patan, has some fine wood carvings; but unfortunately the whole of the facade of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya has been plastered with plain cement. The carved doorway has no markings and no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony with three large openings. In the courtyard are several inscriptions, the oldest of which is dated N.S.822 and records the founding of the bāhā. The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Baibu Lineage. The members of this saṅgha take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is a lunar fortnight and passes through the six households in turn. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

l. Ta Ja Bāhā -- Bhāju Kīrti Hiranyalābha Vihāra [143]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is a fairly recent foundation with a small kwāpā-dya shrine built into the ground floor of a modern, four storied house. The kwāpā-dya is Akṣobhya. The shrine is confined to the centre room of the ground floor and has a small torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The rest of the building is an ordinary house. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

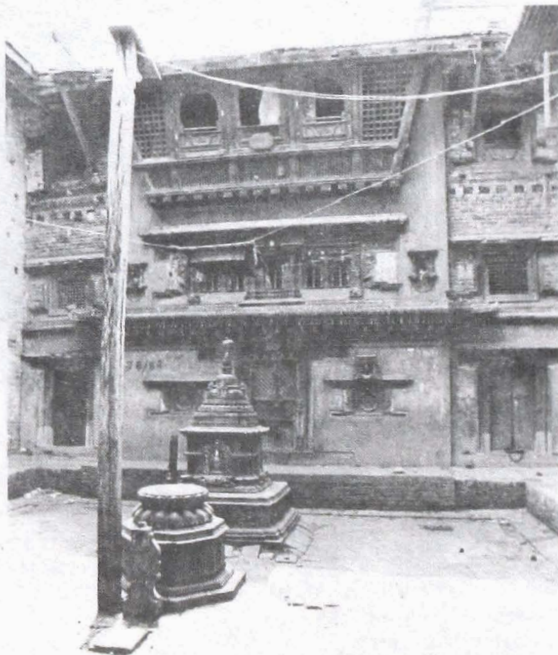
The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Suika Lineage. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in this shrine and in the shrine of the small sub-branch directly behind it. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin. The saṅgha has no income.

According to inscriptions at the caitya and at the shrine the caitya was consecrated in N.S.1017 and the shrine was consecrated in





74. Nūh Bāhā [134]

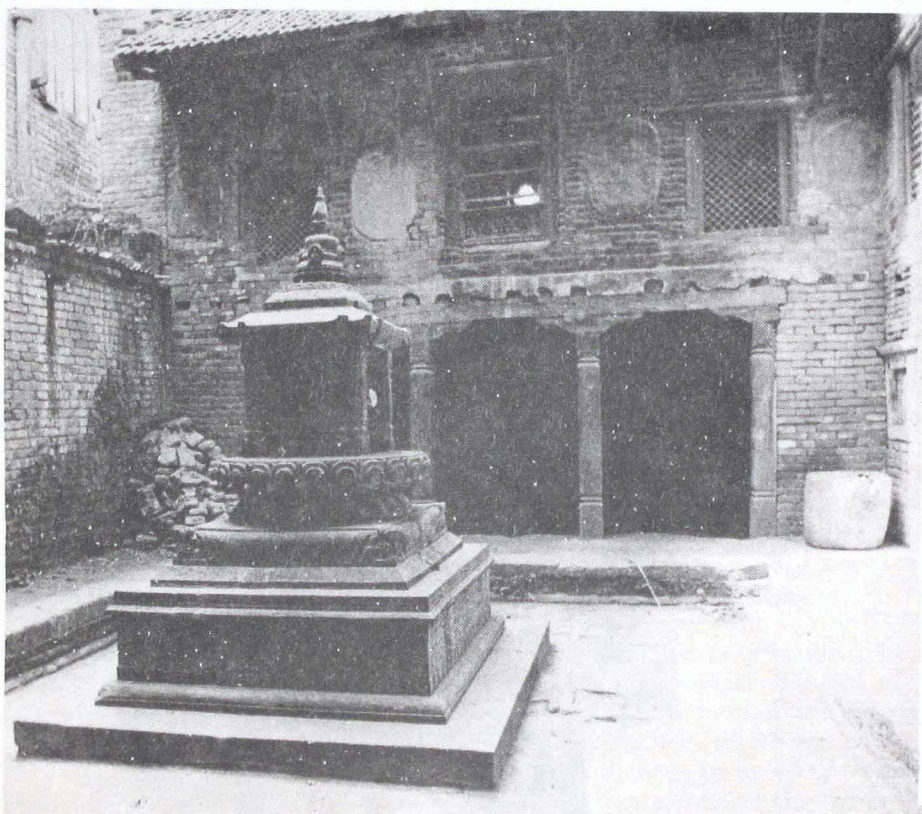


75. Kani Bāhā [133]





76. Ta Ja Bāhā [143]



77. Cidhañ



N.S.1019.

m. Cidhañ Ta Ja Bāhā -- ? [144]  
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is a very recent foundation and the bāhā is simply an enclosed courtyard behind Ta Ja Bāhā with a Buddha image mounted on a stone pedestal of several stages, the last stage being a lotus maṇḍala. This is located in the centre of the courtyard. The image is unusual. It is a small image, about 8 in. in height of white marble. The figure, which faces west, is a standing Buddha showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and holding the stem of a lotus with the left hand. Over the image is a caitya-like roof. The image has been enclosed in a cage of iron rods for protection.

This is a sort of sub-branch of Ta Ja Bāhā and the same saṅgha looks after both places. The daily rituals are performed by the current dya-pālā of Ta Ja Bāhā and the annual festival of the two shrines is observed at the same time. This branch still has a little income. There are no dates in the courtyard, but this is surely a very recent foundation.

n. Pāṇḍa Bāhā — Pāṇḍava Vihāra [131]  
Lunkhusi Tole

This branch is situated in a small courtyard at the very edge of the old city of Patan. The Buddha shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. At the present time this bāhā is the property of Jyāpūs living in the area and may well have been built by them. It is usually listed as a branch of Uku Bāhā, but at the present time really has no connection to Uku Bāhā. The nitya pūjā is performed each morning by the Jyāpūs who live here. There are two households of them and they alternate the service between the two households, a year at a time. They celebrate the annual festival of the shrine on the fullmoon day of Aswin. They say that the shrine used to have some income from land, but this has been lost. For a while there was a Theravāda Bhikṣu living here, but he has now left. Nothing is known about the history of this shrine. The only inscription in the complex is dated N.S.997.

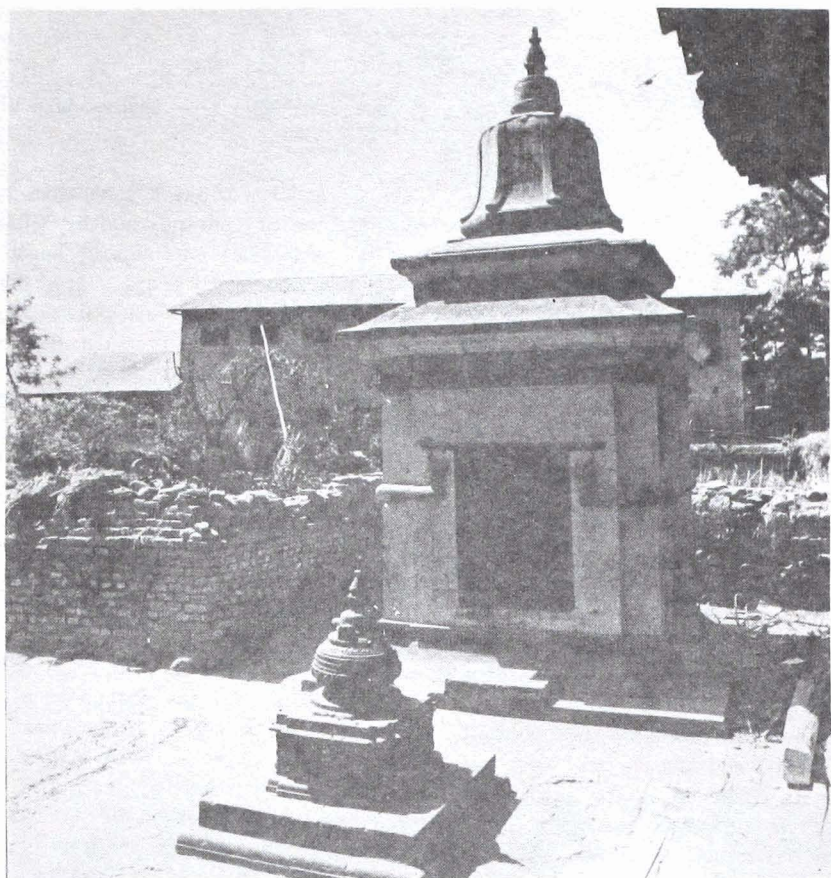
o. Tana Bāhā -- Jayamaṅgala Vihāra [117]  
Chanaki Tole

At the present time this is a modern brick and cement shrine used by Theravāda Bhikṣus. The shrine has an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the courtyard are a caitya and a well. The present structure was built in A.D.1948 for the Bhikṣus by people from Uku Bāhā on the site of a ruined bāhā that had become a latrine. Some informants say that the original foundation was a branch of Uku Bāhā. Others say that no one knows to whom the original bāhā belonged to but it was appropriated by people from Uku Bāhā and remodelled by them for the Bhikṣus.

9. Gujī Bāhā -- Vaiṣya Śrī Divākara Varma  
(Samskārita) Mahāvihāra\* [152]  
Calacheñ Tole

Gujī Bāhā is located in a sprawling complex south and west of the Sūn Dhārā area. The bāhā can be approached from either the north or the south. Approaching from the north one turns south just west of Sūn Dhārā. After passing through a couple of quadrangles one comes upon a large Licchavi style caitya which marks the entrance to Gujī Bāhā itself.

The main Gujī Bāhā is situated in a large enclosed courtyard. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a well-preserved bāhā shrine of three storeys. The entrance is marked by two large stone lions and a floral arch done in repousse brass into which have been set figures of the five transcendent Buddhas. On either side of the lions are triangular flags and two large bells. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torāṇa showing Mahārāga-mañjusri flanked by two four armed figures. The one on the right shows the bodhyaṅga mudrā and holds the stem of a lotus with a vajra on it with his right hand; with his left he holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a bell. The figure on the left shows the bodhyaṅga mudrā and holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a vajra with his right hand and a lotus surmounted by a kamaṇḍalu with his left. Above these figures are the five transcendent Buddhas surmounted by a figure that is probably Mahāvajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is a large, covered image of Akṣobhya, facing north. There are several other well-worked, gilded bodhisattva images also housed in the shrine. The facade of the ground floor of the shrine has been faced in stone, an unusual feature for a



78. Pāṇḍa Bāhā [131]



bāhā. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this are set seven gilded copper figures, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by the two Taras. Above these are nine figures done in fresco, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara on the east end and Prajñāpāramitā and Tara on the west end. The top storey is a flush, open veranda with a lattice work screen. Into this is set an image of Nāmasaṅgiti. Six carved struts of multi-armed figures support the tile roof. Hanging from the lower edge of the roof is a repousse fringe from which small bells hang. The roof is surmounted by a triple finial of gilded caityas and a single, gilded banner hangs from the top of the roof down to the five-fold window.

Directly in front of the shrine in the paved courtyard is a recess for the sacred fire, a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala and a large prayer wheel. To the west of this is a single votive caitya. Along the northern wing of the quadrangle opposite the shrine are two open rest areas with a shrine in the northeast corner which has an old torapa showing the Nāmasaṅgiti flanked by Siddhi-Ganesh and Mahākāl. The upper storey of this wing has a veranda enclosed with lattice work and a shrine in the northwest corner with a torapa showing Dharmacakra Mahāmañjuśrī. The ground floor of the eastern wing has a shrine which contains two images of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, an image of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara and the two Tārās. The western wing has two open rest areas on the ground floor. North of the bāhā shrine is a large nani with a plastered vajradhātu caitya and south of it is another enclosed bāhā quadrangle known as Cidhañ Gujī Bāhā.

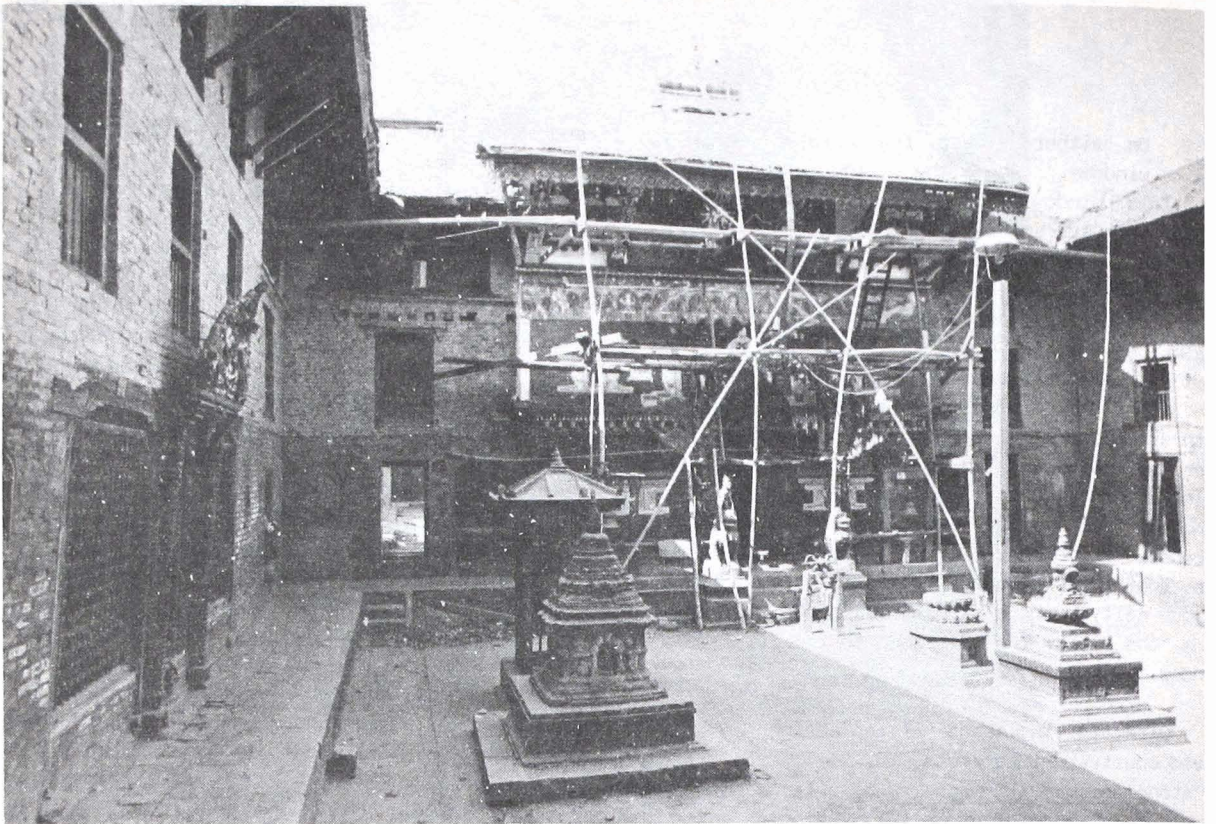
The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred forty nine Sakyas. They serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in turn by seniority of initiation. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and pūjā is performed four times in the day: about five in the morning, again about eight o'clock (the nitya pūjā), about two thirty in the afternoon and again in the evening about five thirty (the ārati pūjā). The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, and there is another celebration a fortnight after this. The saṅgha has ten elders

and since there are no Vajracaryas in the saṅgha they are served by priests from Bū Bāhā for those rituals that require the services of a Vajracarya. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' now worshipped at the bāhā but brought there from Sunaguthī, a village south of Patan on the way to Capāgaon. Some members of the saṅgha identified this deity as Mahādya (=Shiva), but others said that there are two images at the site one of Yogāmbara and one of Shiva. Both are worshipped but the lineage deity is Yogāmbara. The bāhā still receives between forty and fifty muris of paddy as income, but the members of the saṅgha say that the income used to be considerably more than this.

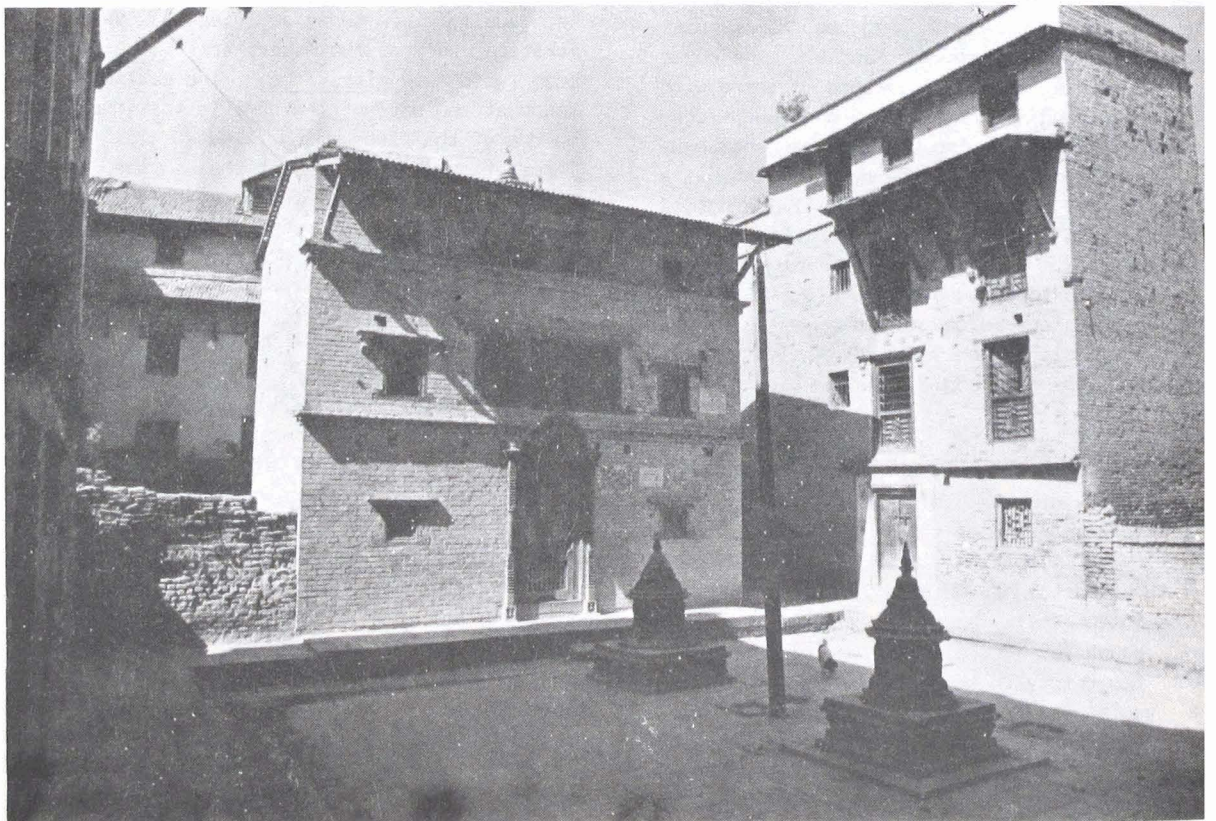
The earliest reference to this bāhā occurs in a manuscript copy of the Kriyasangrahaṇī preserved in the Leningrad Public Library. The manuscript was copied by one Bhikṣu Vajrācārya Vīramati of Vaisya Śrī Divākara Varma Mahāvihāra in Nogallake Tole. The manuscript is dated N.S.373 during the reign of Abhaya Malla.<sup>112</sup> The name of the bāhā given in this colophon is evidently the original and correct form of what is usually given today as 'Divākara Varma Saṁskārita Vaiśravaṇa Mahāvihāra.' There is no such word as vaiśravaṇa. The earliest date found at the site of the bāhā is the inscription on one of the lions which is dated N.S.747. An inscription of N.S.750 at the shrine of the kwāpā-dya commemorates the offering of images of the five Buddhas, Vajrapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, a golden torapa and a golden window for the digi. The name of the bāhā is given as 'Sri Vaiśravaṇa Mahāvihāra'. An inscription of N.S.758 gives both the Sanskrit name and the older form of the Newāri name--Śrī Gvācheñ Vahāra. (This form of the Newāri name is attested to in a number of late Malla period documents.) In N.S.777 a golden ornament was offered to the main deity (sri kwācapāla bhaṭṭāraka) and a finial was erected on the roof of 'Gvācheñ Vahāra'. In N.S.789 a shrine was erected for 'iṣṭadeva trai-lokya vijaya bhaṭṭāraka' in 'sri gvācheñ bāhāla mūlacoka'. In N.S.825 a golden window was offered to the shrine of Śrī Śrī Śrī Hevajra.<sup>113</sup>

At the present time this bāhā has three official branches, two recently acquired private branches and one ruined bāhā where members of this saṅgha regularly do pūjā to a caitya.





80. Gujī Bāhā [152]



81. Cidhañ Gujī Bāhā [151]



a. Cidhañ Gujī Bāhā -- Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra  
[151] Gujī Bāhā

This branch is situated in the enclosed courtyard just south of the main Gujī Bāhā. The present shrine is a recent reconstruction; KTMV has a photo of the old shrine, a fine old bāhā facade but crumbling.<sup>114</sup> The new shrine is of poor quality brick and mud mortar. The ground storey is unadorned, the first storey has windows with iron grille-work in front, and the top storey is completely open. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The torāṇa over the doorway of the shrine showing Vajrasattva, is gaudily painted and was made at the time of the repairs; the old torāṇa which appears in the KTMV photo has disappeared as has the finely carved five-fold window.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Gujī Bāhā. The members of this saṅgha used to serve in the shrine as dya-pālās by turn but at the present time the rituals are always performed by the one elder of this branch saṅgha. The annual festival used to be observed in the month of Baiśākh but is no longer held. The branch also had considerable income but this has all been lost.

The earliest date found in this complex at the present time is N.S.971, but this branch is surely much older than this. There are references in much earlier palmleaf land grants to Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra, but there are at least two bāhās with this name and the documents give no indication of where this Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra is located.

b. Siddhi Bāhā -- Vaiśravarṇa Bhāskara Varṇa  
Vihāra [154] Gujī Bāhā

This small branch which is located in a tiny enclosed courtyard just east of Gujī Bāhā Nani is an entirely modern affair as it now stands. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small brick shrine on a high base. The entrance is marked by two small lions and the doorway is of carved wood but has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the courtyard is one small stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of two households of Sakyas of Gujī Bāhā. The members of these households serve by turn as dya-pālās

at the shrine. The term of service is an entire year and pūjā is performed only each morning. The branch has one elder and observes the annual festival of this shrine on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Aswin. The branch has no income.

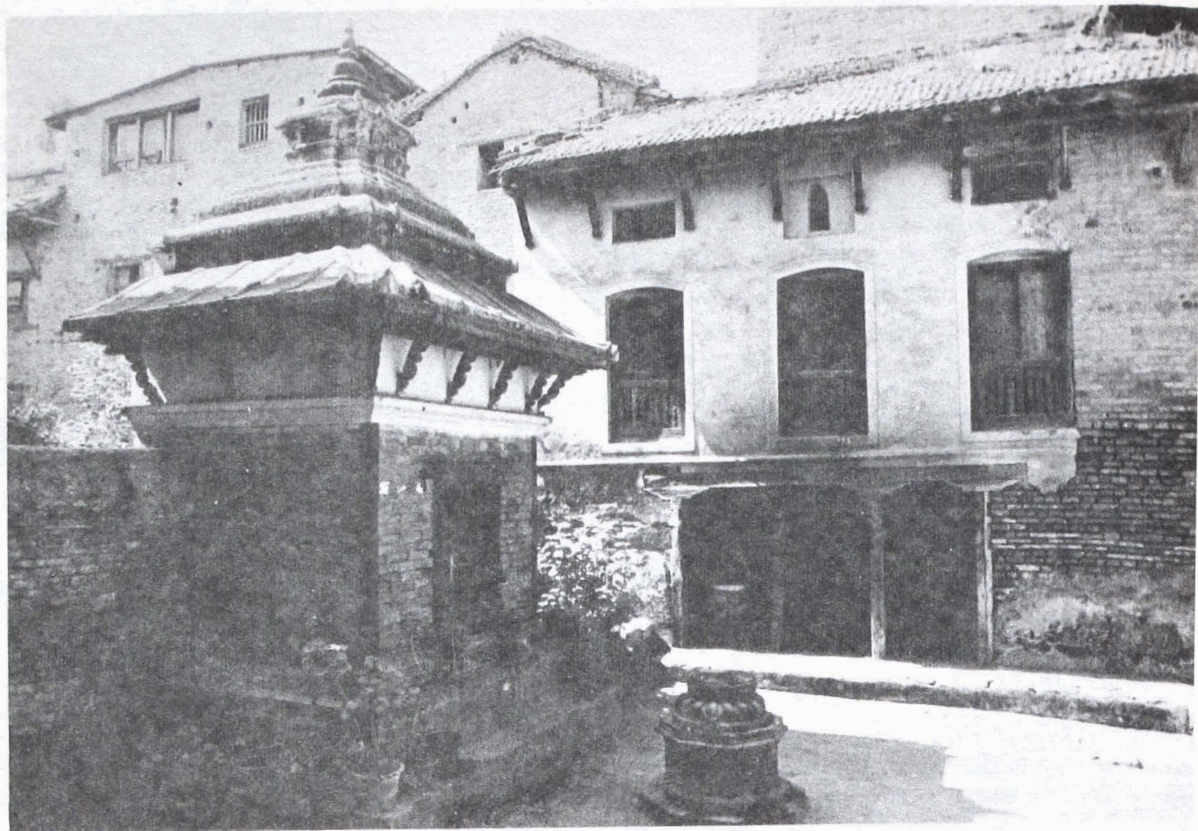
c. Maṇirāj Bāhā -- Maṇirāja Vihāra [153]  
Gujī Bāhā

This little branch is situated in a tiny, enclosed courtyard east of the main Gujī Bāhā. It consists of a small shrine built into the ground floor of a house plus a votive caitya and a stone maṇḍala in the courtyard. The shrine has a small torāṇa showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Gujī Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by whoever is available and the branch saṅgha has one elder. They observe the annual festival of this branch on any convenient day during the month of Baiśākh. The branch has no income. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and the only date is the one found on the stone maṇḍala, N.S.1006.

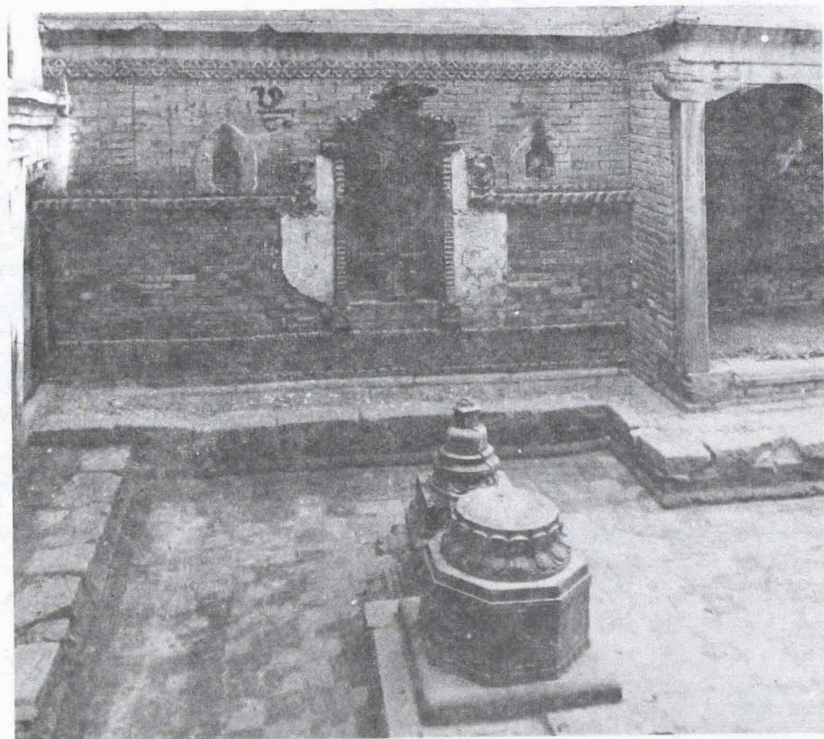
d. Ko Bāhā -- Ituñ Vihāra [70]  
Ko Bāhā Tole

This bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard in the north of Patan in the Ko Bāhā area. The shrine as it stands now is a modern renovation dating from the time of the 1934 earthquake. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions, and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on the right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the left. The facade of the entire structure is of plain, unadorned brick. Above the ground floor is a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows and is used as living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a single, plastered finial in the form of a caitya and the roof is supported by four carved struts. In the courtyard is one large, plastered caitya and two small stone caityas, plus an image of Mahākāl and one of Tārā.

The saṅgha of this branch is the same four households which make up the branch saṅgha of Maṇirāj Bāhā. According to them this was a branch of another bāhā (perhaps Kwā Bāhā) until



82. Siddhi Bāhā [154]

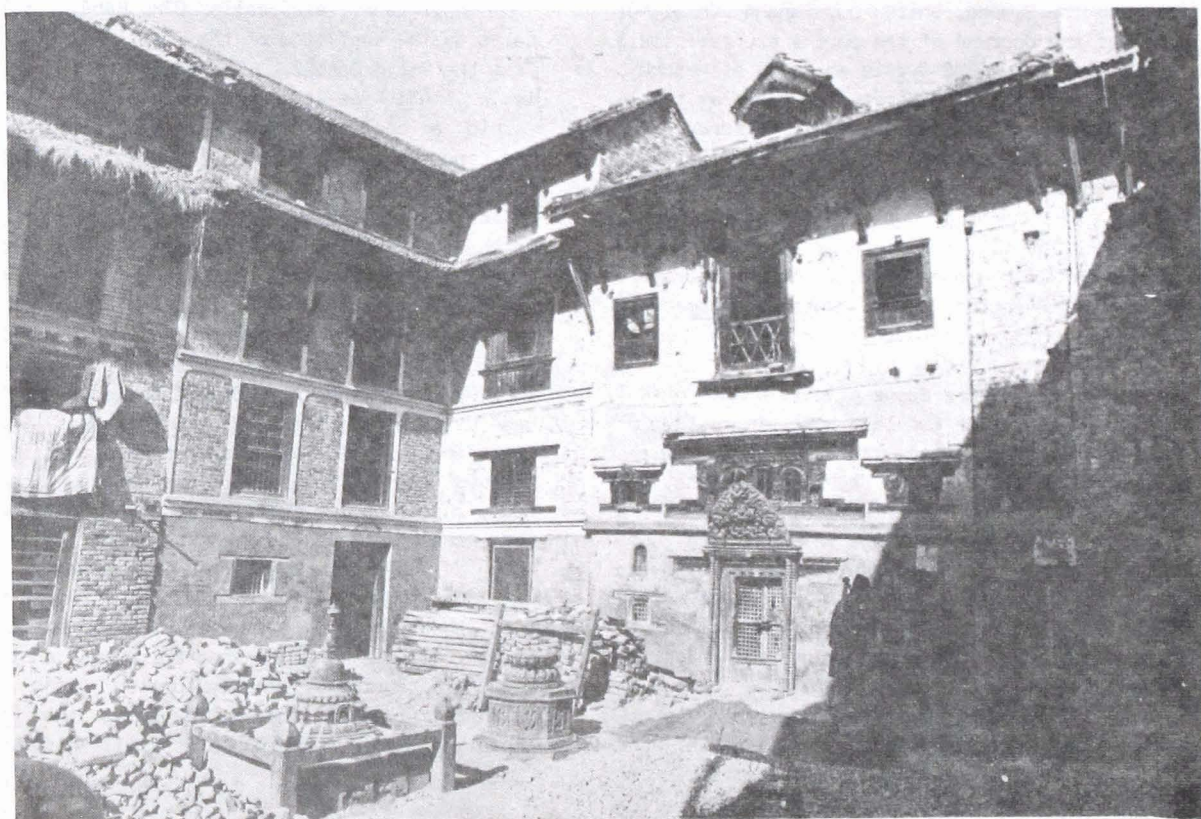


83. Maṇirāj Bāhā [153]





84. Ko Bāhā [70]



85. Duru Nani Bāhā [20]

about seventy years ago when they acquired the rights to the place. Since that time they have regularly performed the usual rituals each morning. None of them live here and the people living in the complex are all non-Bare. The annual festival of this branch is observed on any convenient day during the month of Kartik.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā. There are numerous references to Ko Bāhā (or Ko Vihāra) situated in this area dating back to the fourteenth century Nepal Sambat. It is clear that this was a large and ancient foundation. It may be the present Dhum Bāhā [73] or it may have disappeared altogether. In any case this small branch is clearly not the Ko Bāhā of those early references. This bāhā was renovated in 1924 and again after the earthquake of 1934.

e. Duru Nanī Bāhā -- Cūkha Vihāra [20]  
Pim Bāhā Tole

All that is left of this little branch bāhā is a three-storied kwāpā-dya shrine in a large rectangular courtyard. The narrow shrine is unmarked but over the carved doorway is a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. On either side of the doorway of the shrine are two small windows. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a triple carved window flanked by two small windows. The top storey, adapted for living quarters has three ordinary openings. The whole of the facade of the brick building has been white-washed. The tile roof is unornamented and supported by plain wooden struts. In the courtyard are a single votive caitya and stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

Until 1975 this was a private branch of Kwā Bāhā. At that time the last surviving member of the original saṅgha died without any male heirs. The bāhā, with all the attendant rights and duties, was then inherited by the son of a daughter whose husband is a member of the Gujī Bāhā saṅgha. This son and his family moved to Duru Nanī and he now performs the usual daily rituals. In effect then this place has passed from being a private branch of Kwā Bāhā to become a private branch of Gujī Bāhā. This is one of the clearest examples of what many informants have described as the 'capture' of one bāhā by another. The annual festival is no longer performed here and the bāhā has no in-

come.

According to an inscription at the site, this branch bāhā was constructed in N.S.766 by one Ratna Vajracarya.

f. Saga Bāhā -- Ratnajyoti Vihāra [109]  
Saga Tole

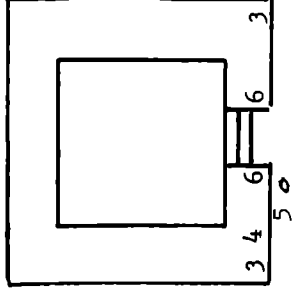
This is a ruined site on a small plot of land in Saga Tole. At the present time all that remains is a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala, with what appears to be the ruins of buildings around the edge of the plot. The caitya was built by people from Gujī Bāhā and they regularly perform pūjā at the caitya. The annual festival of the caitya is held on the fullmoon day of the month of Āswīn. Informants say that this was originally a bāhā, but no one knows what happened to the saṅgha, and the Gujī Bāhā people say that it was not originally theirs.

10. Taṅga Bāhā -- Yāmpi Bālārcana Saṁskārita  
Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra\* [103]  
Cāku Bāhā Tanga Tole

Taṅga Bāhā, also called Cāku Bāhā, is located on the east side of the road leading south from the Patan Darbār. The shrine of the bāhā is a small free-standing temple of two roofs within an enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the courtyard is through a white plastered, 'Rana Style' facade of recent origin. The buildings surrounding the shrine are all of rather recent origin, except for one small section on the south side which contains the āgam shrine of the bāhā. The main shrine houses a small red image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, similar to Buṅgadya and popularly referred to as Cāku Bāhā Dya, or Minnāth. Some informants say the name derived from the word cāku (molasses) which is offered to him. Others speculate that it is derived from the Newari word for sparrow (caku-ncā), because the location is supposed to have been chosen by sparrows. The image is also known as Jatādhāri Lokeśvara. This image is the kwāpā-dya of the saṅgha of the bāhā. Given the fact that the main shrine is a free-standing temple, it may well be that there was another kwāpā-dya shrine originally located along the southern side of the complex below the āgam where an image of Dīpaṅkara is still displayed during guṇlā.



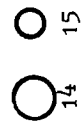
1. Caitya
2. Inscription dated N.S.826
3. Stone images of Yamadūta, dated N.S.1044
4. Large Temple ball, dated N.S.999
5. Inscription erected in time of Yakṣa Malla, N.S.589
6. Guardian lions and images of Siṃhanāda Lokēśvara, N.S.1024
7. Caitya and dharmādhtu maṇḍala, N.S.1068
8. Caitya with two inscriptions:
9. N.S.793 in time of Śrīnavāsa Mala
10. N.S.993 commemorating repairs to caitya
11. Bathing platform
12. Inscription of N.S.1022 recording repairs to platform
13. Kṣetra-pāl
14. Caitya
15. Stone maṇḍala
16. Caitya
17. Octagonal caitya, V.S.1981
18. Large Tibetan prayer wheel erected by a Patan Merchant
19. Recess for homa
20. Lamp erected in 2016 V.S.
21. Rest house with inscription of N.S.833
22. Rest house with inscription of 1965 V.S.



10



12



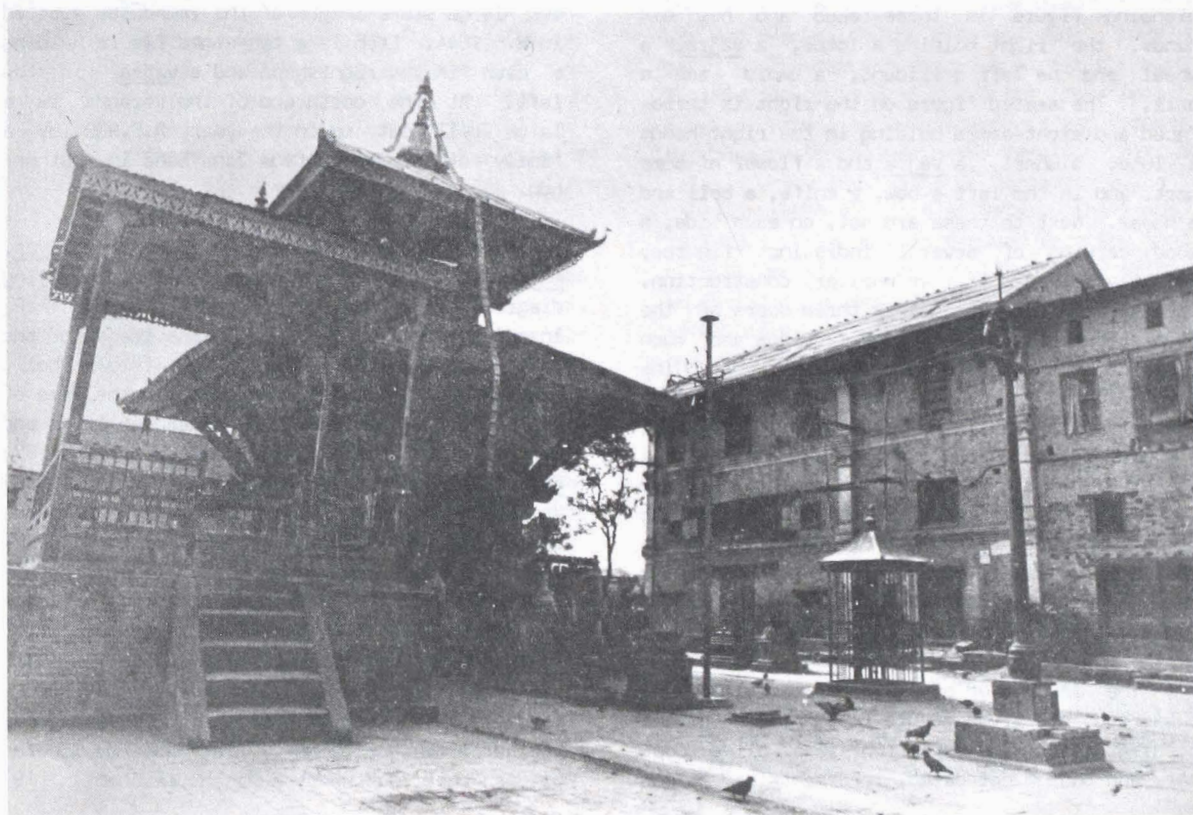
18







86. Saga Bāhā [109]



87. Tanga Bāhā [103]



The shrine of the bāhā, which faces west, has one double door on each side. The western facade of the ground floor is faced with white tile which was put up in the year A.D.1951. Over the main door is a copper repousse torāṇa of Padmaṅṭeśvara, an eighteen-handed form of Avalokiteśvara in the dancing posture with a lotus in each of his hands. The main figure is flanked by two four-armed and two six-armed figures which can probably be identified as Tārā, Sudhana, Bhṛkūti and Hayagrīva. Below the torāṇa is a small figure of the Buddha Amitābha. The doorway itself is covered with brass work put up in the year N.S.986. Set next to the lower part of the door posts are two identical, copper repousse Bhairavas, each three-faced and six-armed. Next to the upper part of the door posts are two figures on each side, one seated and one standing with the right foot resting on the lower jaw of a makara and the left foot against the upper jaw. All six figures wear the bodhisattva crown on each head, are adorned with the bodhisattva ornaments, and wear only a dhōṭī on the lower part of the body, with an akṣamālā around the neck. The seated figure on the right has six heads and six hands holding in the right hand a lute, a vajra, and an elephant goad, and in the left a bow, a bell, and a noose. The standing figure is three-faced and has six hands, the right holding a lotus, a vajra, a wheel and the left a trident, a sword and a bell. The seated figure on the right is three-faced and eight-armed holding in the right hands a lute, a wheel, a vajra and a flower of some sort, and in the left a bow, a knife, a bell and a noose. Next to these are set, on each side, a wood carving of several indistinct figures, probably salvaged from an earlier construction. The torāṇas over the other three doors of the temple are all elaborate wood carvings and much older than the torāṇa over the main door. The main figure on the north torāṇa is a twelve-armed tantric deity with three heads, the right one green, the central one blue and the left one white. The main figure on the east torāṇa is a twelved-armed figure of Siddhi-Gaṇeś in the dancing posture. The main figure on the south torāṇa is a tantric deity with sixteen hands and three heads, the right one blue, the central one red and the left one green.

The lower roof of the temple is tiled and supported by carved struts representing various bodhisattvas. The upper roof is of gilded copper, and though not dated, informants say it was

put up at the same time that the brass work was added to the main door, i.e. N.S.986. The struts supporting the upper roof are covered with finely worked bodhisattva figures in repousse brass. Between the struts is a grille work also done in repousse brass. From the four corners of each roof hang halampos. Birds are perched at each of the corners of the roof and the ribs of the roof end in bodhisattva faces. On the west side between the struts supporting the second roof are two large copper-plate inscriptions. The temple is surmounted by a single golden finial and a triple umbrella. A single metal banner hangs from the finial down to the main door of the temple.

There is a stone veranda running round the temple which is fenced in by a railing into which are set oil lamps. The steps leading to the main door are flanked by a pair of brass triangle flags erected in N.S.1029 and two large brass guardian lions put up in the year N.S.1024. Mounted on the back of each of the lions is a two-armed figure of Simhanada Lokeśvara in maḥarājājalīlā āsana, with the right hand in vitarka mudrā and the left in karāṇa mudrā. Each hand holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a sword. At the corners of the veranda are two large stone images of the Yamadūtas erected in N.S.1044. Each is a two-armed figure holding a club in the right hand and a vajra in the left. At the north end of the veranda is a large bell put up in the year N.S.999 by a family of Silpakaras from Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu.

The courtyard contains an array of caityas, maṇḍalas and inscriptions (See accompanying diagram for numbers.) 1) A votive caitya. 2) Inscription, N.S.826. 3) Stone images of the Yamaduta, N.S.1044. 4. Large temple bell, N.S.999. 5) Inscription erected in the time of Yakṣa Malla, N.S.589. 6) Guardian lions and images of Simhanāda Lokeśvara, N.S.1024. 7) Caitya and dharmadhātu maṇḍala, N.S.1068. 8) Votive caitya with two inscriptions: 9) one erected in the time of Srinivāsa Malla, N.S.793. 10) one commemorating repairs made to the caitya, N.S.993. 11) Bathing platform for image of Lokeśvara. 12) Inscription commemorating repairs made on bathing platform, N.S.1022. 13) Kṣetra-pāla. 14) Votive caitya. 15) Stone maṇḍala. 16) Votive caitya. 17) Octagonal votive caitya, B.S.1981. 18) A large Tibetan prayer wheel put up by a Patan merchant. 19)

Recess for homa fire. 20) Lamp erected in B.S.2016. 21) Rest house with inscription, B.S.1965. The inscription is in Nepali and commemorates repairs made to the bāhā in that year. According to the inscription, at that time the compound was badly neglected, grass grew round the temple and refuse was piled up. The compound was paved with brick and a new entryway constructed. Workers were appointed to keep the compound clean, a gūthī was set up to see to this, and lands given to endow the upkeep of the complex. 23) Large stone figures of the Yamaduta, N.S.1033.

The saṅgha of Taṅga Bāhā at the present time consists of six households of Sakyas comprising twenty four initiated members. All six families are descended from a common ancestor who lived early in this century and was the sole survivor of the saṅgha. Service in the temple is performed by all of the members of the saṅgha by rotation according to seniority of initiation. The term of service is a lunar fortnight. If the dya-pālā is a small child, a substitute from his family usually performs the service. Rituals are performed morning and evening. After rising and performing the usual ablutions the dya-pālā bathes the image, performs the pañcopacāra pūjā, shows the mirror to the image and recites three stotras: the 'Om Nama Lokanātha', which is recited on the right side of the image, the 'Deva Mañusya Śaraṇam', recited on the left, and the 'Dasa Balastava Stotra' recited in front of the image. In the evening the dya-pālā performs the pañcopacāra pūjā, lights a lamp and recites the same three stotras as in the morning. The shrine is a popular one, and a large number of people come both morning and evening to pay their respects to the deity. Since the shrine is just across the street from that of Buṅgadya, people visit both shrines morning and evening when Buṅgadya is in residence at Ta Bāhā.

The saṅgha is governed by ten elders, who also serve as the official priests for the ratha jātrā of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Matu Bhairava whose shrine is in Lagan Khel, but the deity has been 'brought' to the bāhā compound where he is now worshipped. The bāhā itself no longer has any income but there is still considerable government revenue for the conduct of the annual festival. This revenue,

however, is now all controlled by the government Gūthī Samsthān.

The annual festival of the bāhā is the rātha jātrā of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara (Minnāth) which takes place at the same time as the festival of Buṅgadya whom Jatādhāri Lokeśvara accompanies on his course through the city of Patan. The preliminary rituals all take place at the same time as those of Buṅgadya. The bathing ceremony, therefore, is done on the first day of the dark half of the month of Baisākh. For all of these rituals the officiating priest, who has a hereditary right to perform these rites, is an old Vajracarya from Hena Bāhā [116]; his assistant, or upādhyāya, is a Vajracarya from Cūka Bāhā [102]. The bathing takes place immediately after that of Buṅgadya. The priest performs all the preliminary rituals and then waits until a runner comes from Lagan Khel to inform him that Buṅgadya has been bathed before performing the actual bathing, one ablution with one kalāśa of water. The image is then shut up in the temple for the next thirteen days during which time the members of the saṅgha clean and repaint the image.

On the thirteenth day of the fortnight the image is reconsecrated and the dasa karma rites are performed on the same day that they are being performed for Buṅgadya across the street. At the conclusion of the rites the image is covered with its usual garments and ornaments and then re-installed in the temple. Six days later, when the ratha of Buṅgadya begins its course through the city of Patan, the image of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara is removed from the temple, placed on his ratha, and then the ratha is pulled to the edge of Patan, near the western Aśoka Stūpa, where he meets the ratha of Buṅgadya and leads him into the city. At every other stage of the journey through Patan, the ratha of Buṅgadya preceeds that of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara.

One of the ten elders of Taṅga Bāhā is assigned to ride the ratha for the duration of the festival and perform the customary rituals during the course of the jātrā. At the conclusion of the long festival, after the showing of the bhoto of Buṅgadya, Buṅgadya sends an offering to Jatādhāri Lokeśvara to take his leave of him and the city of Patan before returning to Buṅgamati. Jatādhāri Lokeśvara sends back to pūjā to bid farewell, after which the ratha of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara is pulled back to

Taṅga Bāhā. Buṅgadya must not leave before Jatādhāri Lokeśvara leaves. This little ceremony and the fact that Jatādhāri Lokeśvara must meet Buṅgadya and lead him into the city indicates, according to informants, the seniority of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara and the fact that he is the Lokeśvara of Patan; Buṅgadya is of Buṅgamati and a guest in Patan. When the image arrives back at Taṅga Bāhā it is left on the ratha for the night. The next day a Śānti Svasti Pūjā is performed to pacify Jatādhāri and the Bhairavas (symbolised by the four wheels of the ratha), because during the time of the jātrā people of all castes have come into contact with the ratha and the deities may be angry. The image is then shut up in the temple for four days and put through a purification ritual because he may have come in contact with people of low caste and thereby lost his pure status. After this the story of the bringing of Buṅgadya (Matsyendranāth) from Kāmarupa and the story of the attempt to cancel the ratha jātrā of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara is recited. The story is supposed to be recited to a sparrow and a fish. The sparrow is to take the story to the heavens and the fish to the underworld. After this the image is unbound and the temple opened for regular worship.

The only other annual observance of note is the clothing of the image with the 'bone ornament' on the day of Śivarātrī as is done for Buṅgadya at Ta Bāhā. The ornament, which is a very ancient piece, consists of a large, apron-like garment which covers the entire image except for the head. It is made of heavy, black mesh with bone ornaments set into it.

Jatādhāri Lokeśvara and Buṅgadya are, of course, identical images of Padmapāni Lokeśvara. According to the legends the cult of Jatādhāri preceeds that of Buṅgadya, and when the cult of Buṅgadya began there was an attempt to discontinue the jātrā of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara, but the deity objected and it was decided to conduct the two festivals simultaneously. At another level, the Hinduised names used for the two deities, i.e. Matsyendranāth and Minnāth are synonymous and the two deities are identical. At the popular level people refer to Jatādhāri as the son, daughter, or nephew of Buṅgadya, a curious twist in view of the tradition of Jatādhāri being the elder of the two deities.

Traditions in Patan regard this bāhā as one

of the most ancient. Wright's Chronicle notes that when King Siddhi Narasimha Malla summoned the men of the fifteen bāhās of Patan to make rules for the governance of the bāhā, he decreed

that their order of precedence should be fixed according to the order in which they arrived. The people of Ohum-bāhāl came first, but they were given only the third place. Those of Tangal remained first, and those of Tava [Ta Bāhā] second, <sup>117</sup> on account of the antiquity of their bihars.

There is a small vamśāvalī of this bāhā published in Nepali by Nhucherāj Vajracarya. <sup>118</sup> According to the story the king Amśuvarma has a son called Vṛṣadeva whom he crowned at the age of eighteen and then went off with his wife to live a life of penance. A few years later Vṛṣadeva fell ill, died and was taken off by the messengers of Yama to the underworld. When Padmapāni Lokeśvara paid a visit to the underworld to bring solace to the spirits there, Yama realized that his messengers had made a terrible mistake in bringing this young and talented king to the underworld. He rebuked his messengers and told them to take the king back to his kingdom. So Vṛṣadeva revived and again took up the rule of his country. His people asked him to make an image for them of the deity who had favoured him by restoring his life. So the king made an image of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara and installed it in one of the courtyards of his palace. Later he turned the government of the country over to his brother Bālārcana Deva and retired with his wife.

Later a Bhairava caused havoc in the country by carrying off infant children. Because of this plague people came to believe that the country was accursed and gradually began to abandon their homes. Finally Bālārcana too abandoned his palace and taking with him the image of Jatādhāri Lokeśvara went to live at Cakravarna Mahāvihāra (Cūkā Bāhā [102], just to the south of Tanga Bāhā). Lokeśvara appeared to him in a dream and told him that he did not want to stay in that vihāra, but wanted the king to build a new vihāra for him. So the king took a plot of land nearby and built there the Jyesthavarṇa Mahāvihāra for Jatādhāri Lokeśvara. The auspicious spot is supposed to have been pointed out to the king by sparrows. The king then inaugurated the annual ratha jātrā. <sup>119</sup>



This story with its jumble of kings is unreliable as history, but it confirms three points of the common tradition: 1) the name of the deity, Jātādhāri Lokesvara, 2) the tradition that his cult and ratha jātrā predates that of Bungadya, 3) the tradition that the image was first kept at Cūkā Bāhā. It is because of this, people say, that the a priest from Cūkā Bāhā has the hereditary right to act as assistant to the main priest at rites associated with the cult of Jātādhāri Lokesvara.

From the reliable historical data that is available about Taṅga Bāhā, it is impossible to date the shrine earlier than the Thakuri Period. There are two Licchavi inscriptions at the water tap outside the bāhā complex, but neither of them mentions the bāhā or the deity. One dated Sambat 148 concerns the distribution of water from a canal, and the other from the time of Jayadeva is so badly damaged that it is impossible to tell what it concerns.<sup>120</sup> There are also several Licchavi style caityas near the water tap. There is one reference from the Thakuri Period found in a land deed document which is dated N.S.245 and speaks of Tanigvala Vihāra. This is an earlier form of the name Taṅga, and we find an intermediate form of this name in a reference from N.S.793 where the name is Tanigla Vihāra.<sup>121</sup> The earliest inscription inside the complex is dated N.S.589 and was put up on the time of Yakṣa Malla when donors offered a golden finial, a banner, and an umbrella for the temple. They were offered to Sri Sri Aryāvalokiteśvara. The rest of this line and the next line are incomplete, but the inscription refers to Sri Vihāra founded by Bhāskaradeva, whereas Taṅga Bāhā is supposed to have been founded by Bālārcana Deva.<sup>122</sup> As noted above there are several other inscriptions from the late Malla period.

Wright's Chronicle has a curious reference to this bāhā from the time of Jayasthiti Malla. The Chronicle claims that the temple was built in this reign by one Padma-deva. The deity is called Dharma-rājā-minanātha-lokeśvara and the bāhā called Padmadeva-Saṃskārīta Bihār. The chronicle says that this history is inscribed on a stone in front of the temple. This is certainly much too late for the foundation of the temple and no such inscription now exists unless this is a mistaken reference to the inscription from the time of Yakṣa Malla.<sup>123</sup>

In addition to these inscriptions there is a reference to Minnāth and his temple in the Kīrtipaṭāka, the Sanskrit poem describing Patan written in N.S.772 by Kunu Sharmā. He notes that Minnāth resides in Khim Tole and that in addition to Buddhists of various castes and the Sakyamunis, he is also worshipped by various gods themselves. The only name he used for the deity is Minnāth, but he makes it clear that he is a Buddhist deity worshipped by the Buddhist community, whereas he gives the impression that Matsyendranāth is an entirely Hindu deity.<sup>124</sup>

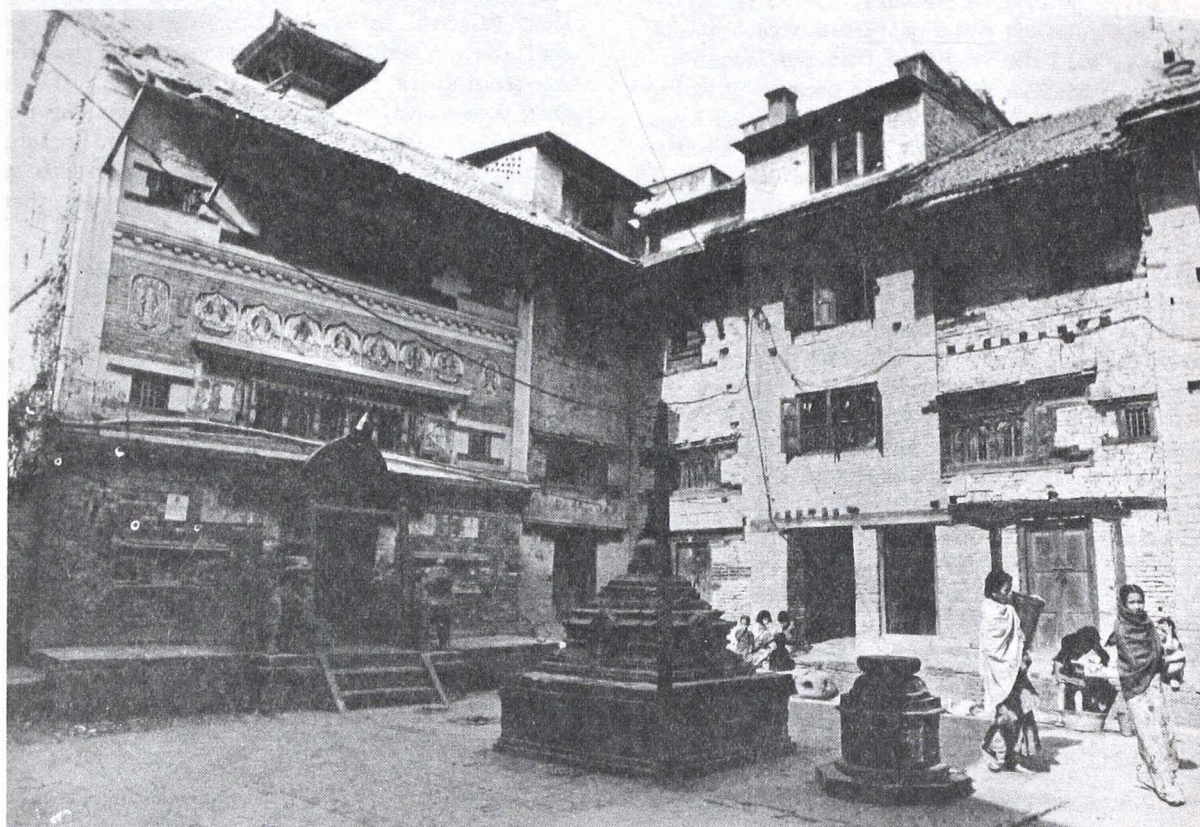
This bāhā has no branches, and by the beginning of this century the saṅgha had nearly died out.

#### 11. Cūkā Bāhā -- Mānadeva Saṃskārīta Cakravarṇa Mahāvihāra [102]

Tangal Tole

Cūkā Bāhā is situated south of Tanga Bāhā, down a little lane between fields and at the southern limits of the old city of Patan. All that has remained of the original buildings is the shrine of the Kwāpā-dya. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. The carved doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torapa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. Above the torapa is a triple umbrella. The torapa is dated N.S.1032. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a panel of Buddhist deities done in fresco. The top storey has a large, open five-fold window frame flanked by two smaller windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a small cupola. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

Although this bāhā is reputed to be one of the oldest in Patan and counted on all lists as one of the main bāhās, at the present time it is in effect a branch of Kwā Bāhā [59]. The saṅgha is composed of twenty-six Vajracaryas who originally came from Nākā Chūk [51] and are still members of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā. All of their initiations are performed in Kwā Bāhā and they still serve as dya-pālās by turn in the shrine of Kwā Bāhā and are eligible to become elders at Kwā Bāhā. They are also members of the ācārya



88. Cūkā Bāhā [102]

gūthī of Kwā Bāhā and celebrate the annual festival of that gūthī with the others at Kwā Bāhā. These twenty-six form a branch saṅgha here at Cūka Bāhā which has five elders. Only these five elders act as dya-pālās here at Cūka Bāhā serving by turn for one month at a time. They observe an annual festival at Cūka Bāhā on any day within the month following the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. At this time they also chant the Nāmasaṅgīti. This festival, however, is the busā dañ of the caitya and not of the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā. The lineage deity of this branch saṅgha is the same as that of Kwā Bāhā and the members worship the deity at Kwā Bāhā. This bāhā has no income at the present time.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā, other than the tradition that it was supposed to have been founded by King Mānādeva I. A brief note in Wright's Chronicle probably refers to this bāhā. Speaking of the reign of one Mān-deva, whom the account places five kings before the first of the Malla kings, it says:

He reigned for ten years, and then abdicated in favour of his eldest son, and lived the life of a bandya in a bihar, and so obtained salvation. This bihara, having on it numerous chakras, was called Chakra Bihār.<sup>125</sup>

There is nothing at the present site, however, to confirm this. Informants have told me that the original saṅgha died out and that people from Nākā Chūk were then asked to take over the bāhā and continue the customary rituals. This is confirmed by Wright's Chronicle which notes that Cūka Bāhā was empty and the king gave it to a great Tantric of Nākhācūk. (See introduction to the 'Fifteen Bāhās'.) As a matter of fact the present saṅgha are still members of Kwā Bāhā from Nākācūk.

Some informants say that Cūka Bāhā was always in effect a branch of Kwā Bāhā and that the original saṅgha did not die out but moved to Thimi where they built a new bāhā which is a copy of Cūka Bāhā. The new bāhā is Jiswāñ Bāhā in Thimi and in fact the members of that saṅgha surely came from Kwā Bāhā in Patan as their lineage deity is still the same as that of Kwā Bāhā. Hence if they are descendants of the original saṅgha of Cūka Bāhā, the original saṅgha

must also have had the same connection to Kwā Bāhā. (See the section on Thimi.) No one was able to put any sort of date on this migration of the original saṅgha to Thimi. The oldest date at the present site is N.S.780.

## 12. Ta Bāhā -- Bhuvanākara Varma Saṁskārīta Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra\* [99]

Tanga Tole

Ta Bāhā is the enormous complex at the southern end of Patan in Taṅga Tole which houses the temple of Buṅgadya (Rāto Matsyendranāth). However, the bāhā and the temple are two separate institutions. Though the temple of Buṅgadya is situated within the area of Ta Bāhā, the saṅgha of Ta Bāhā has nothing to do with the shrine of Buṅgadya or the cult of the deity. Buṅgadya resides at his shrine in Ta Bāhā from late in November until the time of the annual ratha jātrā, but during that time he is tended exclusively by the Pānjūs of Buṅgamati. The members of the saṅgha of Ta Bāhā are not even permitted into the temple of Buṅgadya and they have nothing to do with the annual ratha jātrā. In fact, old members of the saṅgha have pointed out that the southern area of this complex only, i.e. from the plastered caitya to the south wall, belongs to Ta Bāhā; the rest belongs to Buṅgadya. In the very centre of the large open courtyard, surrounded by high walls broken here and there by buildings, is the temple of Buṅgadya. Along the southern wall is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya of Ta Bāhā, the only building along the southern wall. If the area of the bāhā was ever enclosed by buildings these have been lost.

The shrine is a simple, bāhā shrine which stands alone but looks like it may at one time have been attached to adjoining buildings. The ground floor has a carved doorway surmounted by a copper repousse torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana flanked by Mahā-Akṣobhya and Mahāratnasambhava. The torāṇa is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Above this is a plain five-fold window. The top storey has a projecting, open balcony and is surmounted by an unadorned tile roof in a bad state of disrepair. In front of the shrine is a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala of recent origin mounted on an octagonal base. In front of this is a large, old caitya, and to the west of this another stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala on an octagonal base. There is an inscription in front of





89. Ta Bāhā [99]



90. Bhelakhu Bāhā [28]



the caitya dated N.S.819.

The saṅgha of this bāhā now consists of only twenty three initiated Vajracaryas. Members of the saṅgha act as dya-pālās only in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The term of service is eight days and passes by seniority through the membership of the saṅgha. The annual festival of the bāhā occurs on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Mangsir and the annual festival of the āgam deity on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Paus. According to the elders of the bāhā, this is not the original site of the bāhā. It was originally situated near the Patan Darbār in a place which is now known as Bhelakhu Bāhā [28], and moved at the time the temple of Bungadya was built at Ta Bāhā. They now consider Ta Bāhā to be their main bāhā and Bhelakhu to be a branch, but initiations are still performed at Bhelakhu Bāhā and not here. After the Barechuyegu initiation the newly initiated are brought immediately to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at Ta Bāhā to pay their respects. This image, they say is the original kwāpā-dya, which was moved when the new bāhā was built. The original āgam remained at Bhelakhu Bāhā so Ācāluyegu initiations are also performed there. However, they built a second shrine to Cakrasaṃvara, who is also the lineage deity, at Ta Bāhā and he is worshipped there as the lineage deity. The saṅgha is governed by the usual ten elders, one of whom functions as chakreśvara. The lineage deity is Cakrasaṃvara residing at Ta Bāhā, but according to informants was 'brought' from somewhere else. The identity of the place has now been forgotten. Some informants said that the original site was in Lagan Khel where the members of the saṅgha still perform a pūjā and that the deity is actually Mahālakṣmī. The elders of the saṅgha say that they do worship that deity at Lagan but that the shrine is a pīṭha (shrine of a female tantric deity) and not the lineage deity. The lineage deity and the āgam deity are the same, i.e. Chakrasaṃvara. The bāhā has no income. (Bungadya, of course, has a considerable income, but the members of this saṅgha get none of this; and though repairs are made from time to time on the temple of Bungadya with the aid of government gūṭhī funds, no repairs have been made to the building belonging to Ta Bāhā).

Little is known about the early history of this bāhā. Wright's Chronicle notes that it is one of the most ancient of the viḥāras of Patan,

and for this reason the members of this viḥāra were given the second place in the order of precedence when the king called together the elders of the fifteen viḥāras.<sup>126</sup> There is little to verify the tradition of the saṅgha that this bāhā was moved from its original site, though the still current tradition of performing initiations at the 'original' site and the presence of the āgam dya at that site is a strong confirmation. There is no evidence that there was a temple of Bungadya in Patan before the time of Siddhi Narasimha or his son Sri Nivāsa Malla.<sup>127</sup> If the bāhā was moved at the time the temple of Bungadya was built then the present site is no older than the seventeenth century. However, we have clear references to Ta Baha (or Tava Bāhāra which is the older form of the name) which predate this time. Either this site is much older than the tradition or the old site was also known as Tava Bāhāra. The earliest dated reference comes from an inscription at I Bāhā Bahī [97] dated N.S.547 which commemorates a lakṣyāhuti sacrifice performed at I Bāhā Bahī. The main priest at the sacrifice was Sri Manu Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā and his assistant was Vajracarya Sri Lokarāma of Tava Bāhāla.<sup>128</sup> The next reference comes from a document which is an invitation to a Samyak ceremony in the year N.S.599. The invitation is extended to one Pradhāna Mahāpātra Rājasimha Malla who resided at Sri Dakṣina Mahāvihāra in the area of Śrī Bhuvanākar Varma Saṃskārita Sri Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra.<sup>129</sup> From the time of Sri Nivāsa Malla on there are numerous references to Ta Bāhā, most of them in connection with the cult of Bungadya.

At the present time this bāhā has one official branch and three private shrines which do not belong to Bare but are loosely attached to this bāhā.

- a. Bhelakhu Bāhā -- Dharmikīrti Mahāvihāriya Bhairava Kuta Viḥāra [28]

Dau Bāhā Tole

This branch bāhā is situated in a partially enclosed courtyard just off the main road leading to the Patan Darbār. All that remains of the bāhā structure is a fairly recently renovated kwāpā-dya shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is flanked by two tiny windows and a doorway on the left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first

storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a row of Buddha figures in fresco. The top storey has three ordinary windows and the tile roof is supported by six plain struts. There is a single finial on the roof. There is no torana over the door of the shrine, but KTMV notes that there was one of stone consecrated in A.D.1895.<sup>130</sup> In the courtyard is one large, plastered caitya, three smaller votive caityas, two stone maṇḍalas and a pillar.

The saṅgha of this branch is identical to that of Ta Bāhā, and as noted above the members of the saṅgha claim that this is the original site of their bāhā. The regular rituals are performed morning and evening always by the chief of the elders of the saṅgha. The āgam deity of the saṅgha is situated here and both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for all the members of the Ta Bāhā saṅgha, though they consider this to be a branch of Ta Bāhā. The annual festival of this bāhā and Ta Bāhā is observed simultaneously on the ninth day of the bright half of Maṅsir. According to informants the bāhā has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā other than the tradition that it is the original site of Ta Bāhā and therefore must predate the present Ta Bāhā. Whether the references to Ta Bāhā which predate the time of the late Malla kings in Patan refer to this place or the present Ta Bāhā is impossible to determine. The oldest inscription at this site is dated N.S.81[?--last digit unclear]. The kwāpā-shrine was renovated after the earthquake of 1934 and its present form dates to that time.

b. Jom Bāhā -- Jagat Kalyāṇa Vihāra [94]  
Hauga Tole

This is not really a bāhā in the architectural sense nor in the sense that it has a saṅgha of initiated bare. The shrine is situated in a narrow area just off the road which forms a partial courtyard in Hauga Tole. The building has more the appearance of an Āgam Cheñ than a bāhā. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. And the lattice doorway has a stone torana which forms an archway right round the door. The torana depicts the five transcendent Buddhas plus three figures of a seated Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara and one of Vajrapāṇi. On either side of the door are two

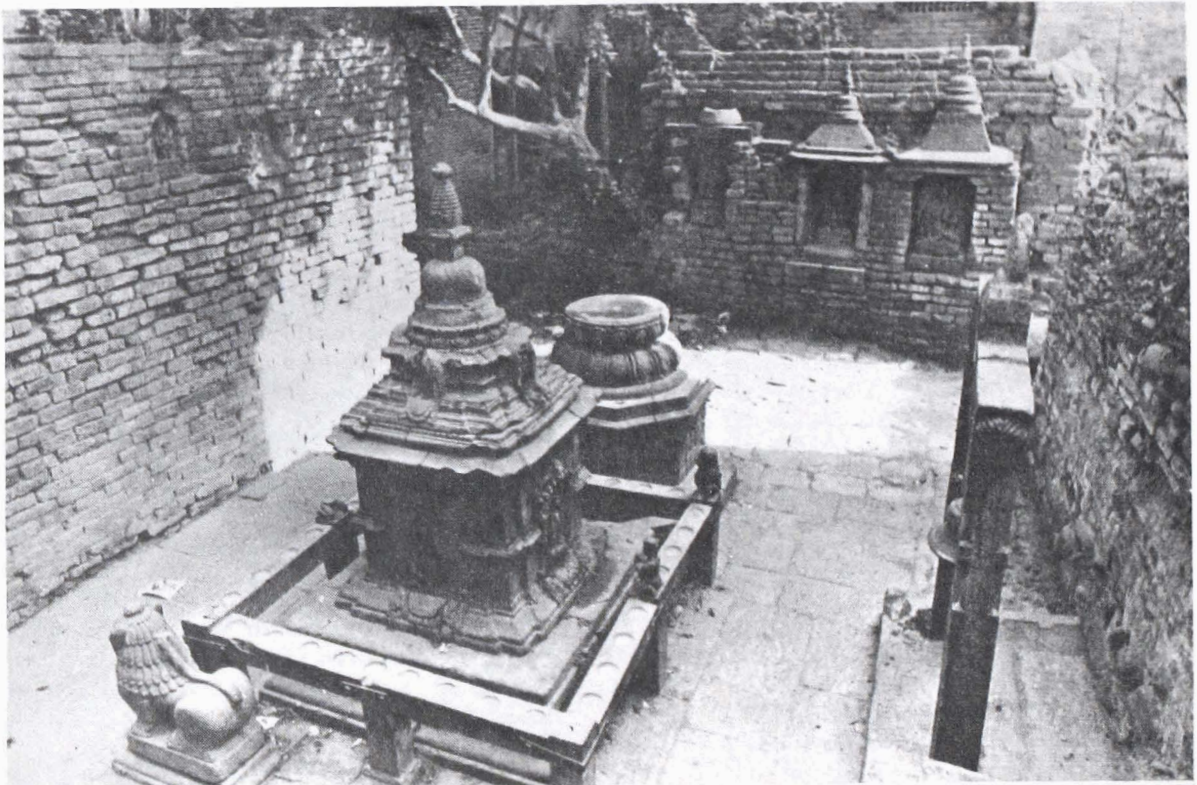
small niches containing very unclear tantric figures. Set into the wall of the facade near the ground are images of Gaṇesh to the right and Mahākāl to the left. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has one large lattice-work window surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (a seated Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara). This is flanked by two smaller lattice work windows. The top storey has a single ordinary window. The tile roof is supported by carved struts depicting the five transcendent Buddhas and Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara. In the courtyard are one votive caitya and two stone dharmadhātu maṇḍalas.

This bāhā has no saṅgha in the sense of a community of initiated Bare. It was built by Sthāpits (Udāya) from Lagan Tole in Kathmandu who were called to Patan at the time of the building of the Taleju temple at the Patan Darbār, because of their skill as carpenters. The shrine was built by these Sthāpits and to this day they have retained possession of it. This community now consists of seven households who serve in rotation to perform the annual srāddha for their ancestors. They perform this worship by offering cooked rice, a custom that is followed in Kathmandu but not normally in Patan. Their lineage deity now resides at Cāku Pāt (just outside the old city of Patan to the north west) but this deity was 'brought' from Kami Nani attached to Lagan Bāhā in Kathmandu. The community has a copper-plate inscription which tells of these events and the foundation of their 'bāhā'. It is connected to Ta Bāhā in the sense that after constructing the shrine and having it consecrated they turned over the shrine to the Vajracaryas of Ta Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā of the kwāpā-dya each day for which they receive an annual stipend of one muri of paddy. There are still four households of the Sthāpits and their lineage deity is Vajrayoginī, Sankhu, a fact which may indicate that they were at one time Bare. The annual festival of the shrine is no longer held and it has no income. At one time these people had some connection with the 12 year festival of Bungadya when the ratha is constructed in Bungamati and brought back to Bungamati. This connection has been lost but they still have a part of their complex which is called Bunga Nani and each year they have a little ratha jātrā there.

There are no extant inscriptions at this



91. Jom Bāhā [94]



92. Iku Bāhā [95]

bāhā, but it is clear from the preserved copper-plate inscription that the shrine dates to the seventeenth century.

c. Iku Bāhā -- Iku Varṇa Vihāra [95]  
Ikhālakhu Tole

This small private shrine is also a bāhā only in the sense that there is a kwāpā-dya enshrined here and it has a loose connection to Ta Bāhā. The bāhā consists of a small area of grassy land containing a caitya, a maṇḍala and a shrine of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara facing west, who is the kwāpā-dya. The shrine was built by one Bekhāratna Śilpakār in 1934 and turned over to Vajracaryas from Ta Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā. The shrine has no annual festival and no income.

d. Icchā Bāhā Nanī -- Ikā Nāma Vihāra [30]  
Ikhālakhu Tole

Icchā Bāhā has a well preserved and typical bāhā shrine in a small courtyard just off the main street in Ikhālakhu Tole. Two large stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine itself. The carved, lattice work doorway has a copper repousse torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya Buddha flanked by two attendants. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway are metal flags. The storey above the shrine has a well carved triple window. The top storey contains living quarters. In the courtyard is a single, large votive-caitya with a snake canopy and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala on an octagonal base.

This bāhā also has never had a saṅgha of initiated Bare, but was built by, and is still the property of, Shresthas. As in the case of the above bāhā, the shrine is tended by a Vajracarya from Ta Bāhā who performs the nitya pūjā each morning, for which he receives an annual stipend of one muri of paddy. The shrine no longer has an annual festival and it has no income.

There are no inscriptions at the site except for one on the bell which is dated B.S.1959. KTMV, however, says that it was constructed in the sixteenth century.<sup>131</sup>

e. Ikhālakhu Bāhā -- ? [96]  
Ikhālakhu Tole

Like Iku Bāhā above this is a small, modern shrine and a bāhā only in the sense that it has a kwāpā-dya and the usual daily rituals are performed at his shrine. The bāhā consists of a small area adjoining Iku Bāhā which contains a votive caitya, a stone maṇḍala and a triple shrine containing images of Akṣobhya (facing south!), the kwāpā-dya, flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara).

This bāhā is also a purely private shrine and was founded by Shresthas who obtained the services of Vajracaryas from Belakhu (i.e. Ta) Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā each morning. Hence it has never had a saṅgha of initiated bare. There are no dated inscriptions at the site and nothing is remembered about the foundation or history of this shrine.

13. Co Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṃskārīta Śrī  
Asanalokesvara Mahāvihāra\* [167]

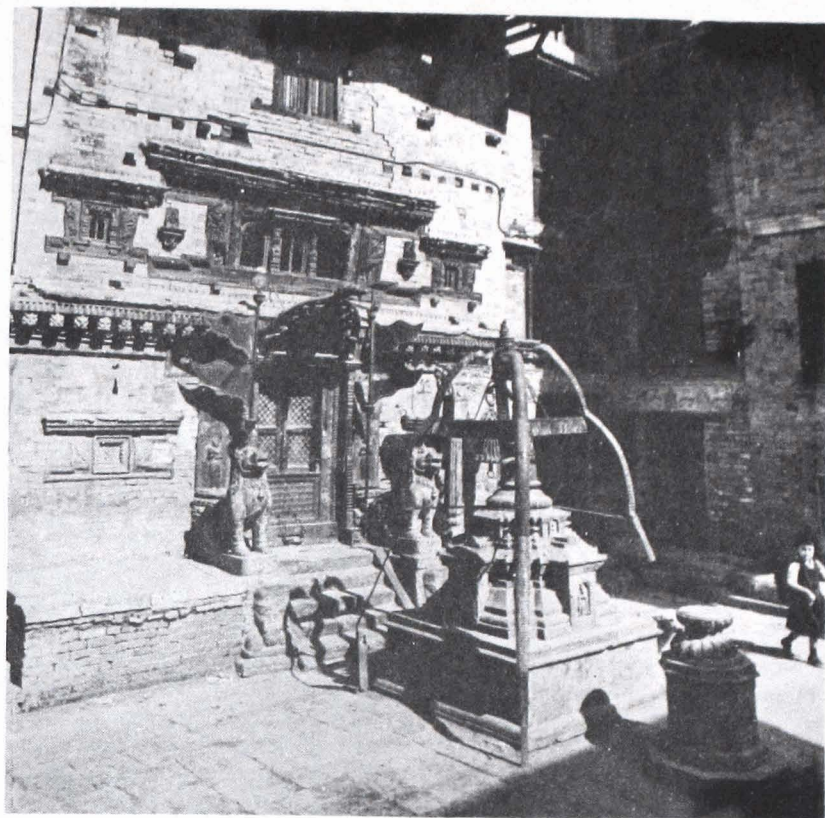
Cobhār

Co Bāhā situated in the centre of the village of Cobhār above the gorge where the Bāgmati River leaves the Valley is one of the two bāhās outside of Patan which, according to Wright's Chronicle, were amalgamated to the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan.<sup>132</sup> It is most well-known as the shrine of the third of the four Lokeśvaras or Matsyendranāths of the Valley, Anandādi Lokeśvara. Most lists give the Sanskrit name of this bāhā as Kacchapāla Giri Mahāvihāra, but an inscription at the site gives the name Indradeva Saṃskārīta Asanalokesvara Mahāvihāra.

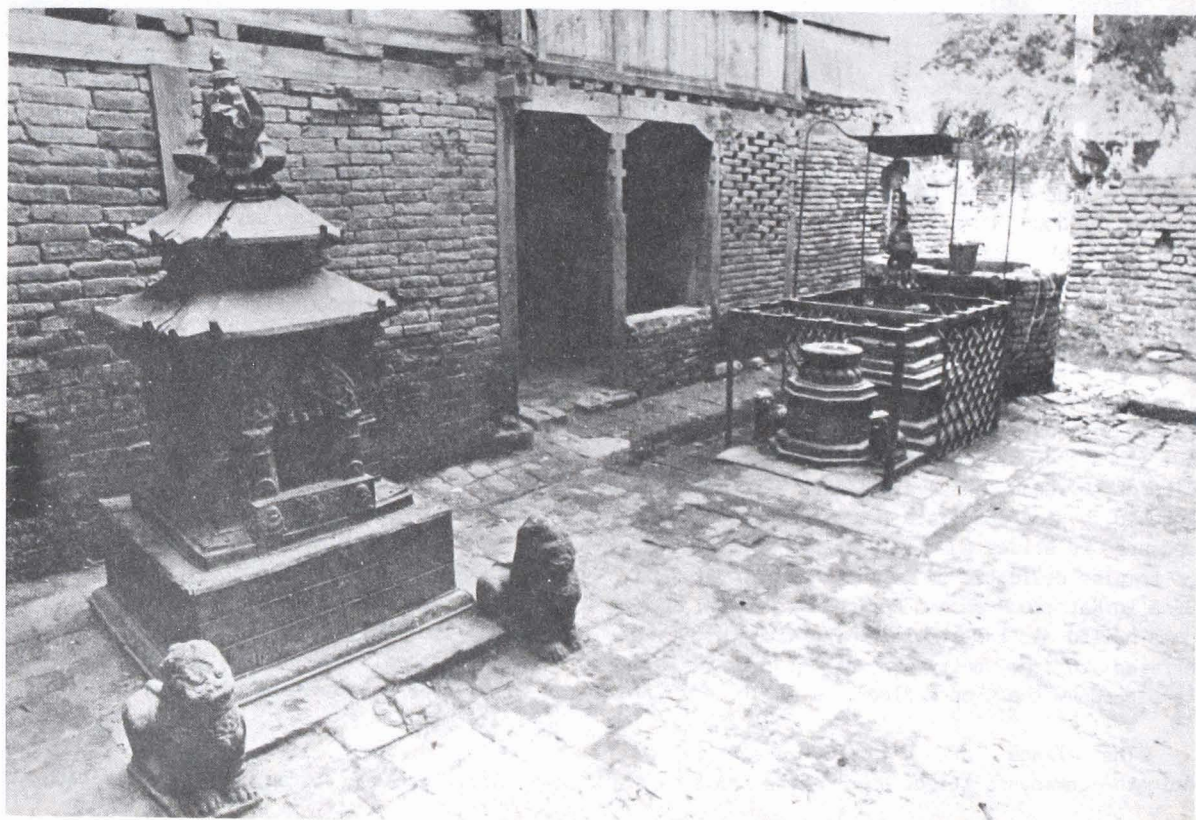
The bāhā is an entirely closed courtyard at the very top of the hill and the shrine of Anandādi Lokeśvara, the kwāpā-dya, is a three-storied, multiple-roofed temple. Though the shrine forms part of the courtyard it is in fact a free-standing temple of imposing size. Of the three roofs the uppermost is of gilded copper and the others are tiled. From the top roof hangs one banner which extends down over the lowest roof.

The entire ground floor facade of the temple is covered with imitation brick work done in brass repousse which was put up in the time of





93. Iccha Baha Nanī [50]



94. Ikhālakhu Bāhā [96]

King Tribhuvan. There are two late Malla stone inscriptions near the main door of the temple and ten small copper-plate inscriptions posted on either side of the main door. There is a single doorway into the sanctum surmounted by a gilded copper torana showing the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position and surmounted by a figure of Vajrasattva. On the door post immediately below the torana is a figure of Amitābha, the Buddha with whom Avalokiteśvara is associated. A chain of sixteen bells hangs over the doorway. Two large oil lamps hang from the lowest roof down over the entryway. Three steps lead up to the narrow veranda in front of the shrine, at the top of which are two guardian lions flanked by two metal banners depicting the sun and moon. To the side of each of these banners are two large temple bells. Above the brass repousse facade can be seen the faces of the yamadūta carved on the ends of the floor joists. The struts supporting the lowest roof are a series of unpainted, eight-armed figures. The struts supporting the second and third roofs are not carved, and plain lattice-work grills are set between them. Metal banners (halampo) depicting the chatur mahārāja hang from the four corners of the lowest roof. From the corners of the second roof hang four wooden vases and from those of the uppermost roof hang four brass vases.

The most striking feature of the temple is the great array of pots, pans, and household utensils nailed to almost every open space on the surface of the temple above the ground floor. Though these are a common feature on many temples around the Valley, the shrine of Anandādi Lokeśvara is certainly one of the most profusely decorated ones. Horizontal boards have been added between the struts to accommodate more of these, and there is hardly any space left to hang more. No informants could give any reason why there are so many of these at Cobhār, but since they are connected with the commemoration of the dead, and Avalokiteśvara is commonly invoked by the Buddhists to intercede for their deceased relatives one would expect to find them on temples dedicated to Avalokiteśvara. At Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu such offerings are made, but not nailed to the temple. Instead they are offered to the deity and then stored in the temple above the ground floor.

The image of Anandādi--also called Adinath--Lokesvara stands about three and a half

feet high and, except for the face, is completely covered with garments and various ornaments. The face is of clay and repainted annually at the time of the bathing ceremony with red colour and wide, staring eyes which look up toward the heavens. The upward glance, according to informants, indicates where the deity wanted to be enshrined, i.e. up on top of the hill. This image is the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā and the main attraction for the large number of devotees who frequent the shrine.

The courtyard in front of the temple is paved with limestone slabs. Immediately in front of the main shrine is a recess for the homa fire and to the right of that a raised platform with a pedestal where the image of Anandadi is placed during the annual dasa karma ceremonies. In the centre of the courtyard is a stone śikhara temple dedicated to Gandharvesvāra (or Gandheśvāra Vitarāga), whom almost all informants identify as Shiva. One informant, though, said it was dedicated to Vidyārāja, one of the eight Tathāgatas and some speculate that the shrine actually contains a caitya. The shrine is kept closed at all times, and it is impossible to see into the sanctum. All informants agreed that it was indeed unusual to find a shrine to a Siva shrine in a bāhā compound, but none could offer an explanation for its presence. The sanctum of the temple is supposed to open onto an underground passage or cave. This passageway is said to lead from the temple compound underground and come out in a cave near the Cobhār gorge at the temple of Ganesh (Jalavināyaka). Informants say that it used to be common for people to crawl through this underground passageway from Jalavināyaka to the bāhā, but this was stopped some years ago when the passage became too narrow and dangerous. According to local legend the passage was made by Ganesh one time when the other gods held a meeting at the bāhā without inviting him. In a rage he cut a passage from his temple down by the river and came out in the midst of their meeting to demand an explanation for their failure to invite him. This is a local adaptation of a common Ganesh legend. Near the steps leading into the sanctum is a hole which is supposed to go directly into this passage. There is a local superstition that if one places his ear over this hole he will be cured of any ear ailments.

Three racks of three prayer wheels each are





95. Co Bāhā [167]

set into the limestone pavement between the śikhara temple and the main shrine, and below the central rack is a stone image of two devotees. On the opposite side of the śikhara temple is a brass repousse dharmadhātu maṇḍala. To the side of this is another recess for the homa fire.

The remaining buildings of the courtyard comprise storage rooms, a primary school, and, in the north-east corner, a room where bhajans are sung morning and evening by local devotees and people from the city. The bhajan room houses three recent and gaudily painted images of Buddha, Rām and Kṛṣṇa. In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a stone inscription commemorating donors who paid for the renovation of the bāhā buildings in the time of King Tribhuvan and Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer.

Outside of the temple complex to the north is an open area with several caityas and a raised, stone platform where the annual bathing ceremonies of Anandadi Lokesvara are performed.

The saṅgha of Co Bāhā consists of five lineages of Sakyas comprising forty members. Ritual rights and duties are still calculated on the basis of these five lineages. There are five elders who govern the saṅgha, the five eldest from each of these lineages. Service in the shrine, which lasts for a lunar month--from full moon to full moon--is based on a rotation of these five families. Within the lineage service passes by rotation from eldest to youngest.

Co Bāhā is a popular shrine for the monthly observances on aṣṭamī and purnimā. For people who perform the aṣṭamī vrata of Amoghapāsa Lokesvara at different temples, this is one of the principal shrines for the performance of the rite. People also come to perform a vrata on ekādasi (the eleventh day of the fortnight) and navamī (the ninth day of the fortnight). This is also a favorite place for the performance of a fast in the month of Kārtik; and the annual festival takes place at the conclusion of this fast.

Of the annual observances at Co Bāhā the most important is the annual bathing and re-consecration of the image which takes place in the bright half of the month of Caitra. On the first day of the bright half of the month the

image is bathed, first early in the morning in the sanctum of the shrine and then again in the evening at the bathing platform outside the bāhā complex. The official ceremonies are performed by a Vajracarya from Ta Bāhā [99] in Patan, the current dya-pālā and four nyekhus from the village of Tasi. After the bathing the nyekhus cover the image, take it back to the temple and over the next week they repaint it. On the seventh day of the fortnight the image is taken out of the temple again and shut up in a small room for the barhā-tayagu or 'placing in the cave ceremony'.

On the morning of the eighth day (aṣṭamī) the Vajracarya priest from Ta Bāhā, one of the members of the saṅgha of Co Bāhā, and one member of the farmer caste go down to the river to 'get the deity.' At the time of the bathing when the spirit of the deity is removed it is not placed in a water pot as at Ta Bāhā or Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but is considered to simply go away. He has to be re-captured and brought back. The ceremony commemorates an event recounted in the legends. According to these legends the image was originally enshrined up-stream and thrown away. It came floating down the river and was rescued by a Vajracarya who enshrined it on top of the hill. So each year they go back to the river to recapture Anandadi again. This ceremony attracts a large number of people from all over the Valley.

When they arrive at the river the three men take a ceremonial bath and the Vajracarya places milk, curds and honey in a kalaśa and places a jasmine flower on top of it. The kalaśa is then placed in the water so that the deity can enter it. According to some, the deity should enter the kalaśa in the form of a bumble bee; others say that he comes in the jasmine flower. When the kalaśa is placed in the water, the jasmine flower falls off and comes floating back into the kalaśa. With much merry-making and ceremony the kalaśa is then removed from the water and placed on a small platform where it remains throughout the day so that the people can worship it. The Vajracarya offers a baḷi pūjā to the deity and private groups perform their own devotions either by themselves or under the direction of their family priest.

About five in the evening a procession forms up and the kalaśa is escorted up to the bāhā on top of the hill. Then the reconsecra-



tion and dasa karma rituals are performed in a ceremony that lasts all night. On the following day after a brief procession three times round the sikhara temple in the centre of the court-yard, the image is placed back in the temple.<sup>133</sup>

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an unnamed deity situated in an open space outside of the bāhā called degu-dya khyā. No one was able to give a name for this deity nor is there any recollection of the deity having been brought from somewhere else. The bāhā still has some income for the performance of the annual rituals of Anandadi Lokeśvara.

There are several legends which tell of the history of this bāhā and the cult of Lokeśvara. Little of historical value can be gleaned from these legends other than the tradition that there was once a ratha jātrā of Anandādi Lokeśvara as of the Lokeśvara of Buṅgamati and Jana Bāhā in Patan.<sup>134</sup> Three of the 'modern chronicles' mention the cult of the deity. The 'Nepal Desko Itihās' claims that Guṇakāmadeva inaugurated the ratha jātrā of Ādināth Lokeśvara in the year Kaligat 3834 (A.D. 733), because Ādināth was considered to be the guru of Matsyendranāth.<sup>135</sup> The 'Bhāṣa Vamśāvalī', after describing the inauguration of the cult and jātrā of Seto Matsyendranāth in Kathmandu, says that from very early times there had been a ratha jātrā of Anandadi Lokeśvara of Cobhār during which the image was taken to Deo Patan. After the inauguration of the cult of Seto Matsyendranāth, the ratha of Anandadi Lokeśvara was brought annually to Asan Tole and there was a jātrā of the two images there for three days beginning on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra.<sup>136</sup> Padmagiri's Chronicle claims that during the time of the 'Thakuri' king Viṣadeva the Buddhists had taken over Pasupatināth and used to serve as pūjārīs in the temple. During the period they used to bring the image of Lokeśvara from Cobhār to Paśupatināth on a ratha.<sup>137</sup> Given the unanimous tradition, there may well have been such a ratha jātrā and it is entirely credible that it was abandoned because of the difficulty of dragging the ratha across the river to Kathmandu or Deo Patan.

The earliest document to mention the bāhā or cult is a palm-leaf grant issued by the mahāpātras of Patan granting land for the performance of the bathing ceremony of Śrīmat Sri Sri Cobahāra in N.S. 678.<sup>138</sup> The oldest inscrip-

tion found at the temple itself is dated N.S. 761.<sup>139</sup> The inscription is in two parts, the first part Sanskrit the second part mixed Sanskrit and Newari. It begins with a salutation to 'Lokesvara, the embodiment of compassion, the one who is foremost among many Buddhas'. There follows a prayer that Lokesvara defend the minister Harisaṅkara. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeshtha the minister offered a golden kalaśa and a banner to the temple which had just been repaired. The Newari section of the inscription states that on this day, after the three-storied temple was built to replace an old one (or repair an old one), an ahorātra homa sacrifice was performed for the offering of a golden finial. At this ceremony King Siddhi Narasiṃha and his son Srinivāsa Malla were present. The inscription specifies the amount of curds, ghee, honey and raw sugar that are to be offered at the annual bathing ceremony. There follows a list of lands offered to the gūthī to ensure the continuation of the ceremonies, and finally the names of certain Bāre who are charged with caring for the shrine. It ends with a warning that if anyone damages the temple he will be guilty of the five great sins; those who care for the temple will reap great merit (punya).

The Thyāsaphu H, cited by D. R. Regmi, notes that on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the year N.S. 784 the bathing ceremony of Śrī Śrī the god of Cobhāl, took place.<sup>140</sup> Another copper-plate inscription put up in the year N.S. 874 replaces an earlier damaged inscription of N.S. 801. The earlier inscription concerned the bringing of water for the annual bathing ceremony from a place called Thasimaba. Money is to be given for the fetching of water and a request is made to the king, Srinivāsa Malla, and his minister Bhagiratha Bhaiya to forbid people to take kali-māṭī from the channel where they get water for the bathing. A gūthī of seven members was set up to see that the prescriptions were carried out. The deity is referred to as Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokeśvara.<sup>141</sup>

There is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S. 880 at the temple of Anandādi and a copy of the same at the temple of Gaṇesh down by the river. This inscription put up by king Viśvajit Malla and his mother, Harṣalakṣmī, forbids the cutting of trees on the hill side. Except for dead trees and dry branches, no one is permitted

to cut firewood in the area without the permission of these two. Anyone who dares to cut trees should consider that by doing so he has inflicted a wound on the bodies of Gaṇesh and Sri Sri Sri Avalokiteśvara. The courtier Devīdas Bhāro is cited as a witness.<sup>142</sup>

14. Dau Bāhā — Rudradeva Gargagotra Varma  
Samskārita Dattanāma Mahāvihāra [39]  
Dau Bāhā Tole

Dau Bāhā is located in an entirely closed courtyard just off the main road leading to the Patan Darbār. The bāhā has a well-preserved kwāpā-dya shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions over which is an archway of metal lamps. The door of the shrine is finished in repousse metal and surmounted by a repousse torāṇa with an image of Mahāvairocana in the centre with one face and eight hands flanked by two one-faced, six armed figures. Above are the other four tantric, transcendent Buddhas, each with one face and eight arms. On either side of the doorway are metal repousse images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, and two metal flags. At the far ends of the facade of the ground floor are two stone images erected in N.S.1103 (1983). The one on the left is Amogha-pāsa Lokeśvara, the one on the right is a six-armed image of Lokeśvara with the rosary, a triple flower, and varada mudrā in the right hands and a trident, book, and varada mudrā in the left. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing north.

Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above the central window is a small torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara). Above this is a row of frescoes depicting the five transcendent Buddhas and two other figures. The top storey has two large windows on the side and a projecting balcony in the centre behind which has been set an old wooden torāṇa which is partly hidden but seems to have the same figures as the newer metal one, probably the original torāṇa which the metal one replaced. The tile roof is surmounted by a bahī style tower which is topped by a single, golden finial. In the courtyard are five votive caityas and two stone, dharmadhātu maṇḍalas. At the entryway to the bāhā is a rest house which has images of Mahākāl, a four-handed Mañjuśrī and Gaṇesh.

The saṅgha of this bāhā at the present time consists of only thirty Vajracaryas. The customary rituals are performed in turn by these Vajracaryas. The saṅgha is governed by ten elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya, now 'brought' to a caitya outside the bāhā to the north and worshipped annually there. The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Mangsir. According to informants the bāhā no longer has any income.

At the present time this main bāhā has only one branch, cited below. Vajracarya informants at Dau Bāhā also claimed Yoku Bāhā [40] as a branch of this bāhā. However, Sakya informants at Yoku Bāhā say that they have no connection with Dau Bāhā, they perform their initiations separately, never act as dya-pālās at Dau Bāhā, and in fact they say they no longer even call Dau Bāhā Vajracaryas as priests, though they did in the past. Some said that they were originally part of the Dau Bāhā saṅgha, but broke off because of some long-forgotten quarrel. However, even this is doubtful as their lineage deity is not the same as that of Dau Bāhā. (See the section below on Yoku Bāhā.)

Little is known about the history and foundation of this main bāhā, other than the tradition that it was founded by this Rudradeva Varma, presumably in the Thakuri period. The oldest inscription at the site is found on the old torāṇa which is dated N.S.706.<sup>143</sup> Nothing now preserved in the courtyard would suggest a great antiquity for this bāhā. According to Wright's Chronicle this was one of the bāhās which existed at the time of King Siddhi Narasimha Malla and for which he formulated rules.<sup>144</sup>

a. Jog Dhusa Bāhā -- Jagajyoti Vihāra [43]  
Dau Bāhā Tole

This is a small modern shrine set in the centre of a water-logged courtyard deep in the maze of courtyards between the Bu Bāhā and Dau Bāhā areas. The shrine which houses an image of Akṣobhya facing east, has lattice work doors and a bell-shaped top. On either side of the shrine are images of Gaṇesh and Mahākāl. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants. In front



96. Dau Bāhā [39]



97. Jog Dhusa Bāhā [43]



of the shrine is a stone votive caitya. Informants say that the shrine was actually built by people from Ha Bāhā [24] and the caitya by people from Dau Bāhā, but the nitya pūjā is performed now irregularly and only by people from Dau Bāhā. There is no longer any saṅgha as such. The bāhā has no annual festival and no income. Near the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.975 and a small bell dated N.S.972.

15. Ha Bāhā -- Sri Lakṣmī Kalyāṇa Varma  
Saṃskārita Ratnākara Mahāvihāra [24]  
Ha Bāhā

Ha Bāhā, also known as Makha Bāhā or Hatako Bāhā, is one of the few bāhās in Patan to retain the complete architectural structure of a bāhā; and the beauty and integrity of the buildings has been preserved by the fact that there is no one living in the bāhā compound itself. The street entrance is a solid brick facade with a single opening into the bāhā compound. The doorway is marked by two large, painted stone lions, and surmounted by a stone torāṇa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the central position. Below these five figures are a four-handed Mañjuśrī and an eight-handed, three-faced Mahāmañjuśrī. Below these are two sālabhañjika figures. This stone torāṇa forms an archway right round the door rather than being a single panel above the door. The ground floor of the outer facade is entirely blank except for two small, false windows on either side of the doorway, the left one of which has a wooden image of a four-handed Mañjuśrī and the right one a wooden figure of a seated Avalokiteśvara. The second storey is pierced by several large, lattice windows. The whole of the facade and the tile roof above it were renovated in 1983.

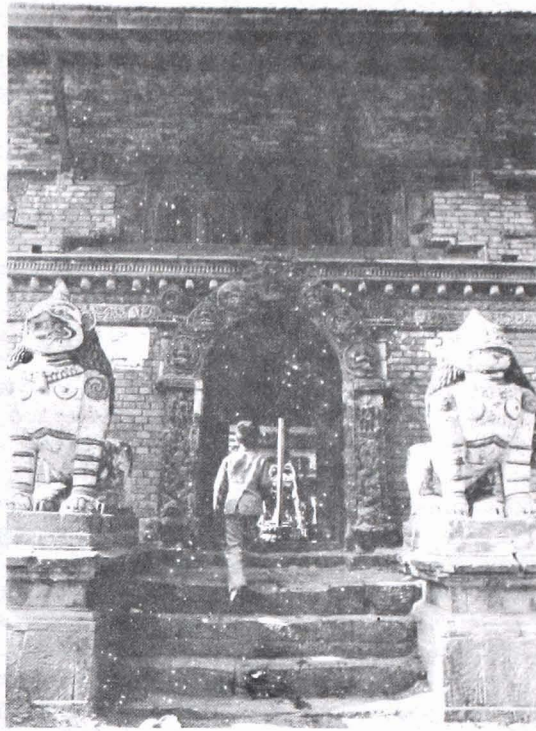
The shrine of the kwāpā-dya opposite the entrance is an imposing structure of three storeys plus two further stages, each with a tile roof. The doorway to the shrine is marked by two large brass lions mounted on stone bases supported by crouching elephants. Riding on each of the lions is a bodhisattva figure with a sword on a lotus in his right hand and trident on a lotus in his left hand (Simhanāda Lokeśvara). Over the elephants is an archway of oil lamps finished in repousse metal with figures of the five transcendent Buddhas plus Śaḍakāṣari Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā embossed on the surface. The doorway of the shrine is flanked

by repousse images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The doorway is elaborately carved and finished in repousse metal. Above it is a copper repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Saṅgha (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right, and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakāṣari Lokeśvara) on the left. At the very top of the torāṇa is an image of Vairocana. On either side of the torāṇa are brass flags. The image of the kwāpā-dya is a large metal image of Akṣobhya facing north. Set into the facade of the ground floor are two images of Mahākāl and at each end of the facade is a small shrine. The one on the east is a four-armed figure of Mañjuśrī, surmounted by a small torāṇa depicting Vajrasattva and the one on the west an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara painted in gaudy colours and surmounted by a small torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara). This image is of wood and reputed to be older than the image of Bungadya.

At the level of the first storey is the usual five-fold window, finished in repousse brass and with images of the five transcendent Buddhas set into the sections. Above this is another panel of similar figures, this time seven, the transcendent Buddhas flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍakāṣari Lokeśvara. Above this panel of seven is another window with a figure of Vajrasattva set into it. Above this window is another small brass torāṇa depicting Vajrasattva. Above this are three small windows.

The first roof is supported by six multi-armed struts across the front and two sardulas at the corners. The whole of the facade of the lower three storeys has been faced with multi-coloured, ceramic tiles. The storey above the first roof has three small openings and a plain brick facade with the windows outlined in white. The second roof is supported by two-armed figure struts right round. At the top of the second roof, resting against the wall of the very top storey are three, large brass caityas. The top storey is a repetition of the one just below it. The top roof is supported by a series of carved struts right round, and from the edge of this roof hangs a series of small bells. The top is crowned by another three brass caityas.

The shrine of the kwāpā-dya occupies the whole of the southern wing of the quadrangle. At either end of this wing is a doorway leading to the compound behind. The western doorway is



98. Ha Bāhā [24] Street Entrance



99. Ha Bāhā [24]

surmounted by an elaborate wooden torāṇa depicting a host of tantric deities with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The eastern doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa depicting the Kumāri standing in a dancing posture on her vehicle, the peacock, and flanked by a dancing Mahākāl and a dancing Gaṇesh. The eastern arm of the quadrangle has an open veranda in the centre flanked by two store rooms. The western arm has an open veranda flanked by a room containing an image of Amoghapaśa Lokeśvara at the northern end and another shrine at the southern end. This shrine contains three large stone images: Vajrasattva flanked by Mañjuśrī and Basundharā. This shrine is enclosed with finely carved lattice work and surmounted by a recent and well-carved triple torāṇa. The central panel has Mahāvajrasattva in the centre surrounded by nine other tantric deities. The right panel depicts Mahāmañjuśrī and the left panel depicts Basundhara. The northern wing has the entryway flanked by two open rest houses with storerooms at the end. One of these is used to store the bāhā's two images of Dipaṅkara, which are exhibited during Guṇlā and at the five-yearly Patan Samyak, and several bits and pieces of old wooden images.

In the courtyard is an array of maṇḍalas and caityas. Directly in front of the shrine is a large, white-washed caitya of Licchavi style. East of the caitya in a line are: a bell (N.S.992), a maṇḍala (N.S.1073), and a votive caitya (N.S.1081). In a line from the white-washed caitya stretching north are: two stone figures kneeling and facing the caitya (devotees who donated these figures of themselves in N.S.879), a large, brass dharmadhātu maṇḍala mounted on a stone base (N.S.1018), a small, stone votive caitya (dated, but illegible), a mounted vajra (N.S.1046), a maṇḍala (N.S.1060), and a second maṇḍala (N.S.1064).

Outside the bāhā to the west is an open area with four votive caityas in a line and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. The southern-most caitya is dated N.S.1001, the next one B.S.2035, and the other two are undated but surely from the Malla period.

According to tradition this bāhā was moved from its original site in the area of the Patan Darbār to its present location in the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla (N.S.738-71; see historical section below). The saṅgha consisted of three lineages, one of Vajracaryas, and two of

Sakyas. When the bāhā was moved the Vajracaryas elected not to move to the new site, left the saṅgha and joined the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā [31]. (See the section on Bū Bāhā.) Siddhi Narasimha offered to raise the remaining two lineages to the status of Vajracaryas, and one lineage accepted the offer. Its members were then given the Ācālyegu. This, however, was resented by the other Vajracaryas of Patan who referred to them as balañ-ācārya, i.e. [Vajra]acarya by [the] force [of the king]. As a result no one in Patan would accept these men as priests, they have never had any jaṇmāns (clients), and other Vajracaryas in Patan will not accede to marriage relations with this lineage. At the present time the Sakya lineage has almost died out so that the saṅgha consists of 189 Vajracaryas and one Sakya, an old man who has no sons, but who has recently adopted a Sakya boy who will be able to carry on his lineage (and be heir to his rights, duties and property). The bāhā keeps a roster of the elders and all the members of the saṅgha, the few inactive members separated from the rest at the bottom of the list. The members of the saṅgha take turn acting as dya-pālās, performing rituals three times a day: in the early morning (the ṇitya pūjā), in the mid-afternoon (2-3PM), and again in the evening (the ārati pūjā). Service in the temple is for a lunar fortnight and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated.

The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the first day of the bright half of the month of Maṅsir. The annual festival is hosted by four of the members of the saṅgha on a rotation basis, and there are still two and a half ropānis of land to support this festival. There also used to be an annual festival in which all those children who had undergone their rice feeding ceremony within the past year were fed in the month of Baisakh, but this festival has been combined now with the one annual festival. The Vajracaryas also have an ācārya gūṭhī which has an annual meeting and feast. The Vajracaryas also perform a homa pūjā once a month to the āgam deities.

One of the main features of the life of this saṅgha is the worship of the Patan Royal Kumāri (Living Goddess), who is always selected from one of the families of Ha Bāhā and whose official residence is in quarters directly behind the bāhā complex. The girl is selected in much the same way as the Royal Kumāri of Kathmā-



ndu, the first selection being made by the priest of the Taleju temple in Patan, who narrows the field to a few girls. The final selection is made by the current Royal Preceptor (Baḍā Guruḷū) to the King of Nepal. The Kumāri is usually initiated on the eighth day of Dasain, but another date may be chosen if there would be no Kumāri for other important festivals. This Kumāri is less a full-time goddess than the one in Kathmandu and lives at home with her family, but must receive special treatment and be worshipped each day (the nitya pūjā) by someone, usually her father. Others may also come for this daily pūjā, but the custom is dying. The girl's mother must look after her ritual needs and care for her impressive collection of ritual jewelry. There are four festivals in the year which the Patan Kumāri must take part in. First is the annual festival of Buṅgadya (Rato Matsyendranāth). She appears on her throne on the day the two rathas (of Matsyendranāth and Minnāth) enter the city of Patan, on the day of the Gā Bāhā Jātrā, on the day of the Lagan Khel Jātrā, on the day when the ratha is pulled to Jāwalākhel (when she sits in the Kumāri Pāṭī half way along the road to Jāwalākhel), and finally at the showing of the bhoto, when she is again enshrined in a pāṭī near the ratha. Secondly she is publicly worshipped at the time of Dasain when she is worshipped as Durga in much the same way as the Kumāri of Kathmandu. Thirdly during the sacred month of Guṇlā she is enthroned in Ha Bāhā on three separate occasions: on the day of Pañcadāna, on the day after the fullmoon, and on the day of Mataya (the day when the devotees in Patan visit all of the caityas in one day's frantic procession). Thirdly, in the month of Bhādra on Gatila (a day of fasting) three goddesses are worshipped on one day: Basundharā, Kumāri and Mahālakṣmī. On this day the Kumāri is worshipped in her āgam where she sits on her throne flanked by pictures of Vasundharā and Mahālakṣmī.<sup>145</sup>

The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders with one extra chosen in reserve who acts as a helper to the others. The head elder also functions as Cakreśvara. As a matter of fact all of the elders at the present time are Vajracaryas, but Sakyas are eligible for all posts except that of Cakreśvara. The one remaining Sakya has retired because of age.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācālyuegu initiations

are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas of the saṅgha is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara (Karūṇāmaya) originally located at Phandole but now worshipped at the bāhā. The one Sakya performs his lineage deity pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā. (I was unable to obtain any explanation for this. 'He has always done it there.' Does he do this for convenience because he is so old; or did this lineage always have a different lineage deity?) The elders meet once a month on the fullmoon day for an āgam pūjā and again on the tenth day of the dark half of the month for a feast.

This bāhā still has a considerable income. They have some sixty ropanīs of land, much of it now city land which brings in a good return in rent from buildings. They sold off one plot of land next to the bāhā and invested the money in the bank (to which they sold the land); this long term investment also brings in a fair income.

Wright's Chronicle has two references to this bāhā. The first is from the time of Lakṣmīkāmadeva I.

Bhoj-deva's son Lakṣmi kāma-deva reigned 22 years. This Rāja, thinking that his grandfather had acquired so much wealth and conquered the four quarters of the world through the aid of the Kumaaris, resolved to do the same. With this intention he went to the Patan Durbār, and having worshipped as Kumāri the daughter of a bandya [Bare], living in a bihār near the Durbar, known by the name of Lakṣmi-barman, he erected an image of Kumāri and established the Kumari puja.<sup>146</sup>

This Lakṣmī Kamādeva is known to have ruled from about N.S.135-159 and he did in fact succeed Bhoja Deva. The citation implies that the bāhā had existed for some time prior to the reign of this king. Another interesting feature, is the reference to the official founding of the cult of the Kumāri at this bāhā. The second reference comes from the time of Siddhi Naraśimha, the first of the kings of the separate kingdom of Patan.

There was a bihār, named Hatko Bihār, built by Lakṣmi-kāma-deva, near the Mula-chok of the durbār. This bihār Siddhi-Naraśimha caused to be pulled down and rebuilt near

Gaubāhāl. He placed an image of Siddhi-Ganesha and one of Narasimha at the corner, and extended the durbar over the ground thus obtained. Seeing that there were not carpenters enough in the town, he made Bandyas take up the trade and assigned guthis to the Naisyas to give them a feast on a certain day of every year.<sup>147</sup>

The area of the darbār referred to is the Sundari Chok containing the royal bath, which was constructed at this time and still has the two above images at the entryway. Several people have expressed to me their doubts about this whole story. However, I have seen no evidence to disprove it and a number of confirming factors. Firstly, there is nothing at the present Ha Bāhā complex that pre-dates the time of Siddhi Naraśimha, with the possible exception of the white-washed caitya of Licchavi style. This, however, may have been moved with the bāhā, or may have already been on the site, a relic of a defunct Licchavi vihāra or shrine. Secondly, is the consistent tradition in Patan that the bāhā was moved at that time and the still current customs that reflect this event: the tradition of the Vajracaryas leaving the saṅgha and joining Bū Bāhā, confirmed by the current customs of Bū Bāhā, the raising of the Ha Bāhā Sakyas to the status of Vajracaryas.<sup>148</sup> People also cite the name of the bāhā as a proof of its former location. Ha or Hakha Tole is the area near the Patan Darbār and nowhere near the present site of the bāhā. The name, according to tradition, is derived from the fact that a small stream, named Ha Khusi (the River Ha) used to run in front of the present site of the darbār. The earlier form of this name, however is Hatako. There is one early reference to the existence of this bāhā contained in one of the land deed documents in the cache found a few years ago at Uku Bāhā. In N.S.269 a piece of land was sold, and in describing its boundaries the document notes that the said piece is bordered on the west by the land of one Śrī Udaya Pāla Varma of Hatako Vihāra.<sup>149</sup> Another land deed from N.S.505 also refers to Hatako Vihāra, but gives no indication of the site of this vihāra.<sup>150</sup> The earliest dated piece in the present complex is a bell dated N.S.776, which falls within the reign of Siddhi Naraśimha. The struts of the present shrine are dated N.S.788, just after the reign of Siddhi Naraśimha.<sup>151</sup> To my knowledge, however, there are no extant inscriptions or contemporary documents which des-

cribe the transfer of the site of this bāhā; for this one must rely on the oral tradition and the chronicles.

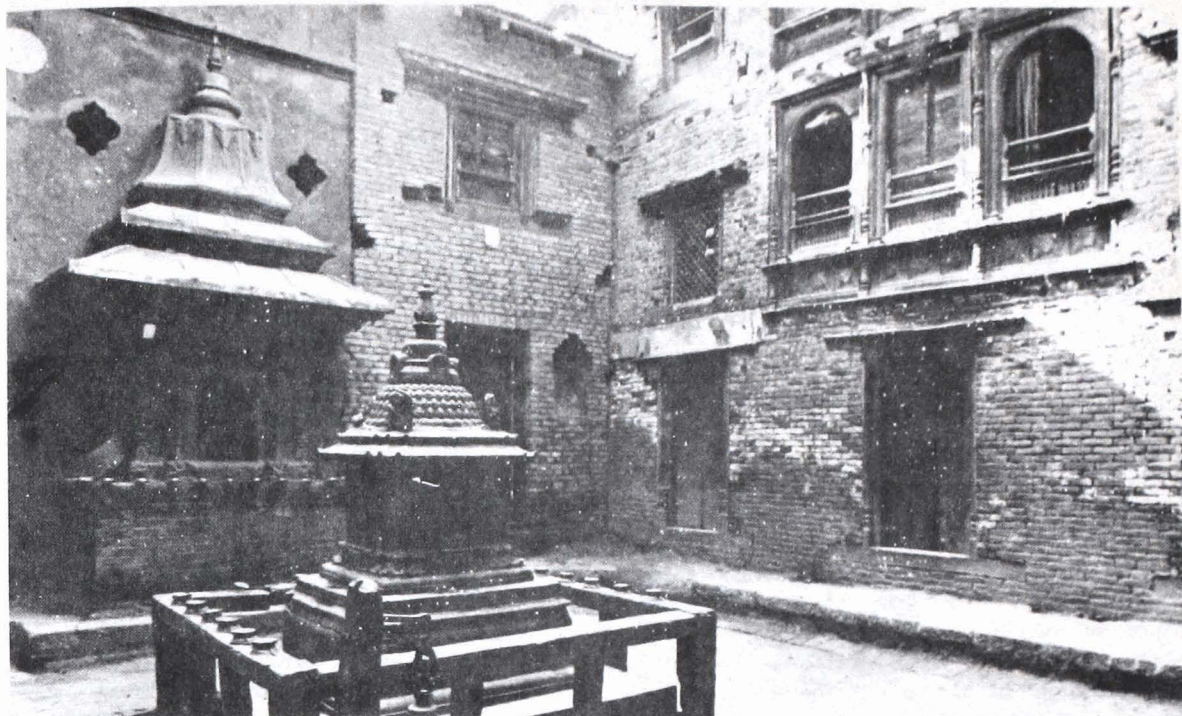
At the present time this bāhā has no official branches, but there are three small private branches.

a. Wācheñ Nani Bāhācā -- Dhanavata Simha Vihāra [25] Wala Tole

This small branch, situated is a small courtyard directly behind Ha Bāhā, is only a small modern shrine set against the north wall of the quadrangle. The shrine has an image of Akṣobhya facing north. There is nothing else in this courtyard, though the courtyard directly to the north has a caitya, and there is a large caitya in the open space to the south. The saṅgha of this branch consists of seven households of Vajracaryas from Ha Bāhā. The nitya pūjā is performed each morning by whoever is available. The annual festival of the branch is observed on the full moon day of Aswin, but only three of the households now take part in the festival. The saṅgha has one elder, but no income. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch, and there are no inscriptions in this courtyard. Surely, in its present form the shrine is a twentieth century structure.

b. Jyena Bāhā -- Śrī Jñāna Nāma Vihāra [26] Jyena Bāhā Tole

At the present time this branch is nothing but the remains of a bāhā. The first time I saw the site it was a deserted, grassy area with the ruins of buildings around the edges and in the centre a Licchavi style caitya and a stone maṇḍala, plus two modern Hindu temples, one containing an image of Nārāyaṇa and the other an image of Krishna. Now most of the plot has been sold off and a new, modern house constructed on it, so that all that remains is the caitya, the maṇḍala, and the two small shrines on a tiny plot of land. This was a branch of Ha Bāhā, perhaps finally abandoned after the earthquake of 1934. The saṅgha consisted of one household from Ha Bāhā, which still exists as a separate unit, has one elder and whose members still occasionally do pūjā at the caitya and still celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of Aswin. Except for this, the site has been abandoned. The bāhā has no in-



100. Wa Chen Nani Bāhācā [25]



101. Jyena Bāhā [26]



come. There are no inscriptions at the site but informants say that this branch pre-dates the transfer of Ha Bāhā to its present location. The existence of a Licchavi style caitya here tends to confirm this.

c. Walā Bāhā Dhatu Nanī -- Yanta Vihāra [42]  
Dau Bāhā Tole

This tiny branch contains a small, modern shrine set against one wall. To the sides of the shrine are images of Mahākāl and Gaṇesh and there is a small dharmadhātu maṇḍala in the courtyard. Over the shrine, which contains an image of Akṣobhya facing north, is a small torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya flanked by a darpaṇa and a stylized caitya. Above the torāṇa is a triple, brass umbrella. The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Ha Bāhā, one member of which performs the nitya pūjā each morning. The shrine has no annual festival and no income. There are no inscriptions here, but the shrine in its present state is certainly a twentieth century construction.

16. Bū Bāhā -- Vidyādhara Śarmā Saṃskārīta  
Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra\* [31]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

Bū Bāhā is perhaps the best example of an extended bāhā complex. The entirely enclosed quadrangle, which lies off the main road to the Patan Darbār in the Gā Bāhā area, is nearly as large as a football field, about 42 yards by 83 yards. The area is entirely too large to have ever been enclosed by a single architectural structure. One enters the bāhā through a doorway marked by two large stone lions and a plaque giving the Sanskrit and Newari name of the bāhā; this opens on to the southern side of the complex. To the right as one enters is a rest house with a large, but unfortunately damaged Malla period inscription and an image of Gaṇesh to the side.<sup>152</sup> To the left as one enters is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, an elaborate and well-preserved structure. The main part of the building is of three storeys surmounted by a tile roof above which is another stage containing a sort of completely open balcony which has windows and outward slanting walls, in place of struts, which support the second tile roof. Above the top roof are five finials; and one long metal streamer, with images of three of the Buddhas and Amoghapāsa Lokeshvara, hangs from the top of the roof to the door of the shrine. The

upper balcony is similar to the architecture of a satal such as Simha Satal in Kathmandu. The building is so constructed that the lower roof is just above the roof level of the other buildings around the quadrangle, making the shrine the most prominent building in the complex.

At the foot of the steps leading up to the shrine is an archway of votive lamps done in repousse brass with a small image of Akṣobhya at the top. At the base of this arch are brass figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and behind the arch two, large metal lions. Flanking the doorway of the shrine itself are two more images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The doorway itself is elaborately carved and surmounted by a repousse torāṇa the central figure of which is a standing figure of Mahāvairocana flanked by standing figures of Mahā-akṣobhya on his right and Mahā-amitābha on his left. Above these figures are the other two tantric Buddhas in a seated posture. An outer circle depicts six bodhisattva figures surmounted by Mahāvajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is a large seated image of Amitābha covered with a gilded cope. Above the torāṇa is the usual five-fold window but with the trim finished in repousse metal and images of the five transcendent Buddhas set into them, with Vairocana in the central position. Above this window is another small torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Amitābha), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍkaṣari Lokeshvara) on his left. Between this torāṇa and the next storey is another similar panel of seven deities, the five transcendental Buddhas with Vairocana in the centre flanked by two images of Tārā. Above these to the right and left are two repousse plaques of sālabhañjika figures. Above them in the centre of the facade is an image of Akṣobhya and above this a small torāṇa depicting Vajrasattva. The whole of the facade of the shrine is covered with gaudy, multi-coloured ceramic tile. The lower roof is supported by six struts depicting multi-armed deities and from the underside of the roof hang ten halampos depicting various buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The large quadrangle has an array of shrines and caityas. See the accompanying diagram for the position of these. 1) A vajra mounted on a low pillar with an inscription dated N.S.1002. 2) A large dharmadhātu maṇḍala in repousse brass mounted on a stone base. Between 1 and 2 is the kṣetra-pāla. 3) A small,



102. Wala Bāhā Dhatu Nani [42]



103. Bū Bāhā [31]

enclosed, cemented shrine facing east housing a brass image of Nāmasaṅgiti. The top of the shrine ends in a stylized caitya. 4) A small, śikhara style temple constructed after the fashion of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa temple in Darbār Square. Facing the east in this shrine is a two-armed image of Mañjuśrī showing the dharmacakra mudrā and holding the stem of a lotus in each hand. The right lotus has a sword and the left lotus a book, the Prajñāpāramitā. This image is of brass, and around it in stone are small figures of Akṣobhya, Gaṇeś, Mahākāl and Prajñāpāramitā. Above the main shrine are the four transcendent Buddhas. On the north side of the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.793 and giving the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra. 5) A stone votive caitya. 6) A cemented, stone votive caitya. 7) A modern shrine of Basundharā, facing east and dated N.S. 1077. 8) An elongated caitya, rather like a pillar with a caitya top. Around the lower part of the stone pillars are images of a standing Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā (east), Vajrapāṇi (south), Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara (west), and Mañjuśrī (north). 9) A stone votive caitya on a stylized lotus. 10) A stone, dharmadhātu maṇḍala on an eight sided base dated N.S.1077. 11) A large, white plastered caitya and a bell with an inscription dated N.S.777. 12) A votive memorial pillar set into a turtle base from the time of King Tribhuvan. 13) A second votive memorial pillar set into a turtle base and dated N.S.1050. 14) A plain śikhara type temple about nine feet tall. 15) An enclosed, cemented shrine containing a stone image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. 16) A stone votive caitya. 17) A large, plastered caitya. 18) A stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala. 19) A small shrine, finished in metal repousse work and containing an image of Amitābha Buddha facing west. The top of the shrine ends in a caitya. 20) An image of Gaṇeś. 21) A partially enclosed room with a raised floor used for the chanting of the scriptures or bhajans and containing three large stone images: Vajrasattva flanked by Basundharā on his right and Mañjuśrī on his left.

Around the expansive quadrangle is a continuous line of houses, all inhabited by the members of the saṅgha of this bāhā. There are several openings off the north side of the quadrangle which lead on to a rabbit warren of small courtyards and several branch bāhās spreading toward the north. Nearly all of the members of the saṅgha of over two thousand Bare and their

families live in this complex, making Bu Bāhā a community within the community of Patan which is larger than many of the villages of the Valley.

Wright's Chronicle contains a legend about the history of this bāhā:

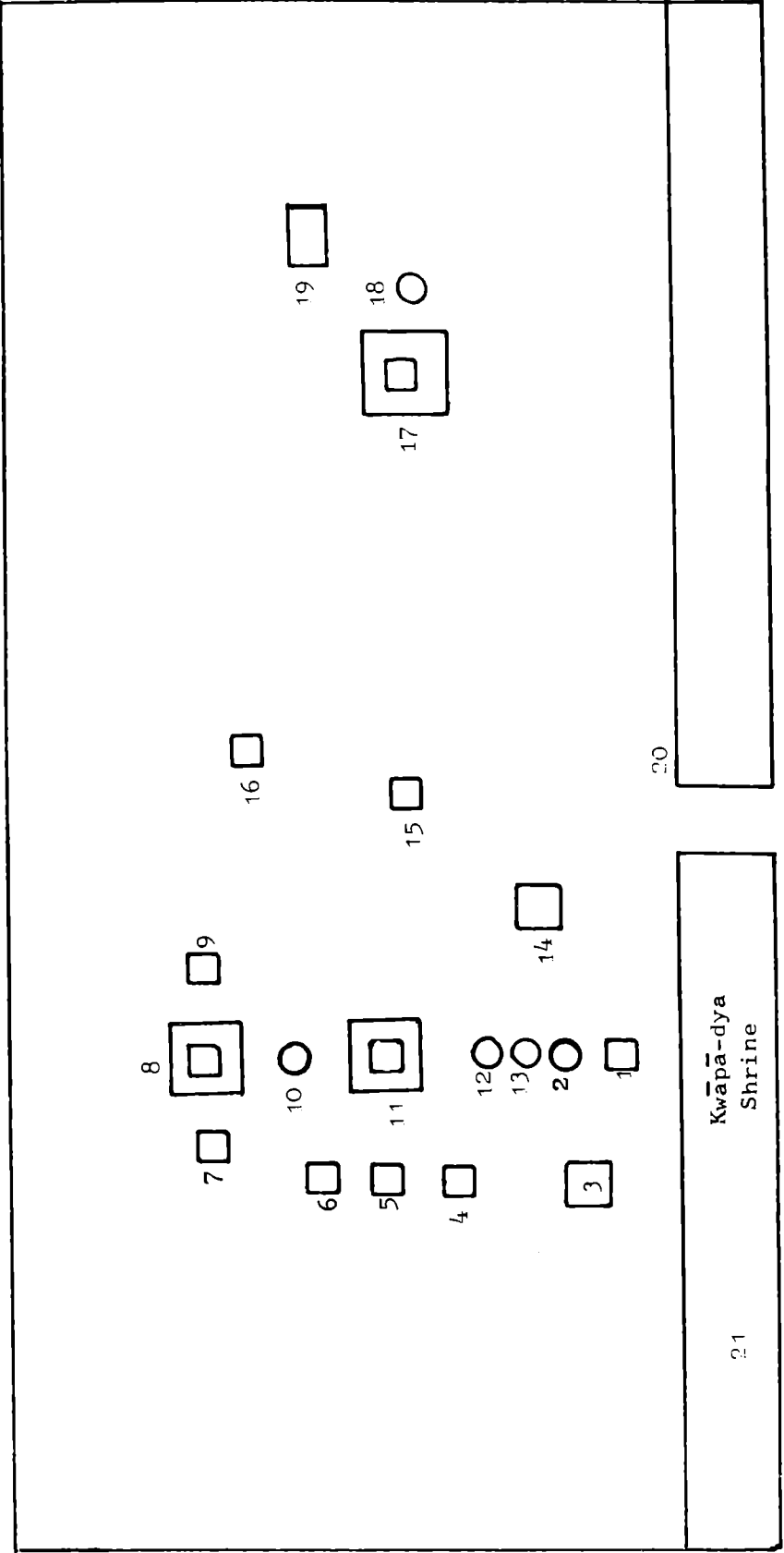
In the reign of this Rājā [Sankaradeva], some people, from a village named Jhul, had gone to the Gaur country (Bengal) and lived in a city named Kaphi, whence several persons returned to Jhul. These men performed yagya daily in a hollow consecrated place, where a perpetual fire was kept alight. . . . One of these Brahmans, having no lawful wife, took with him a Brahmani widow, named Yasodhara, instead of his wife; and one day, as he was performing the yagya, the fire increased, and after burning him up, consumed the whole village. . . .

At the time when the village of Jhul was burning, Yasodhara, the Brahmani widow, fled to Patan with a small model of a chaitya, the book Pragyā-pāramitā (written in golden letters in Vikrama-sambat 245), and her infant son Yasodhara. She repaired the bihar in Gala-bahal, built by Bidyādhara-barma, and placed the model chaitya inside the one in the bihār. She caused her son Yasodhara, after his chura-karma, to be made a bandya [i.e. bare]; and in order to conceal this from her relatives, who were Agnihotris, she did not allow the ceremonies attending the chura-karma to be performed in front of the Agama-devatas of the bihār. To this day the bandyas of this bihar follow this custom. In other bihars the custom is different. Previously this bihar was called Bidyādhara-barma-sanskārit-mahā-bihār, but after the chura-karma of Yasodhara it became known as Yasodhara-mahā-bihār, and also as Buya-bāhāl.<sup>153</sup>

There was a king from the 'Thakuri Period' known as Sankaradeva and we have one firm date for him, N.S.40<sup>154</sup>

This story is still current among the members of the saṅgha and is reflected in the customs pertaining to the life of the saṅgha. As they tell the story the bāhā was founded by Vidyādhara Śarmā or Barmu (the Newāri word for Brahman, not Barma or Varma which would not be a Brahman name). He was one of two Brahman brothers who came to Patan. The two brothers planted





Bū Bāhā



three trees in Patan, one at Bu Bāhā (which people will still show you), one at the Agni Maṭh, and one in Kwālakhu Tole near Kwā Bāhā. One of them founded (or settled at) the Agni Maṭha in southern Patan where he and his descendants carried on their devotions as Agnihotras. (The vedic fire sacrifice, as opposed to the usual more tantric homa ritual usually performed by brahmins today, is still performed there daily by a rajopādhyāya brahman, one of the two places <sup>155</sup> in Nepal where such a sacrifice is performed.) The second brother Vidyādhara was influenced by the Buddhist religion and took the tantric initiation of a Vajracarya. He founded this viḥāra which then bore his name, but because he feared the wrath of his brother and other relatives he performed his initiation in secret and decreed that his descendants should do the same. The Vajracarya initiation is always done in secret, but the ordinary bāhā initiation (the Barechuyegu) is ordinarily done in the open before the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

Current customs of the saṅgha reflect the details of this story. The saṅgha of Bū Bāhā consists of about nine hundred initiated Vajracaryas and about thirty Sakyas (those of Na Bāhā). The Vajracaryas are divided into three lineages. The first lineage of Vajracaryas is known as the nanicā yā lineage. This large lineage is now sub-divided into eight subsidiary lineages and each of these further divided in a large number of households. Once a year, on the second day of the month of Magh, a gūṭhī of nine people comprising one man each from the eight sub-lineages and one Rajopādhyāya Brahman (a descendant of the Brahman of Agni Maṭh) assemble for a joint pūjā and feast. They assemble first at I Bāhā Bahī [97] where they feast on curds and bajī (flattened rice). After this they repair to the home of the one of the eight who is hosting the celebration for the year where they perform a joint pūjā (not a homa sacrifice as I have often heard), and after that they sit together for a joint feast (bhwaya). The nine sit in order of seniority but the place of honour always goes to the Brahman as the descendant of the elder of the two brothers.

One of the sub-lineages of the nanicā yā lineage, the one which is centered on the branch I Bāhā [32], has special duties regarding the burning ghāṭs at Sankhamul, the main cremation spot below the city of Patan. Sometime in the ancient past it became necessary to move the

masān ghāṭ (the main cremation ghāṭ of the kings). For this it was necessary to have a powerful tantric practitioner and a Vajracarya of this sub-lineage was chosen. This moving of the ghāṭ is commemorated each year on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Magh (the busā dañ of the ghāṭ) when these same Vajracaryas must perform a pūjā. This same sub-lineage must also perform a special offering of sixty four balis on the night when the ratha of Bunga-dya (Rāto Matsyendranāth) stops in Gā Bāhā. This pūjā, which is performed in the dead of night, is to pacify the local spirits and demons who are offended by the intrusion of Bunga-dya into their territory. As payment for these services this sub-lineage still receives a portion of meat at the time of Dasain and Caitra Dasain, kwāti (a sort of bean soup) on the fullmoon day of the sacred month of Guṇlā, and sweetmeats on the day of Maghe Sankranti from the government gūṭhī. These gifts used to be distributed to them from the Patan Darbār until recent times when the Guthi office was transferred to Ta Bāhā. Now they receive them from this office in Ta Bāhā.

One sub-lineage of this nanicā yā lineage used to live in a branch bāhā called Thati Bāhā [101] located in Thati Tole. (The area is now inhabited entirely by sweepers and the branch has long been abandoned by the saṅgha.) When the ratha of Bunga Dya used to reach their tole on its way from Jāwalākhel to Lagan Khel, they would stand in a line and stop the ratha by shouting 'nanicā yā' so that they could worship the deity and perform their pūjās. From this event the whole lineage received its name, and because of this halt, the course of the ratha jātrā was broken and it became necessary to call astrologers to determine the auspicious day for the ratha to proceed on its journey to Jāwalākhel. To this day the ratha spends a month or more in Thati Tole, and astrologers must determine the auspicious day for pulling the ratha to Jāwalākhel. The rest of the course of the ratha jātrā is determined by the lunar calendar.

The second lineage of Vajracaryas at Bū Bāhā is known as the 'bapijol lineage'. Their traditions also accord with the legend. They say that their ancestor was Yaśodhara, the son of the Brahman widow. When she brought her son to the bāhā to be initiated she also brought some caityas and set them up in the bāhā. He and his descendants were assimilated to the



saṅgha of the bāhā, and the name of the bāhā was expanded to include his name: Vidyādhara Sa-mśkārita Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra. Because this Yaśodhara was descended from a third brother of Vidyādhara and the agnihotra Brahman they follow the custom of the original lineage whereby they receive their Barechuyegu initiations in secret. To this day these two lineages receive their initiation in the diḡi of the bāhā and not out in the open. For the same reason of close relationship, marriage is forbidden between these two lineages. Vajracaryas from the nanicā yā lineage serve as priests for this lineage.

The third lineage of Vajracaryas at Bu Bāhā is known as the Rājguru lineage. This lineage originally belonged to Ha Bāhā [24] at the time when this bāhā was situated where the southernmost section of the present darbār is. During the reign of Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla this bāhā was torn down to make room for the palace expansion and transferred to its present location in Gā Bāhā. (See the section on Ha Bāhā.) The saṅgha of that bāhā consisted of Sakyas and Vajracaryas. At the time of the transfer the Vajracaryas refused to move to that remote section of the city, so they left the saṅgha and were accepted into the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā. However, their lineage deity at the present time is the same as that of the original members of Bū Bāhā. Whether this indicates that they changed their lineage deity (unlikely) or whether this was always their deity has now been forgotten. If it was always their lineage deity they must have had some connection to Bū Bāhā from the beginning. One indication of their former membership in the saṅgha of Ha Bāhā is the fact that their jajamāns in Si Bāhā still belong to the sī gūṭhī (funeral gūṭhī) of Ha Bāhā. This lineage of Vajracaryas had exercised the office of Rāj Gurus, the same sort of post that had been traditionally held by the head Vajracarya of Sikamu Bāhā in Kathmandu. This office they retained and to the present time, when a king of Nepal dies they must perform 'bicāphya' (the ceremonial offering of sympathy to the bereaved family) at the Patan Darbār. Yearly they must perform the srāddha (commemorative rituals) for the deceased members of the family of the Malla kings at the Patan Darbār. Also, to the present day if someone dies in the jail in Patan they have the right and duty to perform the funeral rites for him.<sup>156</sup> Theoretically at least, like the Rāj Gubhāju in Kathmandu, these Vajracaryas must settle any disputes between the Vajracaryas

of Patan and their clients. If any other Vajracaryas fail to carry out their duties of performing initiation rituals and death rites, the task must be taken up by this lineage. Another thing which indicates that they came from outside Bu Bāhā is the fact that since they are no relation to the other two lineages, marriage is possible between the Rāj Guru lineage and the other two. They also perform their Barechuyegu initiations in the open courtyard in front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

The fourth lineage attached to Bū Bāhā is that of the Sakyas who reside at Na Bāhā.[3] These people came to Patan in the time of the late Malla kings, were settled at Na Bāhā and, because Na Bāhā belonged to Bu Bāhā, were assimilated to Bu Bāhā. They perform their Barechuyegu initiations at Bu Bāhā, out in the open like the Rāj Guru lineage, but retain their old lineage deity at Pacali near Jeku. Since they are no relation to the three lineages of Vajracaryas, marriages with these lineages are possible.

These four lineages then make up the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā. It is one integrated saṅgha with twelve elders, who hold office by strict seniority irrespective of whether they are Sakya or Vajracarya. The chief of the elders is always a Vajracarya and one other Vajracarya always functions as the Cakreśvara. These two offices are never held by the Sakyas, but they may hold any of the other offices. All the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by rotation from eldest to youngest. Pūjā is performed three times a day, the nitya pūjā in the morning, a pañcopacāra pūjā at midday, and the offering of the ārati in the evening. The annual festival of the bāhā, the busā dañ, is observed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgh at which time the kwāpā-dya is bathed (but not reconsecrated) and a homa ritual is performed. After this there is a secret pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā and a feast for the members of the saṅgha. There is also a busā dañ ceremony for the torāṇa of the Three Jewels up near the lower roof on the fifth day of the dark half of Caitra. After the pūjā in the courtyard there is another one in the diḡi of the bāhā, followed by a feast. The Vajracaryas also have a gūṭhī as Vajracaryas (the ācārya gūṭhī), which has an annual observance from the eighth to the thirteenth of the dark half of the month of Caitra. Both Barechu-

yegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed for the members of the bāhā in the manner described above.

Bū Bāhā, however, has one custom in regard to the initiations that is unique. Once every three years all of the sons of the members of the saṅgha who have been born within the past three years are assembled for a ceremony called thyā bare, the 'registration of the Bare'. At this time the jāta (the official birth document and horoscope) is prepared for each of these boys. This is a sort of a registration of the fact of their birth, and after this ceremony their Barechuyegu must be performed within the year. At this ceremony their families have to feed only the twelve elders of the bāhā, as a result of which this is supposed to be the cheapest Barechuyegu of any bāhā. As a result of this custom, seniority in this bāhā is always counted by age and not by seniority of initiation.

The lineage deity of the nanicā yā and bapijōl lineages is 'Vaisnavi' now located at Na Bāhā, but according to informants brought from a village called Bakhan near Kirtipur which they identify with the Jhul or Bapijōl of the legend. The lineage deity for the Rāj Guru lineage is the same. The lineage deity for the Sakyas of Na Bāhā is at Pachali in Teku. It was not possible to get details on the income of the bāhā, but it undoubtedly still has some. Bu Bāhā has five official branches. The fact that these five alone are 'official' is easy to determine as each morning when the nitya pūjā is performed, the assistant to the dya-pālā (a small boy who is also an initiated member of the saṅgha) goes first round the quadrangle of Bu Bāhā and then to each of these branches ringing the bell and summoning the members of the saṅgha to worship. There are nine private branches, and one branch that is now defunct.

The history of Bū Bāhā is intimately connected with the legend recounted above. It is impossible to prove now, of course, how much of this story is historical; but the still current customs observed by the saṅgha indicate the truth of the general lines of the story. The earliest dated reference to the bāhā comes from a copper-plate inscription at I Bāhā Bahī [98] dated N.S. 547, at which time a lakṣyāhuti sacrifice was performed there by Mul Bajracarya Sri Mañjūjī of Śrī Bū Bāhāla.<sup>157</sup> A badly damaged

inscription at Nu Bāhā [23], one of the official branches, dated N.S. 639 also mentions Śrī Bū Bihāra.<sup>158</sup> The Sanskrit name Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra is mentioned in the above cited inscription of N.S.793. It is also mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Meghasūtra copied in N.S.759 by a Vajracarya of Jasva[= Yaśo]dhara Mahāvihāra.<sup>159</sup> An inscription of N.S.895 at Bū Bāhā notes that in that year a golden throne was set up, facing west, for the king Pratāp Simha Shaha Deva when he visited the bāhā along with Sarup Singh and the other courtiers.<sup>160</sup>

a. Sija Bāhā -- Śrī Vatsa Dundubhi Vihāra [12]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

Sija Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard just off the corner of the Bū Bāhā complex. All that remains of the original complex is the entryway and the caitya in the centre of the quadrangle. All of the other buildings have been lost and some replaced with modern structures, including a flour mill. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has been rebuilt as an open bell-shaped shrine between two buildings. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Amitābha the shrine has no torāṇa. In the centre of the quadrangle is a large caitya and a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala.

According to informants this bāhā was built by Shresthas and given to the community of Bū Bāhā in the sense that Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā were given the right and duty to perform the customary rituals at the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. This task is still carried out by one lineage from Bū Bāhā, the nanicā yā lineage, for which they still receive an annual payment of five pāthīs of paddy. Sija Bāhā has never had a saṅgha in the sense of a community of initiated Bare living here who consider this their bāhā. It was founded by Shresthas and has always remained their property, though it is considered to be one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā.

In addition to this connection to Bū Bāhā, Sija Bāhā also has connections with Si Bāhā [8],

Bāhā [24], and Kwā Bāhā [59]. The dya-pālās are changed at Si Bāhā each month on the day of the new moon. On this day the Sakyas from Si Bāhā must first go to Sija Bāhā and bring the materials for pūjā from there to Si Bāhā where they perform the customary pūjā performed on the day of the change of office. After that the new



104. Siya Bāhā [12]



105. Wana Bāhā [37]



dya-pālās assume their duties. During the sacred month of Gunlā on the day of pañcā dāna the Shresthas from Sija Bāhā go to Ha Bāhā where the ten elders of Ha Bāhā assemble and offer then an image of Dipaṅkara. The elders accompany the image to the doorway of Ha Bāhā from where it is taken by the Shresthas to Si Bāhā where they offer worship to it and then offer the pañcā dāna. In the evening when the pañcā dāna is finished, the ten elders from Ha Bāhā come to Si Bāhā and take the image back to their own bāhā in procession to the accompaniment of singing and the playing of instruments. Informants explained that this is done because there is no Dipaṅkara in Sija Bāhā, but no one was able to explain why this is done in Si Bāhā.

Sija Bāhā celebrates its annual festival on the day of Sri Pañcami, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh. For the conduct of this festival there is a gūṭhī composed of one family from Bū Bāhā and one family from Mikhā Bāhā [21], a branch of Kwā Bāhā [59]. There is still one ropanī of gūṭhī land which provides some income for the conduct of this festival.

Sija Bāhā then has never had a saṅgha in the sense of a community of initiated Bare who live here and consider this their bāhā. It was built by lay people, perhaps from the seven noble families of Patan, who were the patrons of both Bu Bāhā and Si Bāhā. Still Sija Bāhā is considered to be one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. There probably were many other such bāhās in the Malla period, especially in Patan.

There are no extant inscriptions at this site, but KTMV assigns the construction of this bāhā to the sixteenth century.<sup>161</sup>

b. Wana Bāhā -- Udayadeva Vihāra [37]  
Wana Bāhā Tole

Wana Bāhā is situated in a narrow courtyard just east of Bū Bāhā and is one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. The present shrine is obviously a reconstruction, perhaps after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is of three storeys. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a copper ropousse torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana in a standing posture flanked by Mahā-akṣobhya on his right and Mahā-amitābha on his left. The two remaining tantric Buddhas are pictured above

in a seated posture and around them are six bodhisattva figures with Vajrasattva at the top. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large windows in front of living quarters. The tile roof is supported by six carved struts and surmounted by a caitya. The whole of the facade has been covered with multi-coloured ceramic tiles. To the right of the main door of the shrine is a large stone image of a six-armed form of Lokeśvara holding the rosary, arrow, and showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and holding a lotus, bow and showing an unidentified mudrā with the left. In his crown is a figure of Amitābha Buddha. To the left of the door is a stone image of Tārā of equal height. In the centre of the courtyard is one small enshrined caitya. This shrine faces that of the kwāpā-dya, and along the northern and southern sides sixteen bodhisattva struts have been mounted into the wall, evidently the remains of an earlier structure. On either side of this shrine are two more votive caityas and another one directly behind it. Opposite this last caitya, along the eastern arm of the quadrangle is another doorway surmounted by a wooden torāṇa similar to the later metal one over the kwāpā-dya shrine and dated N.S.859. The inscription on this torāṇa gives the name of the bāhā as 'Wana Bāhāla'.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred twenty five Vajracaryas of the wapi jhol lineage of Bu Bāhā. They take turns acting as dya-pālās performing the customary rituals morning and evening. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes by seniority of initiation from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of this bāhā is observed four days before the full moon of the month of Aswin. The saṅgha has four elders and still has a little income from gūṭhī land.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā other than the fact that it was founded as a recognised branch of Bu Bāhā and all its members are also members of Bu Bāhā where they still receive their initiations and take an active part in the life of the saṅgha. The earliest date at the site is N.S.748.

## c. Nhū Bāhā -- Nava Vihāra [23]

Bu Bāhā Tole

The shrine of this bāhā directly opposite the main entrance to Bū Bāhā is a plain, unadorned building. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on the left. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has three small windows spread across the facade; and the top storey has a large, triple lattice-work window. The plain tile roof has no ornamentation. The image of the kwāpā-dya is a small standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā, and facing north. In the courtyard is one small stone caitya and a dharma-dhātu maṇḍala mounted on a six-sided base with various figures on each side.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of one family of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage, though none of them actually live here any more. The usual rituals are performed only in the morning and always by the same man who holds this position of dya-pālā for life. At his death the duty will pass to his next eldest brother. The bāhā has no annual festival, but there is an annual busā dañ done to the memorial caitya in the centre of the courtyard performed on the death anniversary of the ancestor whom the caitya commemorates. The saṅgha has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā except that it is one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. The earliest date in the complex is found on a badly damaged inscription from the time of King Jayaratna Malla put up in the year N.S.639.<sup>162</sup>

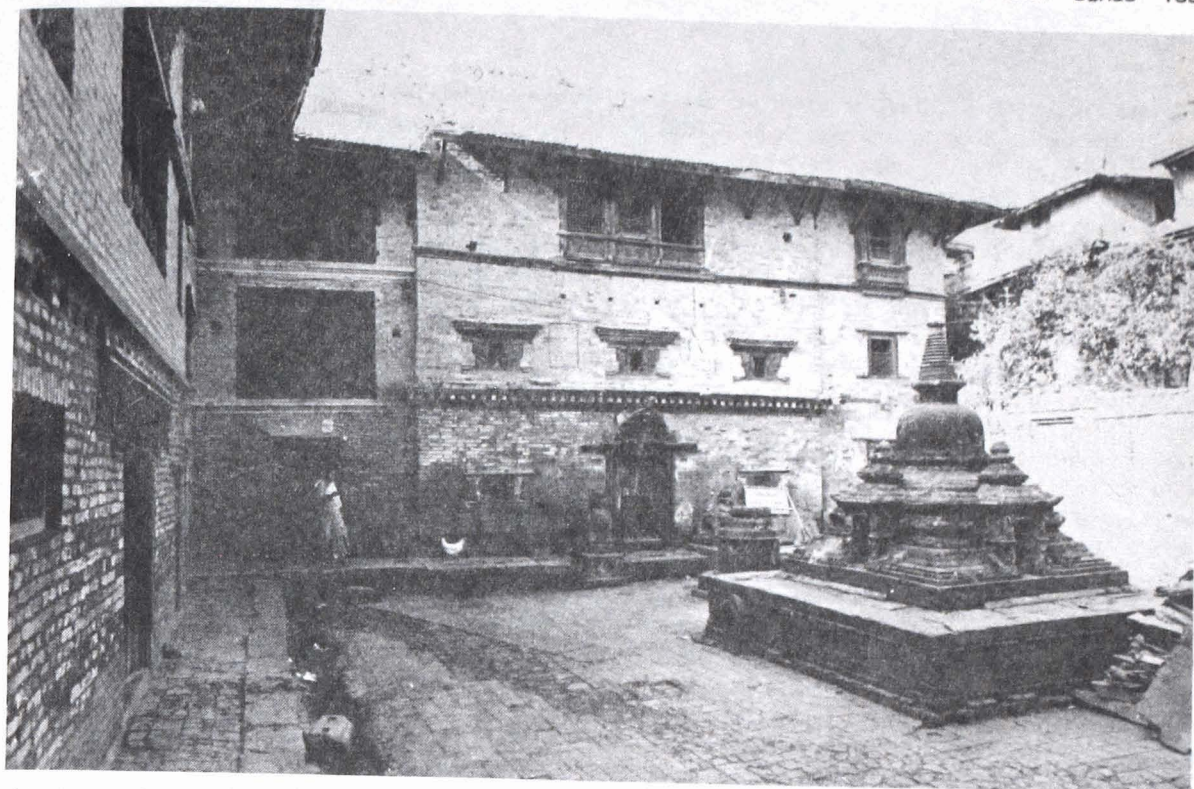
## d. Na Bāhā -- Padmāvati Nāma Vihāra [3]

Na Bāhā Tole

Na Bāhā is an expansive quadrangle cluttered with shrines and caityas. Nothing remains of the original buildings of this large complex. The entrance to the whole complex is marked by two huge stone lions. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small, plain two-storied structure opposite the entrance to the complex. The carved doorway has no torana and is flanked by

two other ordinary doors. Above the shrine is a triple window flanked by two ordinary windows. The tile roof has no ornamentation. The facade of the shrine shows traces of frescoes. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā. In the centre of the quadrangle is a large, stylized stūpa with a finial similar to the Swayambhū Caitya. The lower part of the structure is a sort of white-washed temple structure with niches for the four transcendent Buddhas. A railing surrounds the stūpa with an opening to the east marked by two stone lions. On either side of the lions are two large bells one dated N.S.923 and the other dated N.S.940. The Buddha figure on the north is dated N.S.955. To the east of the stūpa is a large metal repousse dharmadhātu maṇḍala. Off the northeast corner of the stūpa is a well and next to that a white-washed shrine containing an image of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana depicting Vajrasattva and the top of the shrine is another caitya-top, similar to the top part of the one in the centre of the quadrangle. Between the stūpa and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya are a cemented caitya and a now empty pillar. Just to one's left as one enters the quadrangle from the street is a plastered shrine containing images of Ganesh, Mahākāl, and Sarasvati (truly Sarasvati and not Mañjuśrī called Sarasvati).

The saṅgha of this branch of Bū Bāhā consists of about fifty Sakyas some of whom belong to Bu Bāhā and some of whom belong to Si Bāhā. In fact it was difficult to determine which bāhā this is a branch of as some people said one and some the other. It is clearly a branch of Bu Bāhā as this is one of the five official branches which the boy dya-pālā from Bū Bāhā must visit on his round of ceremonial visits to the branches of Bū Bāhā. Also, there is an āgam shrine within this compound which belongs to the people from Bū Bāhā. The people from Si Bāhā have an āgam shrine but it is in an adjoining courtyard which belongs entirely to them. Informants gave the following explanation for this strange arrangement. At the time of the construction of the Patan Darbār, during the period of the late Malla kings of Patan, some Sakyas were called from Kathmandu to Patan as bell casters. They were settled in Na Bāhā and accepted into the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā where they began to perform their initiations, because Na Bāhā, which at that time had been deserted,



106. Nhū Bāhā [23]



107. Na Bāhā [3]



belonged to Bū Bāhā. Later, as there was still room in the bāhā, some Sakyas came from Si Bāhā to live there and the two groups have formed one saṅgha with one elder. This arrangement of a branch saṅgha comprised of members of two different main bāhās is unique in Patan. The members of this composite saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. However, not all who live here are eligible for this honour. There is a Śī Gūṭhī (a funeral gūṭhī) which originally comprised all the members of this saṅgha. For some now forgotten reason some of the members of the saṅgha were excluded from this gūṭhī and consequently lost the right of service in the shrine. The term of service is one month and passes by seniority from eldest to youngest among the eligible members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the Si Bāhā members is that of Si Bāhā, but the Bū Bāhā members who came from Kathmandu have retained their original lineage deity which is at Pacali near Teku. This may indicate that they came from one of the Kathmandu bāhās which has its lineage deity there; though these people have forgotten which bāhā they came from in Kathmandu. The saṅgha used to have an annual festival but that has been discontinued as there is no longer any income to support it.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this branch, but it is probably an early foundation. The earliest date in the complex is found on an inscription at the front of the caitya, N.S.769. There are a number of earlier references in land grants to Naka Bāhā (the earlier form of the modern name Na Bāhā), but it is impossible to tell for sure from the references whether the bāhā in question is indeed Na Bāhā or Naka Bāhā on the road from Patan Dhokā. The earliest of these references is dated N.S.515.

e. I Bāhā -- Yokuli Ikanāma Vihāra [32]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

This official branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the northwest corner of the Bū Bāhā complex. The shrine has the appearance more of an ordinary house than a bāhā. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (a seated, two-handed Avalokiteśvara). The doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and above

these are two small, empty niches. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. The first storey has a lattice window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has one large, ordinary window. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are one votive caitya and a stone dharma-dhātu maṇḍala on a six-sided base, which contains images of Gaṇesh, Mahākāl and Hanumān.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of one family of Vajracaryas of the nani cā-yā lineage of Bū Bāhā who now live in Kisicok Bāhā [13]. The members of this saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning, but according to no fixed system. The saṅgha has one elder known as Thakali. This is considered to be one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā and all the initiations of the members of the saṅgha are performed there. This branch bāhā no longer has an annual festival and has no income.

This branch is one of the oldest foundations connected to Bū Bāhā. There are two inscriptions on either side of the entryway to the shrine of the bāhā, one of them dated N.S.651 which gives the name of the bāhā as I Bāhā. Another inscription near the caitya is dated N.S.777 and commemorates the installation of the caitya and the maṇḍala. Renovations were carried out in N.S.998 and 1000.

f. Devarāj Bāhā -- Devarāja Vihāra [11]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

This branch is located in a small, enclosed courtyard and consists of a small kwāpā-dya shrine set against the wall, a good example of the late (twentieth century) foundations which consist simply of a free-standing, usually open shrine which has none of the architectural characteristics of the traditional bāhā. The shrine contains a small image of Akṣobhya facing west. Over the shrine is a small torāṇa showing Akṣobhya. In the courtyard is a votive caitya and one maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one household of the sub-lineage which founded I Bāhā. As their family expanded, this sub-lineage built four private branches, this bāhā, Bhagawān Chok [36], Jiswāñ Bāhā [35], and Kisichok Bāhā [13]. At the present time one family cares for both this branch and I Bāhā, one family is attached to Kisichok Bāhā, and one



108. I Bāhā [32]



109. Devarāj Bāhā [11]

family is attached to both Bhagawān Chok and Jiswāñ Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the same man who acts as dya-pālā in I Bāhā. This branch has no annual festival and no income.

This is a modern, twentieth century foundation. An inscription at the shrine is dated N.S.1022 and one at the caitya is dated N.S.1024.

g. Kisi Chok Bāhā — Sukhāvatiprasāda Tri  
ratnayoga Vihāra [13]

Bū Bāhā Tole

This small, modern, private branch is located in an small enclosed area behind Bū Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is housed in a free-standing, plastered shrine set against the wall which contains a small image of Akṣobhya facing east. Over the shrine is a small toraṇa containing an image of Akṣobhya. Set into the lintel over the door is a figure of a vajra.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one family of Bū Bāhā Vajracaryas from I Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by whatever member of the family is available. This branch saṅgha has one elder. Their annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Kartik, however this is a commemoration of the setting up of the caitya, not the kwāpā-dya shrine. The branch has no income.

This small, private branch is also a twentieth century foundation. There are two inscriptions in the complex, one dated B.S.2009 and the other B.S.2014. According to one of the inscriptions the bāhā was built by Vachaspati Vajracarya.

h. Jiswāñ Bāhā -- Devarāj Vihāra [35]

Bu Bāhā Tole

This small private branch is also known as Devarāj Bāhā and Kavawāca Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya, which is Akṣobhya, is housed in a small shrine set against the southern wall of a narrow courtyard. The image faces north. The courtyard also contains a caitya, a dharmadhātu maṇḍala, and a small mounted vajra. Next to the shrine is also a bell which is dated N.S. 1009, and behind this another inscription dated N.S.1017.

The saṅgha of this private branch consists

of one household from I Bāhā, at the present time only four initiated members. They are a branch of the nani cā-ya lineage and function as the saṅgha of both this branch and the following one (Bhagawān Chok). The customary rituals are performed each morning by the eldest of the members of this household, a grandson of the Devarāj who established this branch, and he functions as the elder of this branch. They have an annual observance at the time of Siṭhī Nakha, but this is the busā dañ of the caitya and not of the kwāpā-dya. The bāhā has no income.

This is also a modern foundation, the caitya and the bell pre-date the bāhā shrine itself which was built in N.S.1021.<sup>163</sup>

i. Bhagawān Chok -- Sukhāvati (Kalpa Prasāda)  
Vihāra [36]

Bū Bāhā Tole

This small private branch, also called Bāhājupati Bāhā, is situated in a small courtyard behind Bu Bāhā proper. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, an image of Akṣobhya facing north, is housed in a small open shrine set along the wall of the compound. The shrine has no toraṇa. In the centre of the courtyard is a copper caitya, and to the side of the shrine, a bell.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consist of the same household of Vajracaryas who also comprise the saṅgha of Jiswāñ Bāhā [35]. The daily rituals are performed by the same dya pālā. This bāhā has an annual festival in the month of Paus.

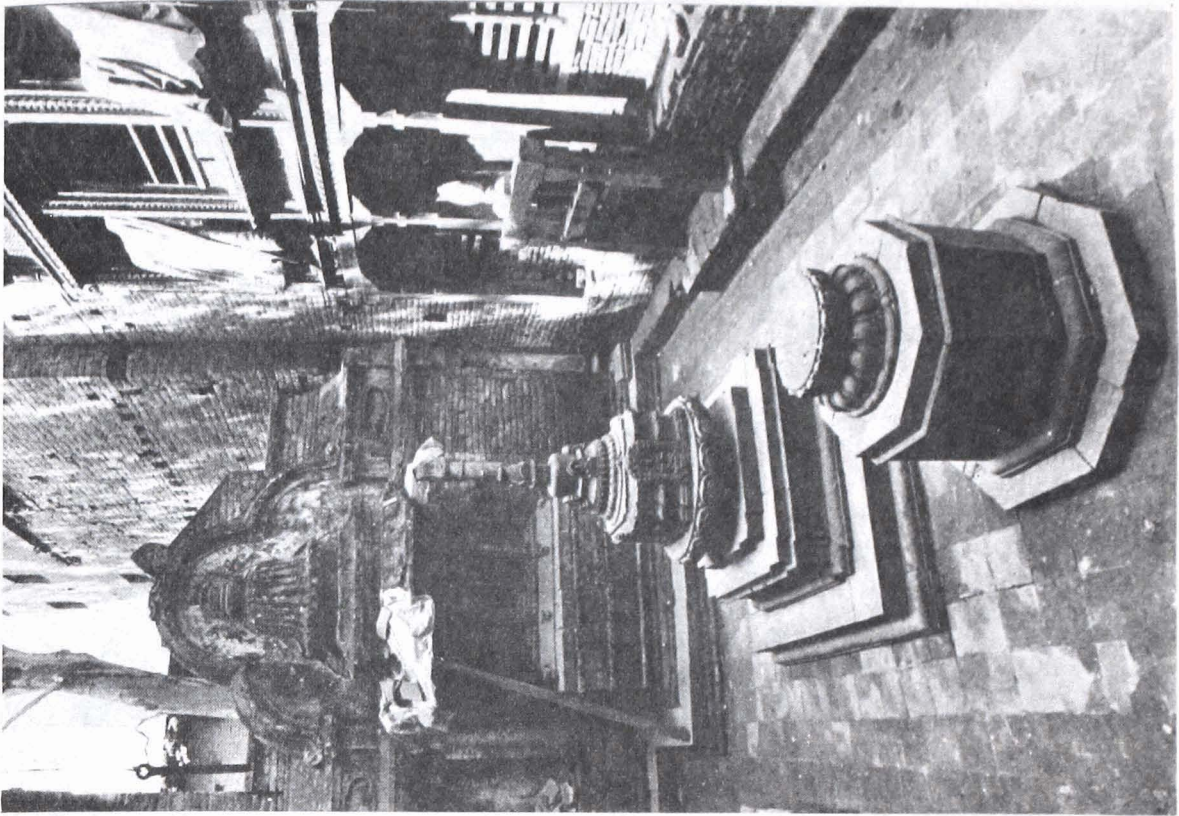
This small branch dates to the end of the last century. The earliest inscription is dated N.S.977 and relates to the setting up of a gūthī for the conduct of the worship of the lineage deity of the members of the saṅgha. The bell is dated N.S.992 and the caitya is dated N.S.1018.

j. Wanagata Bāhā -- Bhairava Siṃha Vihāra  
[38]

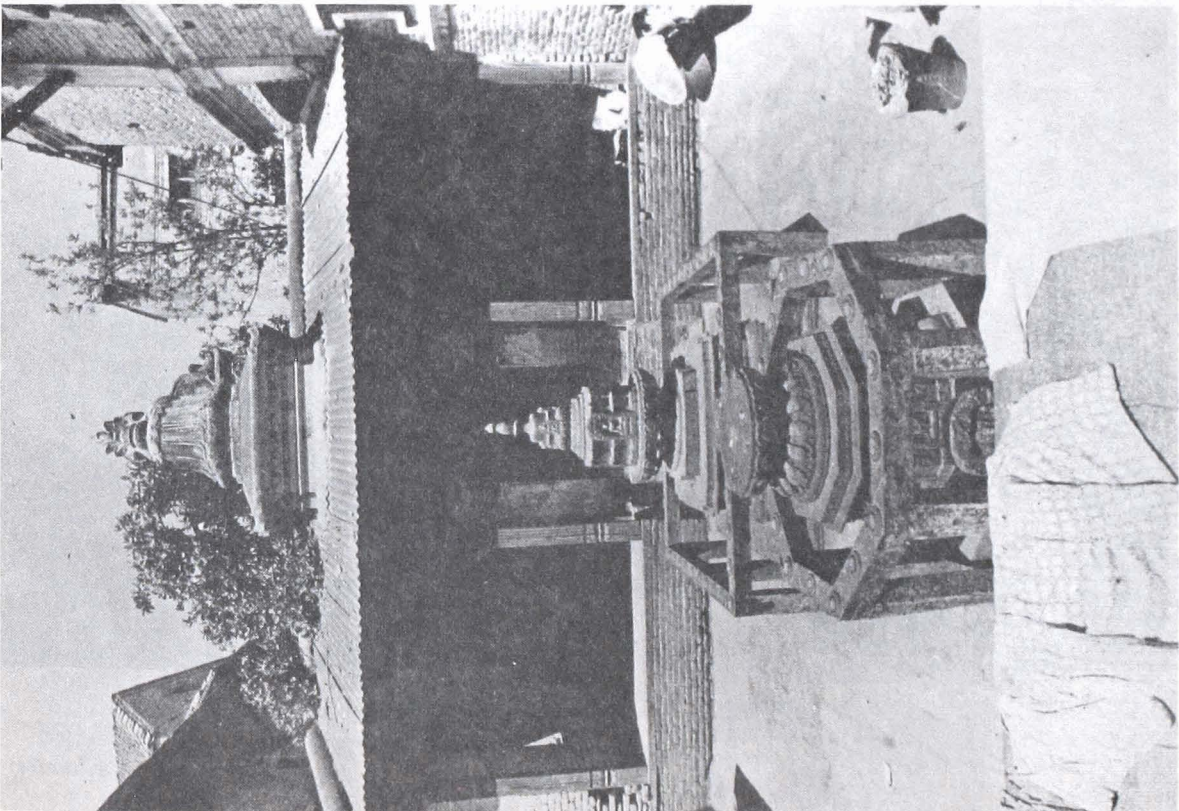
Bū Bāhā Tole

The shrine of this bāhā consists of a small open enclosure set into the corner of a courtyard behind Bū Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small wooden toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The courtyard also contains a caitya and an image of Mahākāl.





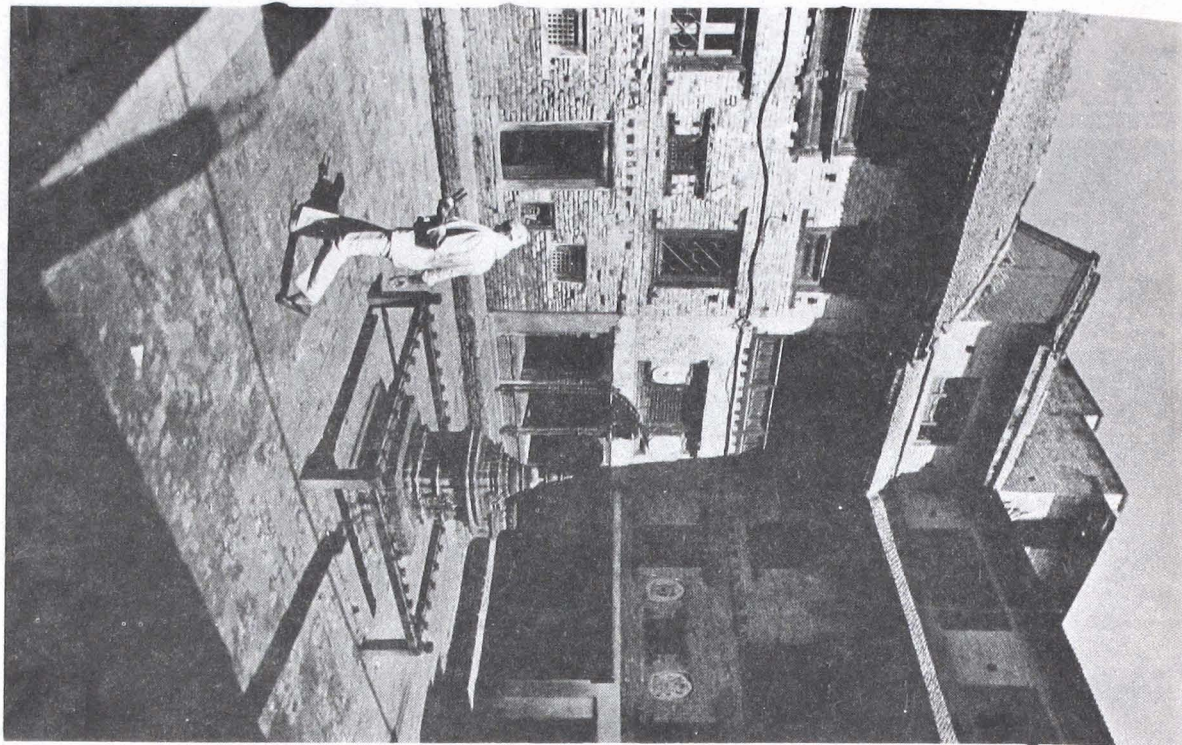
111. Jiswān Bāhā [35]



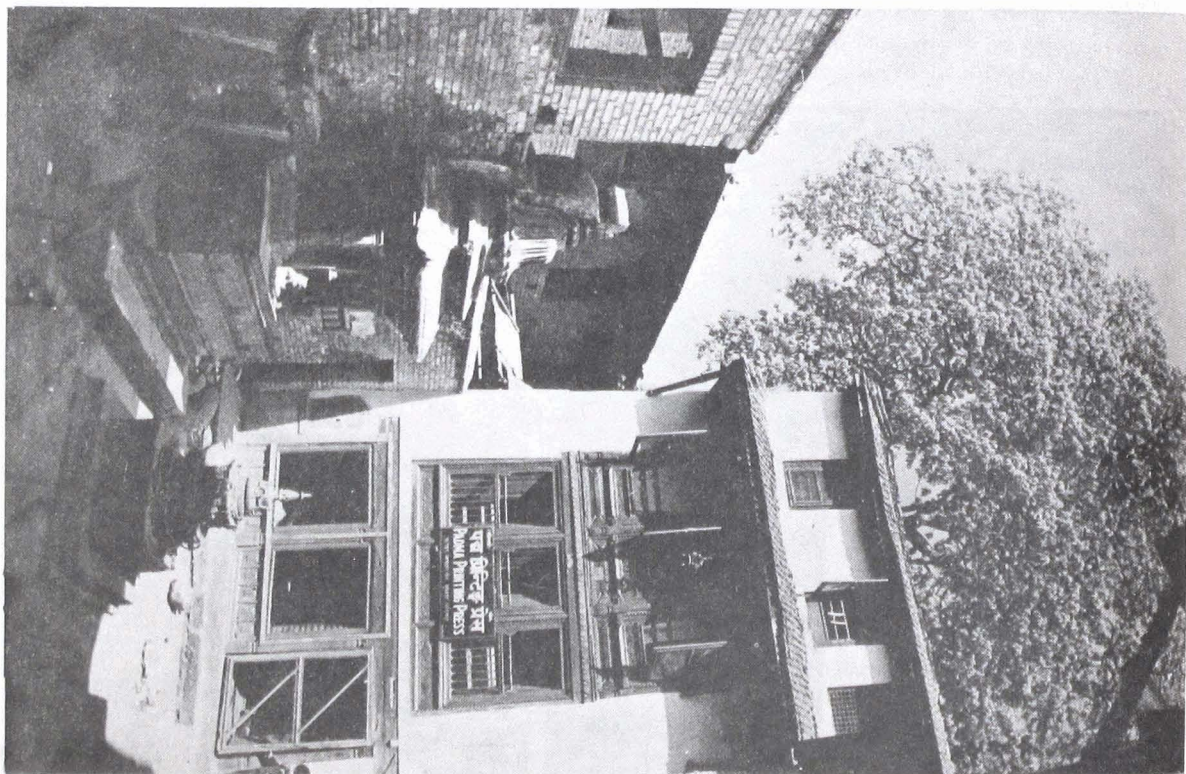
110. Kisi Chok Bāhā [13]



113. Wanaqata Bâhâ [38]



112. Bhagawān Chok [36]



The saṅgha of this private branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage. The members of the household perform the customary rituals at the shrine each morning, but there is no fixed order of service. Whoever is available does the pūjā. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh. The bāhā has no income.

There are no inscriptions at this bāhā, but KTMV says that it was established in N.S.1006 by a Vajracarya, presumably Bhairava Simha.<sup>164</sup>

k. Wankudu Bāhā — Vṛṣarāja Vihāra\* [34]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

This modern, private branch is situated in a tiny courtyard in the bowels of the Bu Bāhā complex behind a goldsmith's shop. The shrine which has an image of Akṣobhya Buddha facing north also has a small toraṇa over the doorway depicting Akṣobhya. In the centre of the courtyard is a small votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bu Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage. The members of this household perform the customary rituals each morning, but in no fixed order. Whoever is available performs the pūjā. The saṅgha has one elder, but the annual festival is no longer held and the bāhā has no income.

According to two inscriptions at the site and notations on a contemporary manuscript preserved by the members of this household, the bāhā was founded in N.S.1001 by Vṛṣarāja (pronounced Bekhrāj) Vajracarya and the caitya was established in N.S.1004. The bāhā was renovated in A.D.1970.

l. Wanlā Bāhā -- Harṣavīra Saṃskārīta Wolaṇāma Vihāra [22]  
Olā Tole

This small branch, also known as Company Chok, has a small modern shrine set against one wall of a partially enclosed courtyard. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small toraṇa depicting Akṣobhya. The doorway to the shrine is of lattice work and the shrine is topped by a bell-shaped dome. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch originally consisted of one household of Vajracaryas from Bu Bāhā, wapi jhol lineage. This line eventually died out and the property fell into the hands of a Vajracarya family from Bu Bāhā who had come back to Patan after living in Palpa for some time. This family now constitutes the saṅgha of this branch. However, the daily rituals are no longer regularly performed but only on the fullmoon day of each month and during the sacred month of Guṇlā. The annual festival is no longer observed and the saṅgha has no income. The saṅgha has one elder.

According to an inscription at the caitya this bāhā was built in N.S.1041. Informants say that the Newari name comes from the fact that it was consecrated at the time of the five-yearly samyak ceremony of Patan. It is perhaps more likely that the name comes from the performance of a Bāhā Pūjā (a pūjā of all of the bāhās and caityas in Patan) which is often performed at the time of the consecration of a bāhā or caitya.

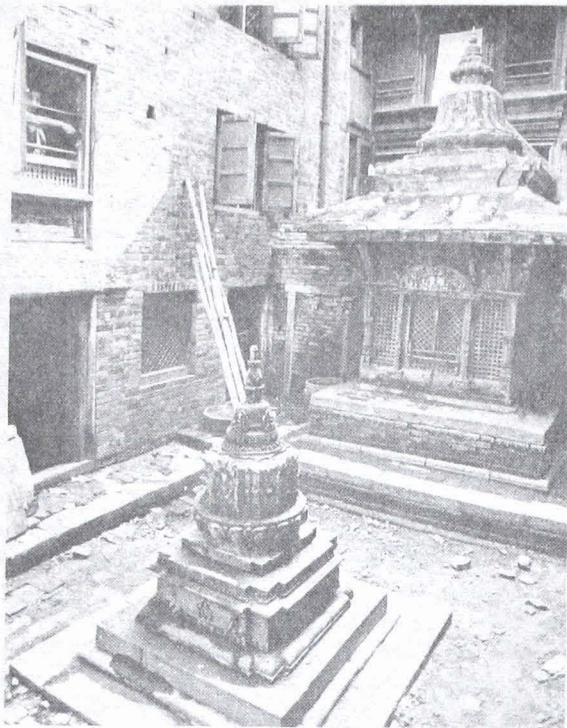
m. Nandaya Bū Bāhā -- Devajyoti Vihāra [33]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

This small, private branch is situated in a tiny courtyard just off I Bāhā [32]. It has a small bāhā shrine with a wooden toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) with a vajra mounted above his head and flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The building is of two storeys with a tiled roof and a plain brick facade. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

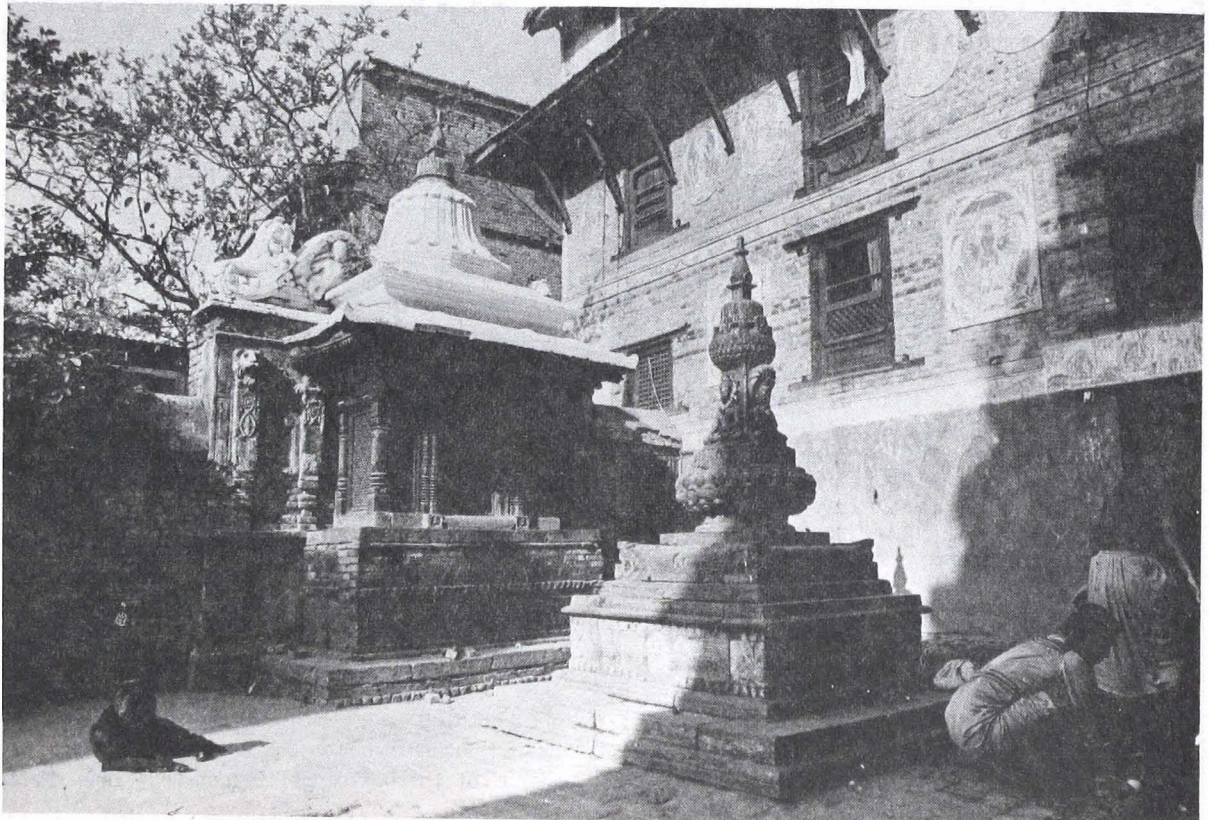
The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā, nani cāya lineage. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of only one of these households. The saṅgha has one elder; the annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

There are no dated inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch. To judge from the remains of the buildings it must be a late Malla foundation.





114. Wankudu Bāhā [34]

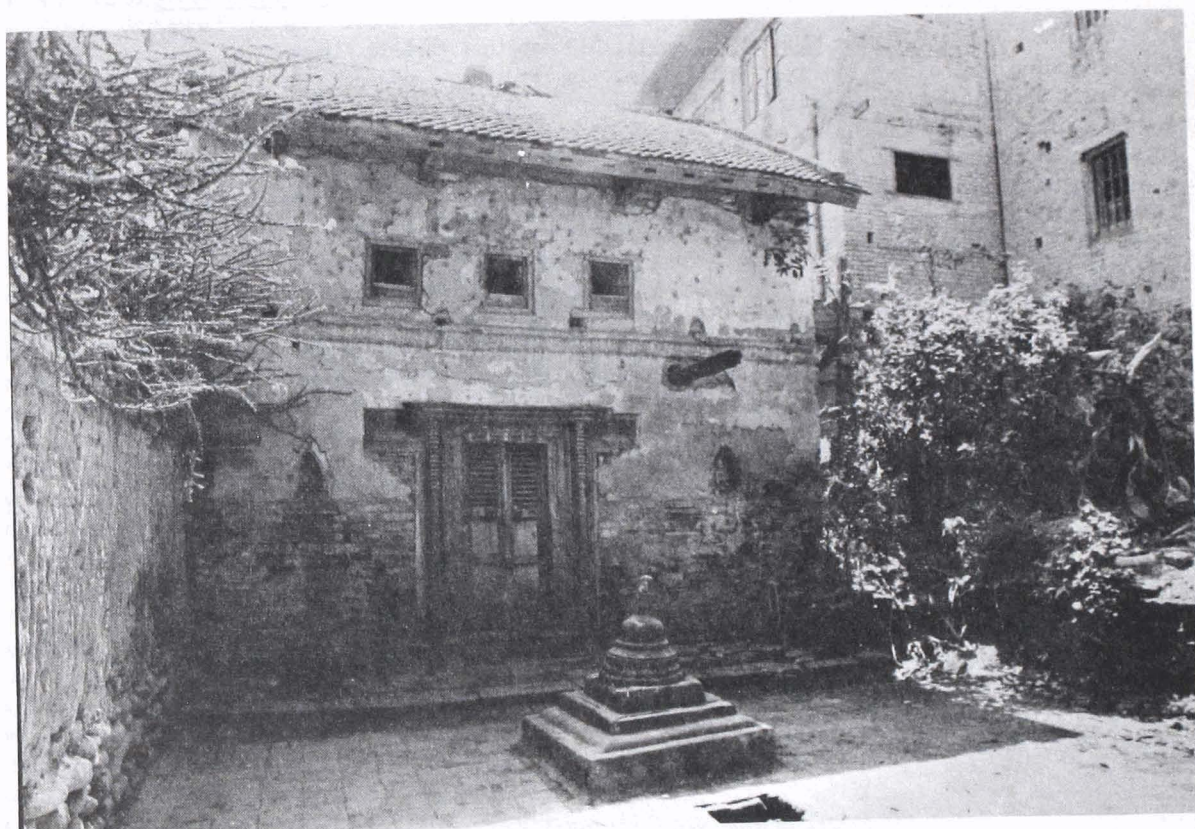


115. Wanlā Bāhā [22]





116. Nandya Bū Bāhā [33]



117. Yāka Bāhā [10]



n. Yāka Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Nāma Vihāra [10]  
Na Tole

This small, private branch is in a state of almost complete ruin. Only the shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains and the roof of this has caved in. There is no torāṇa over the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the centre of the tiny courtyard just off the main street is a small caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Bu Bāhā from the rāj-gubhā-jū lineage. Daily rituals are still performed morning and evening, but exclusively by one man who lives nearby. The bāhā has no annual festival and no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā, but KTMV assigns it to the seventeenth century.<sup>165</sup> There are no inscriptions at the site.

o. Thati Bāhā -- Taitināma Vihāra [101]  
Thati Tole

Nothing is left of this bāhā but a small, free standing shrine in a field in Thati Tole. The small shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya and is typical of the modern bell-dome shrines. According to informants at Bū Baha this was once a branch of Bu Bāhā inhabited by the nani cā-ya lineage, but has long since been abandoned by them. It seems that no one from Bu Bāhā does any pūjā here anymore. Informants in the area say that for some time Vajracaryas from Cūka Bāhā [102] did the nitya pūjā. Now somebody from Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62] occasionally does pūjā here. The entire area is now inhabited by sweepers and butchers and there are no bare at all living in the area. According to informants from Kwā Bāhā this site was once used by bare who had been expelled from their own saṅgha as a site for the initiation of their sons. Later even this custom was abandoned and the site is entirely deserted now. According to an inscription at the site a golden canopy was offered to the deity of the bāhā in N.S.808. The name Thati is supposed to be derived from Tha-Tīrtha (the upper tīrtha) which informants say was the original name of the place.

17. Si Bāhā -- Sri Vaccha Mahāvihāra [8]  
Si Bāhā Tole

Si Bāhā is located in an entirely closed courtyard at the western edge of the city of Patan, the western-most of the main bāhās of Patan. All that is left of the original complex is the bāhā shrine which was renovated after the great earthquake of 1934 at which time most of the buildings around the courtyard were destroyed. Over the entryway to the bāhā compound is an elaborate wooden torāṇa with a standing figure of Mahāvairocana as the central figure. As one enters the compound of the bāhā there are two open areas on the left and right. The one on the left contains a shrine with a large image of Vasundharā flanked by Nāmasaṅgīti and a seated Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. The open area on the right is used for the gathering of people who come to chant hymns. Within the complex itself the ground floor of the southern side of the quadrangle is also an open area and in the south east corner is a doorway surmounted by an elaborate torāṇa of a tantirc, six-armed figure showing the vajra humkāra mudrā with his two principal hands. He is flanked by Ganesh and another tantric figure.

The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a well-preserved four storied structure, which though attached to two adjoining buildings has many of the features of a free-standing temple, including a triple roof. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. Around the veranda of the temple is an enclosure of metal grillwork. Behind this is one large bell on the left and a small one on the right. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokesvara) on the left. Three small bells hang down to the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, locally referred to as Ratnapāṇi Bodhisattva. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The first tile roof extends over these windows and is supported by six carved struts depicting tantric deities. The edges of the roof are marked by heavy cemented ridges. The third storey has one large window and two smaller windows at the side. The tile roof above this is supported by four carved struts with a very unusual lizard strut at either end. The



118. Thati Bāhā [101]



119. Si Bāhā [8]

top storey has one opening and the crowning roof is again supported by carved struts right round. This roof is surmounted by three golden caityas. The whole of the shrine presents rather a gaudy appearance. The two lower storeys have been faced with multi-coloured ceramic tile, all the windows have been emphasised with aluminum or yellow paint, much of the trim has been painted red and bright green, white flower designs have been added to the undersides of the roof edges, and the brickwork of the shrine has been painted a deep maroon colour. In the courtyard is a single, white plastered caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred seventeen Sakyas. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha by rotation according to seniority of initiation. The term of service is one full month, but two men serve at a time one acting as dya-pālā for fifteen days while the other one sleeps in the shrine at night. At the end of the fortnight the duties are reversed. A pūjā is also performed daily in the āgam of the bāhā, by the senior-most of the elders. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on Bhima Ekāda-si. The saṅgha is governed by ten elders, all Sakyas, but are served by priests from Bū Bāhā for any ritual requiring the services of a Vajracarya. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a small image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara which is kept in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The members of the saṅgha say that this deity was 'brought' to the shrine from a place called Bakhu, between Kirtipur and Mache Nārāyaṇa. Ordinary pūjā is performed to this image of Padmapāṇi but the offering of a blood sacrifice, which is a part of the worship of their lineage deity, is done at the nearby Gaṇesh shrine as one cannot offer blood sacrifices to Lokeśvara nor within the confines of a bāhā. The saṅgha no longer has any income, though they had some in the past.

According to Wright's Chronicle this bāhā was built only in the time of King Siddhi Narasimha Malla (N.S.738-81).

Another vihar named Sibāhāl was not amalgamated with these [i.e. the fifteen bāhās plus Kirtipur and Cobhār], because it was built after the rules had been made by the Rājā for their guidance, and guthis had been assigned to them.

This statement, however, is almost surely wrong unless it refers to a renovation of the bāhā, a revival of a defunct bāhā, or the transference of the bāhā from one site to another--none of which is impossible. A manuscript copy of the Pañcarakṣā dated N.S.509 refers in the colophon to a Mahāyāni Śākyaputra (evidently the owner of the manuscript) of Śrī Baccha Vihāra in Maṇigalake of Lalitakramaya.<sup>167</sup> The name Śrī Baccha Vihāra also occurs in three palm leaf land grants, one dated N.S.632 and two of them dated N.S.668, all dates preceding the reign of Siddhi Narasimha (N.S.c738-81).<sup>168</sup> KTMV also notes a record preserved at the bāhā dated 1564 (N.S.684).<sup>169</sup> The earliest visible inscription at the site of the bāhā itself is one dated N.S.820 which relates to the performance of initiations (vande-chuyā) and which specifies that no one under the age of five should be initiated and that initiations should not be performed in groups (as is now done). It further specifies that no one is permitted to use the courtyard of the bāhā for drying grain.<sup>170</sup> Another indication of the antiquity of the site is a Licchavi style caitya which is set into a cement base just outside the bāhā compound as one enters. The bāhā was renovated in N.S.812<sup>171</sup>, in 1905 and again in 1958.

At the present time this bāhā has five official branches and one more which belongs to Bū Bāhā, but where several members of Si Bāhā reside and are members of the sub-saṅgha.

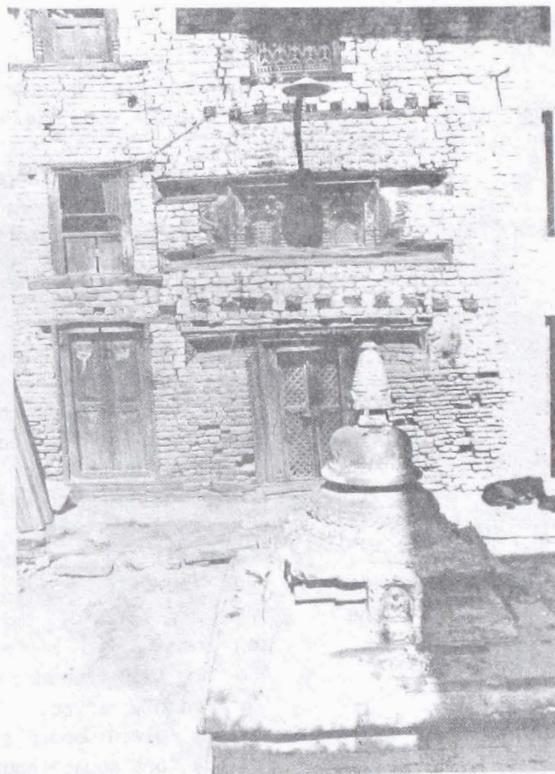
a. Bāchā Bāhā -- Śrī Vaccha Vihāra [9]  
Si Bāhā Tole

This small branch is located in a courtyard just off the Si Bāhā complex. It has a small, unpretentious shrine of one storey with no ornamentation. There is no torāṇa over the doorway of the shrine which contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the very small courtyard is a single votive caitya. The saṅgha of this branch consists of fifteen households of Si Bāhā. The fifty to sixty initiated members of these households perform the customary rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder, but no longer observes an annual festival for this branch nor do they have any income. There are no inscriptions at the site, but KTMV dates the shrine to the seventeenth century and notes that it was renovated by one Aṣṭarāj Śākya in 1971.<sup>172</sup>





120. Bāchā Bāhā [9]



121. Pām Bāhā [1]



b. Pām Bāhā -- Kanaka Datta Vihāra [1]  
Na Tole

This branch is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard in Na Tole west of Si Bāhā and down a lane to the south. Various published lists have given various names for this bāhā: Lakuñ Bāhā, Laṅga Bāhā, and Na Twā Bāhā; but the only name which the people here recognise is Pām Bāhā. The shrine is a very unpretentious structure which forms part of the adjoining buildings. The simple carved doorway has a lattice-work door but no torāṇa. The image of the kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Above the shrine itself is a triple window and the rest of the building is an ordinary dwelling. In the courtyard is one large, votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Sakyas from Si Bāhā, comprising at the present time only four initiated members. Of these only three live here anymore and they take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and used to observe the annual festival of the branch on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh, but this has been discontinued. The saṅgha has no income.

To the left of the kwāpā-shrine is one inscription dated N.S.780, the only dated piece in the complex.

c. Kwātha Bāhā -- Koṭṭa Vihāra [2]  
Na Tole

Kwātha Bāhā is in an enclosed courtyard in Na Tole. The shrine is this bāhā has a plain, unornamented facade. The door of the shrine is of wooden lattice work and surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting Vajrasattva flanked by Gaṇesh and Mahākāl. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows and is used as living quarters. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas, a shrine of Gaṇesh and a cement ping pong table.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of fifteen households of Sakyas from Si Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha act as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by rotation through the

fifteen households. The saṅgha has one elder. They no longer keep an annual festival, though the bāhā still does have a little income. The only inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.1015, but KTMV says that the bāhā was constructed in the eighteenth century and renovated by the gūthī in A.D.1934.<sup>173</sup>

d. Māka Bāhā -- Sri Vatsa Kanakavarṇa Vihāra  
[14] Si Bāhā Tole

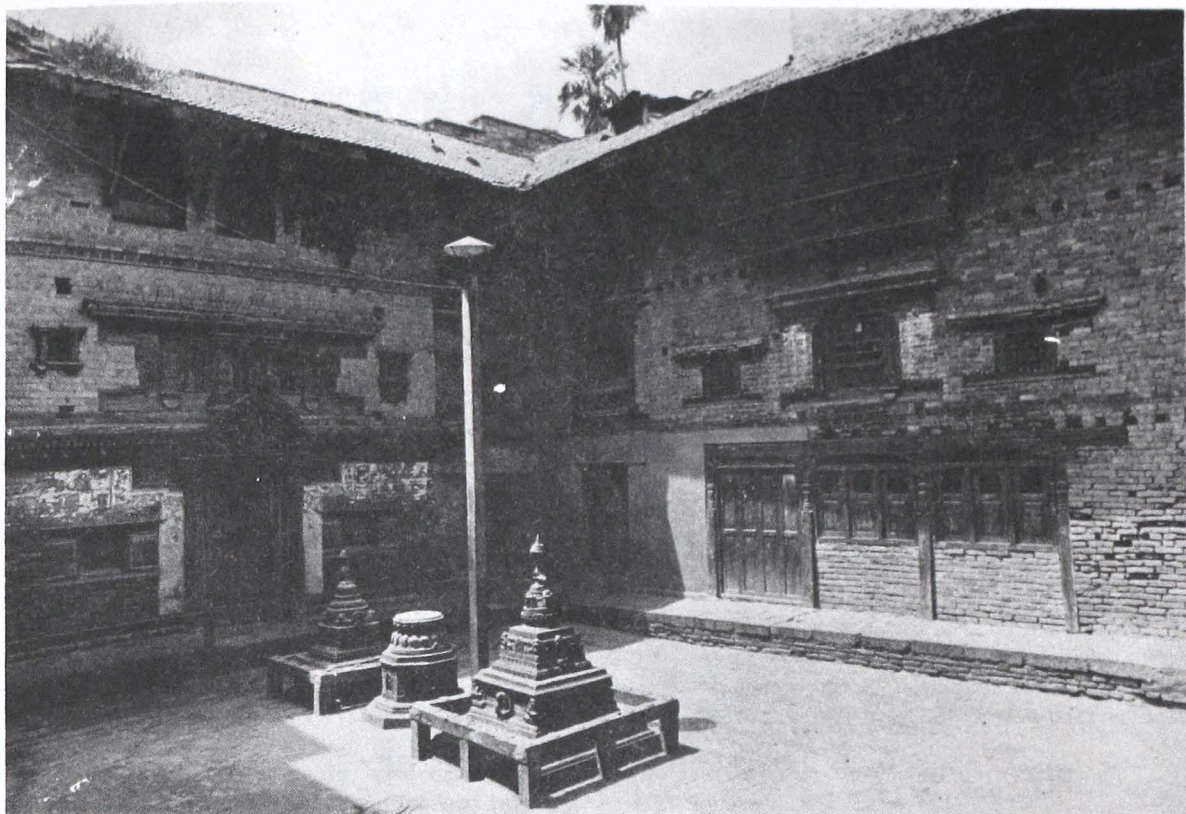
This branch in Si Bāhā Tole has retained the architectural form of a bāhā, but is in a sad state of disrepair. The shrine doorway, flanked by two small windows, is of wooden lattice work but has no proper torāṇa, only three small figures depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha attached to the lintel of the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has a triple window and the top storey an overhanging wooden balcony and living quarters. In the courtyard is single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one household of Sakyas of Si Bāhā. The male members of this family take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya; the saṅgha has one elder. They no longer observe an annual festival and the bāhā has no income.

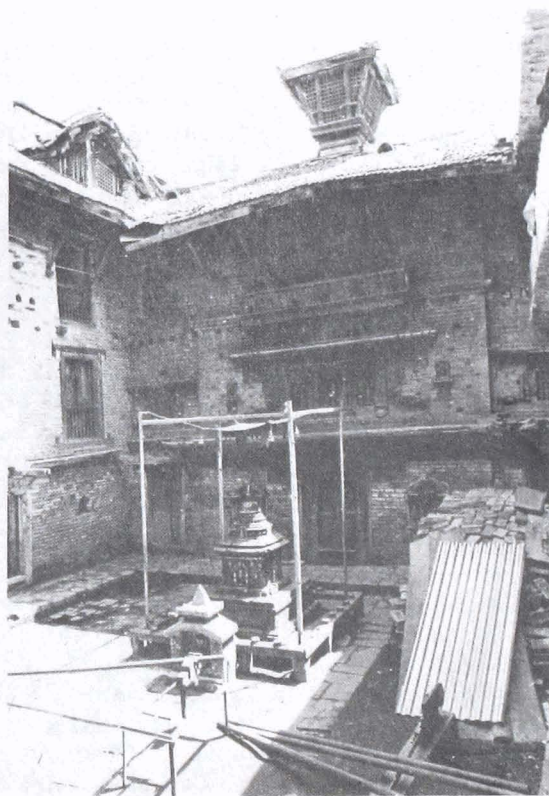
There are no longer any inscriptions in the courtyard of the bāhā, but records preserved by the saṅgha indicate that the branch was constructed in N.S.796 by one Devamuni Sakya.<sup>174</sup>

e. Dune Naka Bāhā -- (Padmāvatī) Yokulivarṇa  
Vihāra [4] Na Bāhā Tole

This small branch bāhā is situated in the remains of a tiny courtyard behind Na Bāhā. Only the shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains. The wooden lattice doorway is flanked by two small windows. There is no torāṇa, but small figures of a caitya and the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha have been affixed to the lintel above the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The cornice above the ground floor and the triple window of the first storey are both richly carved. The roof is supported by several plain wooden struts. In the centre of the six foot square courtyard is a single votive caitya often surrounded by a pond of green water.



122. Kuātha Bāhā [2]



123. Māka Bāhā [14]

The saṅgha of this bāhā originally consisted of one household of Sakyas from Si Bāhā. However, the last surviving male member of this household died without any sons. He did, however, have daughters and the husbands of these daughters (who were not from Si Bāhā but other bāhās) inherited the rights, duties and property of this man. Until fairly recently the descendants of these sons-in-law continued to act as dya-pālās by turn. However, they have ceased to perform the rituals regularly and the branch is for all practical purposes abandoned. The annual festival is no longer kept and the branch has no income. There is, however, an āgam shrine in this complex belonging to the Si Bāhā Sakyas attached to Na Bāhā [3] who still worship here.

There are no inscriptions at the site, but KTMV dates the construction of this branch to the seventeenth century. Some renovations were also carried out in 1933.<sup>175</sup>

(f. Na Bāhā -- Padmāvati Mahāvihāra [3]  
Na Bāhā Tole

This important branch bāhā is actually a branch of Bū Bāhā [31] and is treated there, but it is noted here because about half of the saṅgha of this branch belong to Si Bāhā. This is the only example in Patan of a saṅgha of a branch bāhā being made up of people from two different main bāhās, who nonetheless have formed an integrated saṅgha of their own.)

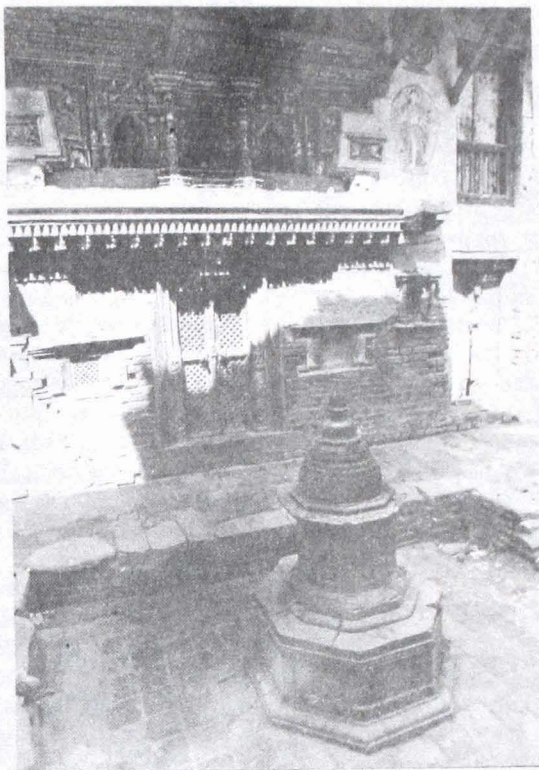
18. Kyapu Bāhā -- Jagatpālavarma Saṁskārīta  
Padmakāṣṭha Gīri Mahāvihāra\* [174]  
Cilañco Bāhā Kirtipur, Cilañco

This bāhā, counted as one of the 'fifteen' of Patan is known to everyone outside of Kirtipur as Kyapu (Kirtipur) Bāhā. People in Kirtipur, however, usually refer to it as Cilañco Bāhā. The bāhā is a large area on top of a hill consisting of a large stupa with four smaller stūpas around it and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and the āgam of the bāhā situated at the southern edge of the complex. One approaches the bāhā up a long, stone stairway which is marked by two large stone lions. Just beyond the lions to the right is a shrine of Mahākāl. The stūpa is similar to the Swayambhu Mahācaitya with eyes painted on the harmika and brass rings above this. The four transcendent Buddhas, stone figures painted in gaudy enamel, are set

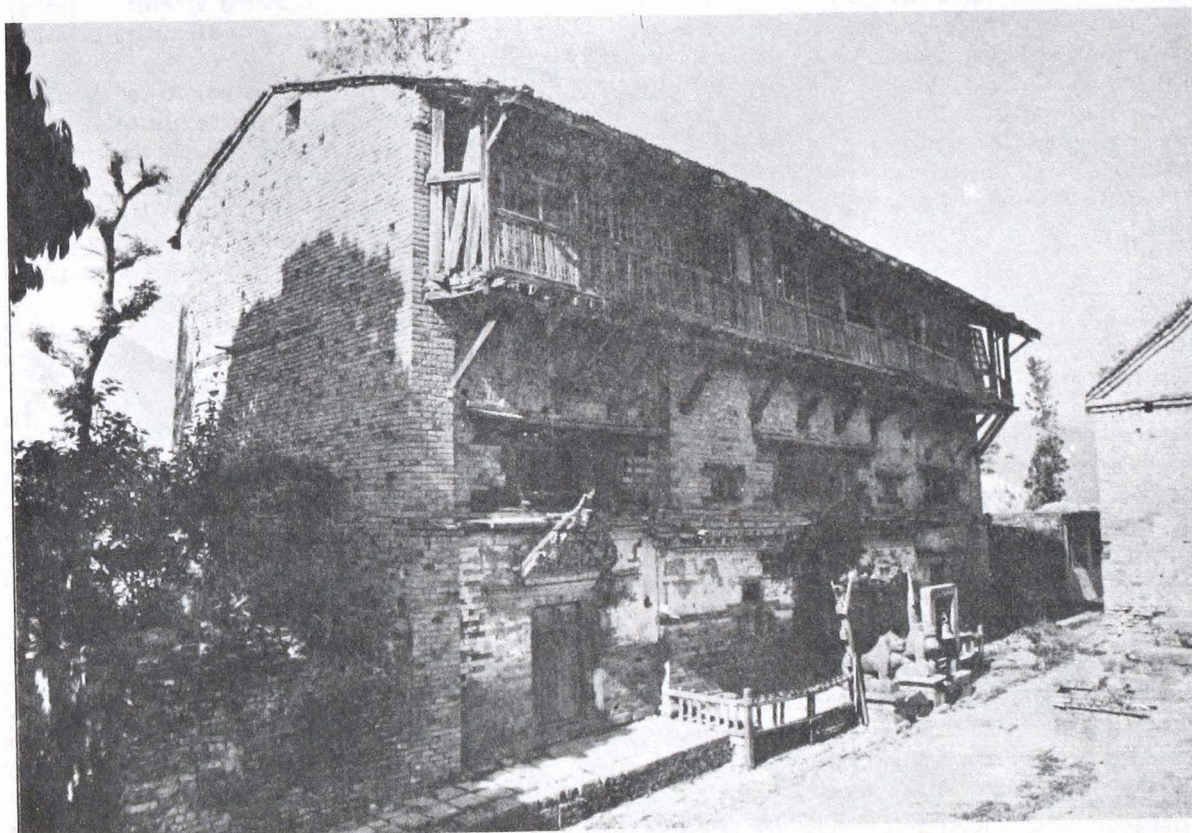
into the four cardinal points and their consorts are placed between them. The Buddha situated on the east, Akṣobhya, is enclosed in a sort of shrine which is marked by two small lions. To the left of this shrine are the figures of the Buddha (Akṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara), also painted in gaudy enamel. Off the four cardinal points of the stūpa are four smaller stūpas each with the four transcendent Buddhas. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is situated at the southern edge of the complex but at a slightly lower level. As it stands now the shrine is the only building set along the periphery of the complex. The original buildings may well have extended right round the complex. The shrine is a rather elongated, three-storied building of brick with the ground floor plastered and white-washed. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions one dated N.S.837 and the other N.S.839. Flanking the doorway are repousse images of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over the doorway is a repousse torāṇa of unusual design. There are three standing, eight-armed, three-faced figures, probably Mahā-akṣobhya in the centre; but all three figures are dressed in long flowing garments after the fashion of Rājput princes. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an over-hanging balcony and is adapted for living quarters. The tile roof has a small, triple finial. On either side of the shrine itself are two smaller sections which look like later additions each having a single doorway. The section to the south houses the āgam deity of the bāhā and has an indistinct, carved wooden torāṇa.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred twenty eight Vajracaryas. Though until recent times all the members of the saṅgha served as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by turn for one month at a time, at the present time the rituals are always performed by the same man. This arrangement is the result of a compromise reached after a quarrel. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āswin. The governing body consists of ten elders, plus another five who are called the balin thāyapā, i.e. they are the next five to be called into the group of elders and they do all the work (balin). The ten are considered to be retired ceremonial elders. However, if the saṅgha is invited to another bāhā, e.g. for a Samyak Ceremony, it is





124. Dune Naka Bāhā [4]



125. Kyapu Bāhā [174]



the ten who go. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. According to informants the saṅgha consists of five lineages each of which still performs the pūjā of its lineage deity separately. One lineage worships a 'Yogāmbara' at Ikhācheñ Bāhā [62] in Patan; three lineages worship 'Yogāmbara' at Kwā Bāhā but on separate days, the first group on the sixth day of the bright half of Baiśākh, the second group on the seventh and the third group on the eighth. The last lineage worships 'Vajrayogini,' now housed in the Āgam of the bāhā but brought from Sankhu. This bāhā had a considerable income from fields lying below the village of Kirtipur. With the building of Tribhuvan University on that property they lost their fields, but as a compensation still receive an annual stipend from the government Gūṭhī Samsthān.

People in Kirtipur say that this bāhā is older than any bāhā in Patan; and as proof of this they say that when the Samyak ceremony is held in Patan every five years the Dīpaṅkara from Kyapu Bāhā is always given the place of honour. Informants at Kwā Bāhā say that this is not quite accurate. At the Samyak ceremony there are two lines of Dīpaṅkaras, the first one the senior Dīpaṅkaras and the second one the Junior Dīpaṅkaras. The Dīpaṅkara from Kirtipur has the place of honour in the second line. Inscriptions at the site of Kyapu Bāhā indicate a late-Malla date for the foundation of the bāhā.

A long inscription at the large caitya dated N.S.635 commemorates the founding and consecration of the caitya and the bāhā by one Jagatpāla Varma. The inscription describes the setting up of the five tathāgatas on the caitya and the long consecration rituals. The 'bhikṣu saṅgha' are commanded to perform all the proper rituals. This Jagatpāla was one of the nobles of Patan and lived in Pim Bāhā. He came into political prominence after the death of Yakṣa Malla at the time that Ratna Malla, who had become the king of the separate kingdom of Kathmandu, was trying to consolidate his rule over Patan also. Jagatpāla sided with Ratna Malla and was one of the principal architects of the eventual compromise that was effected between Ratna Malla and the nobles of Patan. As a result of this Jagatpāla's prestige and wealth increased. His interest in Kirtipur derived

from the fact that his wife was from a noble family of Kirtipur. In addition to the founding of this caitya and bāhā, he also refferbished the Bāghbairava temple in Kirtipur.

Some of the struts of the bāhā building are dated N.S.749, some are dated N.S.800. In N.S.781 a finial and a gilded banner were offered to the 'Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara' (=the caitya) at 'Padmakāstabhīri Mahāvihāra. Repairs were made on the caitya in N.S.788 and the stone elephants were donated in N.S.789. Further donations were made in N.S.791, 793, and 797. In N.S.835 a new caitya was donated, in 837 a new image of Vajrasattva and the lions were donated. A long inscription of N.S.876 lists further donations, the performance of a great yajña and the setting up of new gūṭhīs for the performance of the proper rituals. The bāhā was renovated in A.D.1934 after the great earthquake.

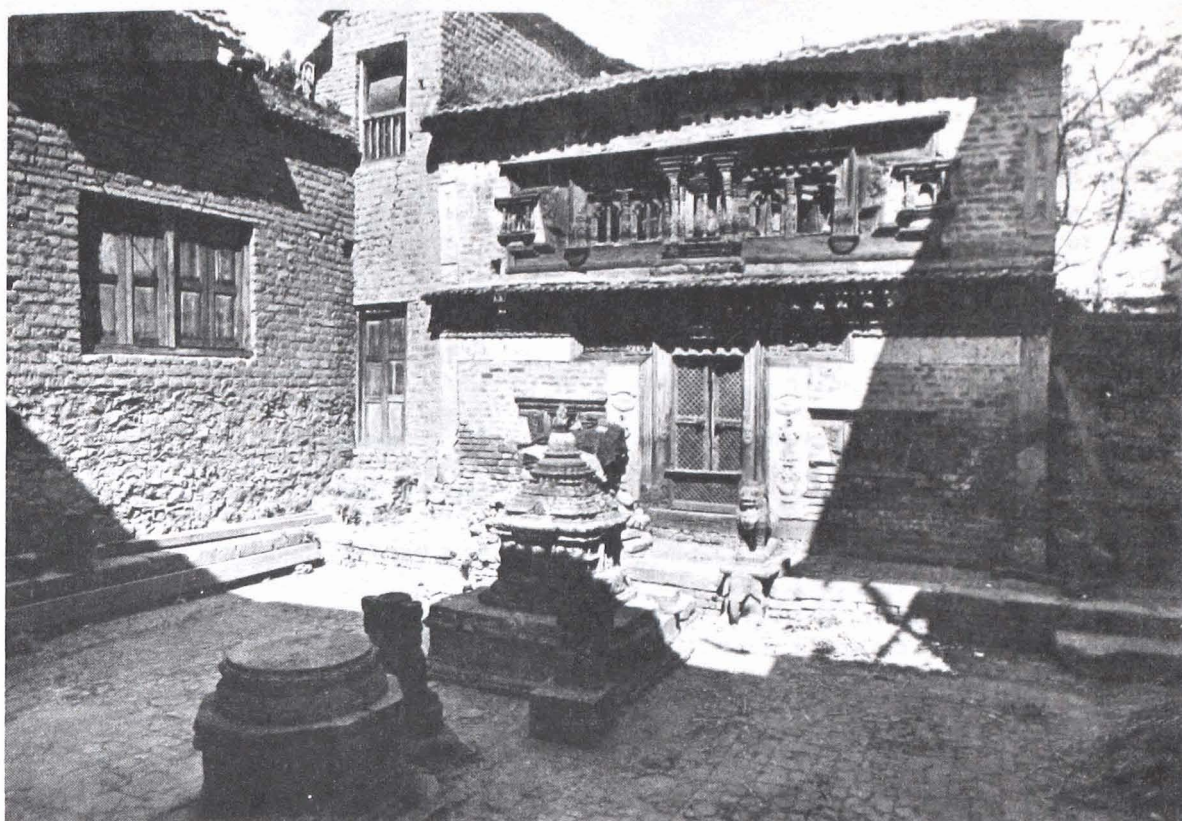
At the present time this bāhā has four branch bāhās and a nanī which is called a branch bāhā.

a. Yāka Bāhā -- Jīvadharma Vihāra\* [169]  
Kirtipur, Lwan Dega

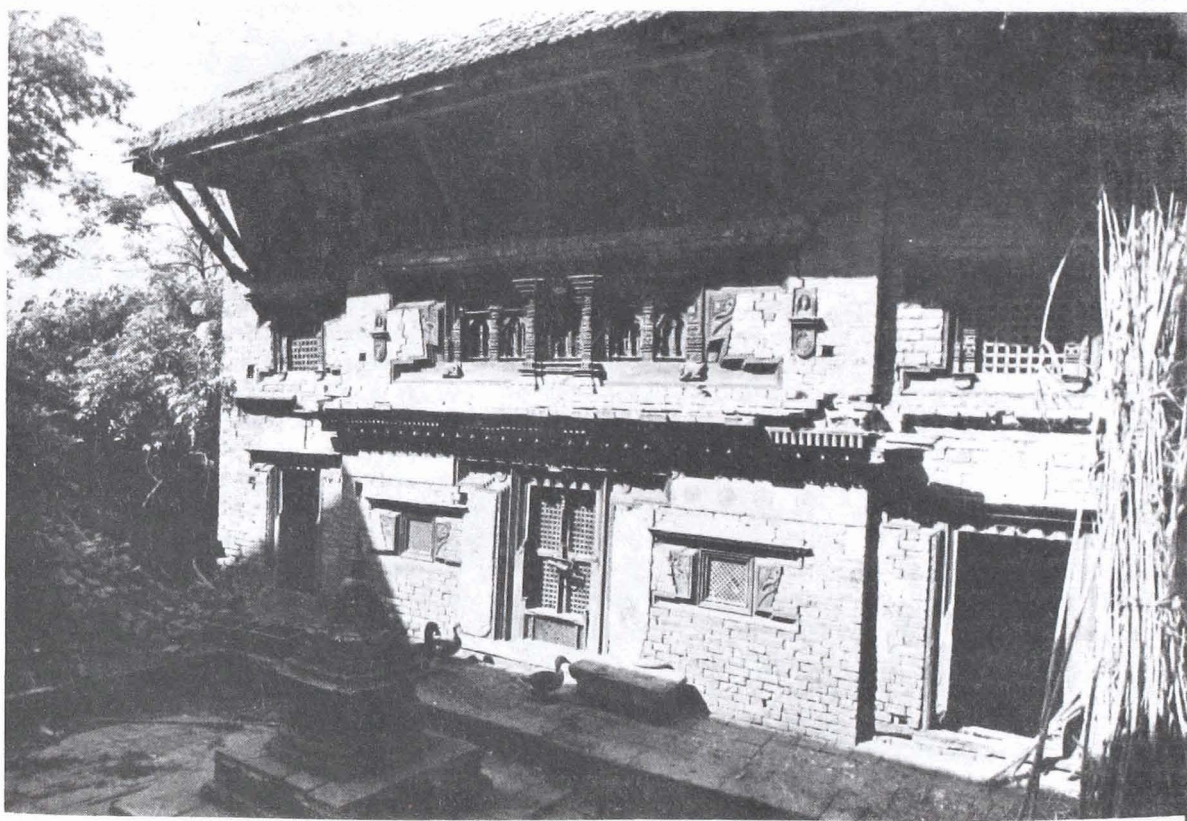
This branch is located in an enclosed courtyard just south of the temple called Lwan Dega. All that now remains of the original buildings is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The shrine is marked by two stone lions, dated N.S.830. The carved doorway has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are a votive caitya, an image of Vajrasattva dated N.S.821, an image of a devotee dated N.S.759, and a stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā. The members of the household take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The branch has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Aśvin. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The Vajracaryas of this branch saṅgha perform all of their initiations in Kyapu Bāhā. However, initiations are performed here. There are three lineages of Sakyas in Kirtipur who moved to Kirtipur after the establishment of Kyapu Bāhā. They requested permission to be



126. Yāka Bāhā [169]



127. Kusi Bāhā [170]

initiated in Kyapu Bāhā and be counted members of that saṅgha. However, since the entire saṅgha was Vajracarya the elders refused to include Sakyas. They were given permission to perform their Barechuyegu either in this branch or in Kusi Bāhā. They are usually performed here, but these Sakyas are not members of this branch saṅgha nor of the Kyapu Bāhā saṅgha. They have no rights or duties at Kyapu Bāhā, at this branch or at Kusi Bāhā. The three lineages also have different lineage deities. One worships a lineage deity at Thasi, one worships the lineage deity of Wā Bahī in Chāpāgauñ (which ultimately came from Suna Gūthī), and one worships a lineage deity at Buṅgamati.

An inscription of N.S.802 at this bāhā notes that 'Jīvadharma Vihāra' had been set up in N.S.769 and that the king of Patan, Siddhi Narasimha Malla, had come to the consecration ceremonies. In N.S.783 images of Saṃvara Deva-devī, Śrī Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, Ganesh and Mahākāl were made and offered in memory of Śrī Jīvadharma Deva by his sons Śrī Candrajyoti and Śrī Indrajyoti. Four and a half ropanīs of land were offered at this time so that the following rituals could be carried out: the annual Busādañ, the monthly Dasami Pūjā, the lighting of a lamp on the fullmoon day of Kartik, and the daily Nitya Pūjā. In N.S.802 a finial was offered for the shrine plus an umbrella and a crown for the Buddha image by Candrajyoti, his wife and his three sons.

b. Kusi Bāhā -- Mahākīrti Vihāra [170]  
Kirtipur, Kusicā Tole

This branch is located in a small enclosed area in Kusicā Tole down a long flight of stairs which gives the whole shrine a dungeon-like appearance. The small shrine has a carved doorway but no torāṇa; the kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā whose members serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya each morning. The annual festival of the branch is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The branch has no income. The members of this household of Vajracaryas perform all their initiations in Kyapu Bāhā, but the Sakyas mentioned above sometimes perform initiations here, though they do not thereby become members either of this branch saṅgha or the saṅgha of Kyapu Bāhā.

c. Kue Bāhā -- Karṇātaka Vihāra\* [171]  
Kirtipur, Tajāph Tole

This branch is situated just off the main street in a very small courtyard. All that remains of the original buildings is the small kwāpā-dya shrine. The finely carved doorway has no torāṇa, but a small image of Akṣobhya set into the lintel. The kwāpā-dya is Akṣobhya, facing west. Above the shrine is a well carved, five-fold window with a smaller lattice window to the right. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. The Sanskrit name Karṇātaka Mahāvihāra is given on an inscription.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning but only by the members of one of these households. The annual festival of the branch is observed on Śrī Pañcami. The branch saṅgha has one elder and the members perform all of their initiations in Kyapu Bāhā. The bāhā still has some income from the Gūthī Saṁsthān as compensation for the fields they lost to Tribhuvan University.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this branch. The caitya in the courtyard is dated N.S.753, but KTMV says that the present shrine building was constructed in the nineteenth century.

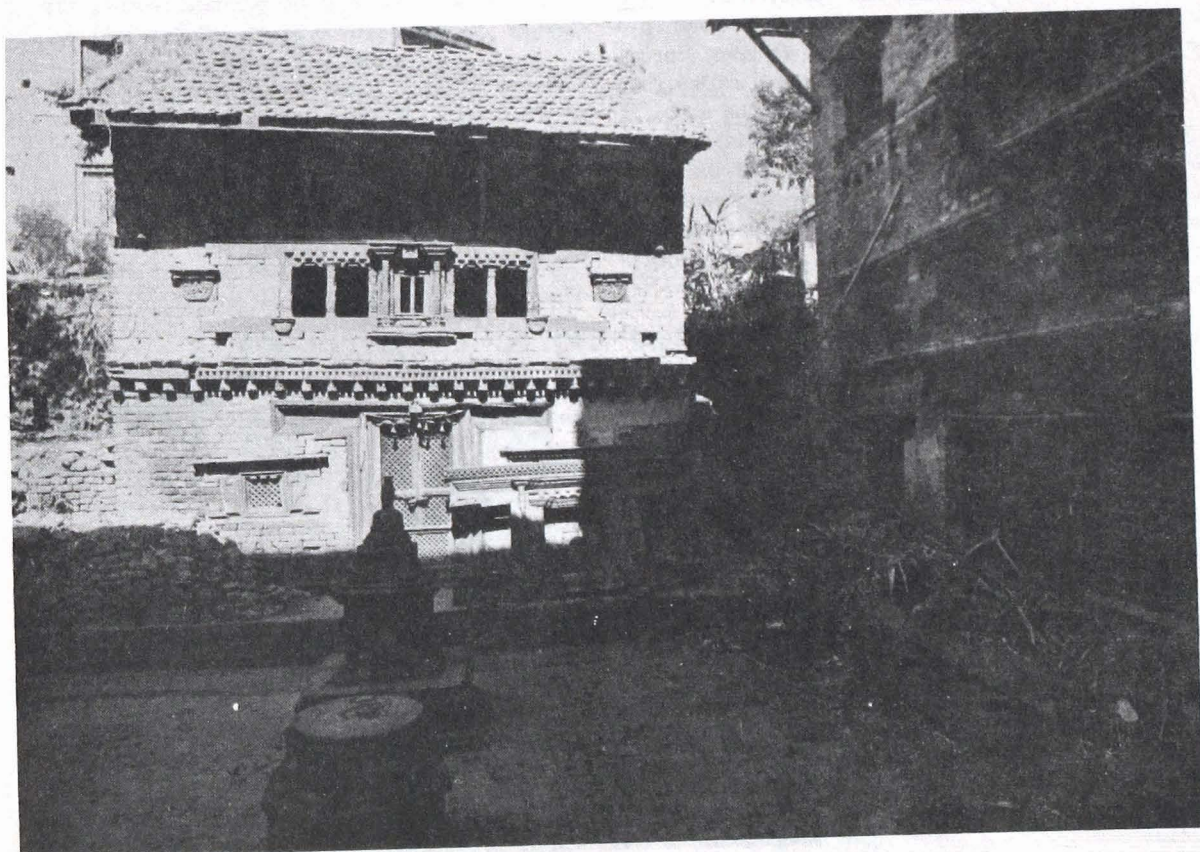
d. Cwe Bāhā -- Harṣakīrti Vihāra\* [172]  
Kirtipur, Singha Duval Tole

This small branch consists of a kwāpā-dya shrine in an enclosed area surrounded by fields in Singha Duval Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, which sits more or less in the centre of the enclosed area is the only building on the site. It is a well preserved, but plain bāhā shrine with a carved doorway and no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The facade of the ground floor had been plastered and white-washed, but most of the plaster has crumbled. Above the ground floor is a second storey with a plain five-fold window. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and the roof has no ornamentation. In front of the shrine are one votive caitya and a copper-covered stone maṇḍala with an inscription which gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. In the courtyard are also images of Ganesh, Mahākāl,





128. Kue Bāhā [171]



129. Cwe Bāhā [172]

Hanumān and a donor.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā, now comprising about twenty five members. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder, but no longer observes the annual festival of the bāhā, which used to be held on the second day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha. However they still receive a little income from the Gūṭhī Samsthān as compensation for the fields they lost when Tribhuvan University was built.

According to the inscription on the maṇḍala the bāhā was built in N.S.761 by Hākuja Sākya and the maṇḍala was set up in N.S.936. The bāhā was renovated after the earthquake of 1934 By Bhimvajra Vajracarya.<sup>180</sup>

e. Tuṅgalaycwaṅgu Bāhā -- Padmocca Vihāra  
[173] Kirtipur, Singha Duval Tole

This site, which consists only of a caitya in the centre of a small courtyard, has no bāhā shrine and no kwāpā-dya. Whether it ever did have such a shrine is doubtful. It should probably be classified as a nanī and not a bāhā, but informants insisted that it is a bāhā and it does have a saṅgha. The saṅgha consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā who perform the usual rituals at the caitya regularly. They do not observe an annual festival and the site has no income. The caitya is dated N.S.868.

130. Tuṅgalaycwaṅgu  
Bāhā [173]



# The Bahis of Patan

## Introduction

Every commentator on the vihāras of the Valley and every Newar informant note that there are two types of institutions: bāhās and bahīs. However, when one tries to answer the question: what is the difference between a bāhā and a bahī?, one finds that commentators disagree and present day informants are hard pressed to specify the differences. The difficulty seems to come from the fact that today there are few differences and the differences have lost their significance for present day-Newars. Certain distinctions, however, do remain.

First are the architectural differences. a) Bahīs have open halls on the ground floor and large open rooms above, behind screened verandas. Such an arrangement does not readily lend itself to family quarters as these large open halls are not divided into rooms. b) The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is offset so that it is possible to circumambulate it. c) One usually finds a flight of steps leading up to the main entrance, whereas the entrance to bāhās is usually at ground level. d) The shrine (āgam) of the tantric deity is located in a blind room directly above the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. e) The kwāpā-dya himself is often referred to as gandhuri-dya, a term that is never used of the Buddha in a bāhā.

In Patan the members of the bahīs formerly referred to themselves as brahmacarya bhikṣu (celibate bhikṣus) rather than Sakya, Sakyabhikṣu or Sakyavamsā. This term is not attested to in any inscriptions or documents from bahīs in Kathmandu or Bhaktapur whose members were usually 'Sakyabhikṣu'. In Patan today the term is seldom used and the people of the bahīs usually call themselves simply Sakya. The term was a

technical term for the members of the bahīs of Patan and it is difficult to understand its import. That by the time of the Malla kings the term did not mean what it says is clear from the reference to a Brahmacarya Bhikṣu from N.S.635 who was in fact married. From the Late Malla Period on it is clear that the members of the bahīs were all married.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas each main bāhā has its own saṅgha and is in this sense a closed and self-sufficient unit, the bahīs have a different arrangement. In Kathmandu all the bahīs belong to one over-all organization (sarva-saṅgha). Each bahī (with two exceptions) has a single elder; and the elders of each of the bahīs belong to an overall-board of elders which must be present at all bahī initiations and which generally rules the life of the sarva-saṅgha in the way the elders of each individual bāhā do. In Patan there were two groups of bahīs, one of ten and the other of fifteen bahīs which had a similar arrangement. Though this original arrangement has broken down in recent years, it was still intact a hundred years ago.<sup>3</sup> (In Bhaktapur there are only three extant bahīs and none of the three has a bahī-saṅgha today; they are looked after by Bare who are members of a bāhā.) Informants in Patan have told me that in ancient times all the bahīs of the Valley belonged to one sarva-saṅgha. However, I have seen no contemporary evidence to confirm this.

As noted in the General Introduction, the members of the bahīs were until recent times considered by the members of the bāhās to be of a slightly lower status. Why they should be considered inferior is a bit of mystery to people today. Some connect it with the idea that a bahī is a lower form of Buddhist institution than a bāhā. This seems to mean that the



schedule of ritual in a bāhā is more rigid, the rituals more elaborate and better organised. The organization of the bāhā saṅgha, as a community, is also more structured with a larger group of elders, more gūṭhīs and more obligations. In other words, the members of the bāhās have more rules to follow. Others, usually Vajracaryas, have said the bahīs are more recent institutions and that many of the bahī saṅghas are made up of people of lower or 'mixed' castes. This is hard to prove, of course, and certainly some of the bahīs are very old with a continuous and unbroken tradition that stretches back to the time before the Malla kings. Several of the Patan Bahīs claim Brahman descent.

Another difference is that there are no Vajracaryas in bahīs. This statement, however, must be qualified. There is a priest from Makhañ Bahī in Kathmandu who serves as the priest for all of the bahīs of Kathmandu, and in Patan the two groups of bahīs each has its own priest from a bahī. This priest must be present at Barechuyegu initiations, the annual festival of the bahī and at the pañcadāna. In Patan he also used to come at the time of death to read from the scriptures. Though these bahī priests receive the Pañcābhiṣeka (just as Vajracaryas do), they are not recognised as Vajracaryas and have no clients (jajamān) among the rest of the Buddhist population. In fact the bahī families now also have a Vajracarya priest from a bāhā whom they call for other family or occasional rituals.

This lack of Vajracaryas does not mean that the bahīs were entirely non-tantric. Every bahī has its own āgam; and inscriptions from the fourteenth century commemorating the foundation of bahīs all attest to the consecration of tantric deities at these shrines. Tantric deities were known and worshipped; what they lacked was the consecrated tantric priest, the Vajracarya who belonged to a different tradition.

Gellner notes some other differences which he found in Patan. At the performance of Barechuyegu in the bahīs in Patan there is no fire sacrifice. (Informants in Kathmandu say that some bahīs have a fire sacrifice and some do not. The decision to have it or not seems to be economic: if you have a fire sacrifice you must call a Vajracarya, and that is expensive.) When a death occurs within a bahī family,

within their living quarters and in front of the bahī shrine. The tantric deity of the bahī is called ajīdya (grandmother-goddess) and hence is looked on as female, though in fact, of course, the āgam deity is always a pair. (This is not true in Kathmandu where the āgam deity is simply āgam-dya.) There is a general belief, not always true, that each bahī has a square stone with nine circles on it. This is called gupha maṇḍa (the ninefold maṇḍala). Though many informants say that it represents the nine planets (the nava graha), Gellner's informants say that these stones were installed by the emperor Aśoka to be used as receptacles for the rice used in ancestor worship which is usually taken to the nearest river.

Another difference is what one might call the decaying state of the bahīs. In contrast to most of the bāhās, especially the main bāhās of Patan and Kathmandu, the people of the bahīs are poor. There are few rich families among them, and the buildings of the bahīs are generally in a state of disrepair. This is perhaps one reason why the bahīs have more consistently retained their traditional architectural structure. Whereas the bāhās had the financial resources to redecorate and rebuild their institutions in succeeding generations and thereby change their physical appearance according to the architectural fancies of the day, the bahīs lacked the resources to do this. Their buildings remain as they were in the late Malla period until they finally collapse. With their collapse they often disappear altogether. Linked with this is the rather puzzling phenomenon of constantly decreasing numbers in the bahīs. In many cases the bahī saṅgha has died out entirely, and in nearly all the bahīs the saṅgha has been reduced to a few families. In contrast the bāhā saṅghas are constantly increasing as one would expect. Some say that the bahīs were poorly endowed, but the bahīs seem to have had even more land than the bāhās. Others speculate that members of the bahī saṅghas have found ways to become accepted into one of the bāhās and thereby raised their status. No one could give concrete examples except in the case of a bahī saṅgha that had actually been made up of members brought from a bāhā. On the other hand, if such a migration were successful it would be because it had been kept secret.

The one exception to the general decay is

The one exception to the general decay is Cikañ Bahī in Patan which has a large saṅgha of 135 Sakyas. This saṅgha is very active, the bahī buildings have been kept in good repair (and are currently being extensively renovated), and over the last hundred and fifty years they have built and consecrated several branches. This seems to have been a result of two factors: the relative wealth of these families and the fact that they have kept alive something of the original traditions of the bahīs. One of the aged elders of Cikañ Bahī gave Gellner the following account:

When the bāhā were inhabited by married Sakyabhikṣus who worked for their living, there were still Brahmacharya Bhikṣus, unmarried monks, who did no work, in the bahī. In the bāhā they did Tantric rituals, had gūṭhis, [i.e. annual ritual obligations] and so on, but in the bahī all they had to do was keep the rule of celibacy (brahmacharya pāle yāye). Then one day the king decided that the 1200 ropanī of land belonging to Konti Bahī was too much, and he took the land to feed his soldiers. 'Since you live by begging,' he said, 'go ahead and beg!' Eventually they had to marry and find work, although the 64 kinds of work had already been given out to the 64 castes. So they did as the Sakyavaṃśa were doing.

What this seems to indicate is that the bahīs are relics of an earlier tradition. For a long time after the distinctive feature of these communities, their celibacy, had been abandoned they continued many of their traditions. Finally, in the face of the the overwhelming popularity of the bāhā traditions, the ritual and social high status of the Vajracaryas, and the sanction of this tantric Buddhism (with its round of ritual which fit so well into the structure of 'Hindu Society') by the ruling elite, the bahīs were relegated to a place outside the mainstream of the Buddhist tradition of the Valley. Perhaps it is in this sense that the term bahira (outside) has the greatest import. Today few members of the bahīs have any understanding of the tradition their institutions enshrined, and bahīs have become a slightly different kind of bāhā whose members are generally poor and are considered slightly lower than the members of the bāhās for reasons that are largely forgotten.

This line of thought seems to be confirmed by Wright's Chronicle. After Siddhi Narasimha had called together the elders of the 'Fifteen Bāhās' and made arrangements for their government, he he called the elders of the twenty five bahīs of Patan. The chronicle calls these viḥāras 'nirvāṇik vāṇaprastha'. Wright explains this term as meaning 'the inhabitants did not marry', though it is abundantly clear from the chronicle that they were in fact married. The term seems meaningless because Wright's translators have omitted the opposing term which the chronicle writers have used for the bāhās, i.e. 'sāmsārik tāṇtrik viḥāra' (this-worldly tantric viḥāra). The chronicle clearly contrasts 'nirvāṇik vāṇaprastha viḥāras (bahīs) and sāmsārik tāṇtrik viḥāras' (bāhās). When the king tried to make reforms in the bahīs similar to the reforms he made in the bāhās, the members complained that since they followed the other-worldly forest-dwelling dharma they could not take the tantric initiation of those who are members of a worldly tantric viḥāra. The chronicle then describes the arrangements made for the bahīs in general and especially for I Bahī concluding:

In this way the rules were established both for the worldly Tantric (sāmsārik tāṇtrik) monasteries and for the otherworldly forest-dwelling (nirvāṇik vāṇaprastha) monasteries.

One sees here an intermediate stage. Celibacy had disappeared but the bahīs were still repositories of a different tradition which their members wanted to preserve. However, their efforts were doomed as they were caught in an anomalous situation. They were custodians of the tradition of the celibate monks, but they were not celibate. The King was anxious to make all of his subjects conform to the traditional customs of Hindu society; and one of these customs was the performance of the fire sacrifice after the death of a member of a family in order to purify the household and its members. Since they were married men with families they must also adopt this custom and for this they must have a priest who is empowered to perform such a sacrifice. He may be Buddhist, but he must be a Vajracarya as the priests from bahīs were not recognised (by their own people or the majority community) as Vajracaryas and hence did not perform the fire sacrifice. So Vajracaryas from Dhūm Bāhā were assigned to be the priests of I

Bahī. The bahī priests continued to function for rituals pertaining to the monastery itself, but Vajracaryas from the bāhās became the family priests of the families attached to the bahīs. This arrangement further blurred the lines of distinction between bahīs and bāhās and today few people know where the line is and what it signifies.

Gellner concludes his analysis of the situation of the bahīs with the following statement:

The decline of the bahī was evidently already under way when Siddhi Narasimha made his reforms, since the chronicle tells us that certain bahī were empty, their inhabitants having moved on after taking up the householder dharma. The members of the bahī made a virtue of their being the descendants of the last truly celibate monks, but this was not enough to stop a steady decline in population. Wherever possible members must have transferred to bāhā; but precisely because such practice is in theory not allowed it is impossible to trace it or prove it. The lower prestige of the bahī is due to the fact that the Buddhism of the Newārs is Tantric: celibate monastic Buddhism, of which the bahī are the most prominent representatives, is given a place, but only the lowest one. The bahī themselves have been less and less able, and less and less interested, to combat this assessment. Their ideology is in any case now rendered anachronistic by the presence in Nepal of the newly introduced and dynamic Theravāda Buddhist movement.

Several years ago one informant gave me the following explanation of bahīs:

'In the days when all of these communities were open to any qualified candidate the bahīs were a lower class of vihāra where the bhikṣu would receive his first training. After completing his training he would become an upasampradāya bhikṣu and join a baha where he would study further and receive further training which would eventually entitle him to become a Vajracarya.'

This is the view of a Sakya attached to one of the principal bāhās and expresses quite accurately the view of the dominant bāhā community

who consider the tantric traditions of the Vajracaryas to be a higher form of Buddhism. It may also reflect the reality. The bahīs may well have housed the last communities of celibate monks (true brahmacarya bhikṣus) and as such have been schools of the dharma where Buddhists from the bāhās could go to learn the basics of the dharma.

Of the two type of vihāras which is the older form? Several informants told me that the bahīs are older than the bāhās. Other informants, usually Vajracaryas, say the bahīs were all later foundations set up for people of lower and mixed caste. The first statement seems to be based on the fact that the bahīs represent an earlier form of Buddhism. The second would appear to be primarily Vajracarya prejudice and it cannot be substantiated. Even if one could find a few institutions which house people of low or mixed caste, most of them certainly do not. In cases where one might find people of low or mixed caste, he would probably find they are people who moved into a bahī that had been abandoned by the original saṅgha.

My survey of the bahīs and bāhās shows that we have no confirmed dates for extant bahīs earlier than A.D.1200 (i.e. the beginning of the Malla Period). On the other hand we do have several confirmed dates from the so-called Thakuri Period for bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī in Kathmandu and the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan. We also know that several of the principal bahīs were founded in the time of Jayasthiti and Yakṣa Malla: Ubā Bahī and Ibā Bahī in Patan, Nhāykan Bahī and Syaṅgu Bahī of Kathmandu. Another curious fact is that except for two manuscripts copied in Dugaṅ Bahī (Ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra) in Kathmandu, we have no manuscripts copied in bahīs. Buddhist manuscripts were copied by people in bāhās, usually Vajracaryas. However, I would hesitate to draw any conclusions from this data. We know so little about the so-called Thakuri Period that an argument from silence is very weak indeed; and we have no way of knowing if what data we have is in any sense a representative sample of data from that period. It may well turn out to consist of chance finds from certain groups that is in no way representative of the society as a whole. What does seem clear is that from the viewpoint of the dominant tantric Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley, the bahīs represented an archaic form of Buddhism. No definite conclusions can



be stated, but my own hypothesis is that the two institutions existed side by side perhaps from the earliest days. Gradually, and as a result of the ascendancy of the Vajracaryas and their form of Tantric Buddhism, the celibate communities diminished, finally succumbing to the dominant tradition and becoming married 'celibate monks' (brahmacarya bhikṣu) still trying to maintain something of their original traditions. If more accurate information on the Licchavi and so-called Thakuri period is ever made available, we may well find that the celibate communities were always in the minority.

At the present time there are theoretically twenty five main bahīs left in Patan. I say theoretically because, though one can count twenty five foundations still extant, in some cases the saṅgha has died out entirely or the bahī has been taken over by people from another bahī or a bāhā. As in Kathmandu and in Bhaktapur the saṅghas of the bahīs have dwindled to a tiny community often consisting of one or two initiated members. The one exception is Cikan Bahī [83].

The present arrangement can evidently be traced to the time of Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla who called the people of the bahīs together and made rules for them. Of the twenty five bahīs only fifteen came, so rules were made for them and then rules were imposed on the other ten. The result of this reorganization was that there were then two groups of bahīs, the ten and the fifteen. Each had its own group of elders and its own priest. A man from the saṅgha of Jyābā Bahī [163] functioned as the priest for the group of ten, and one from Naka Bahī functioned as the priest for the group of fifteen. At Jyābā Bahī only one man was given the initiation, but at Naka Bahī the entire saṅgha was given the initiation. These were often called vajra-bhikṣu rather than Vajracarya. However, all of these were Vajracaryas in a restricted sense. They received the Pañcābhiṣeka initiation and could function as priests for bahī functions but they could not have other jajamāns and were not really recognised as Vajracaryas by the Vajracaryas of the 'Fifteen Bāhās' who usually referred to them as Bauddhacaryas.

#### The Ten Bahīs

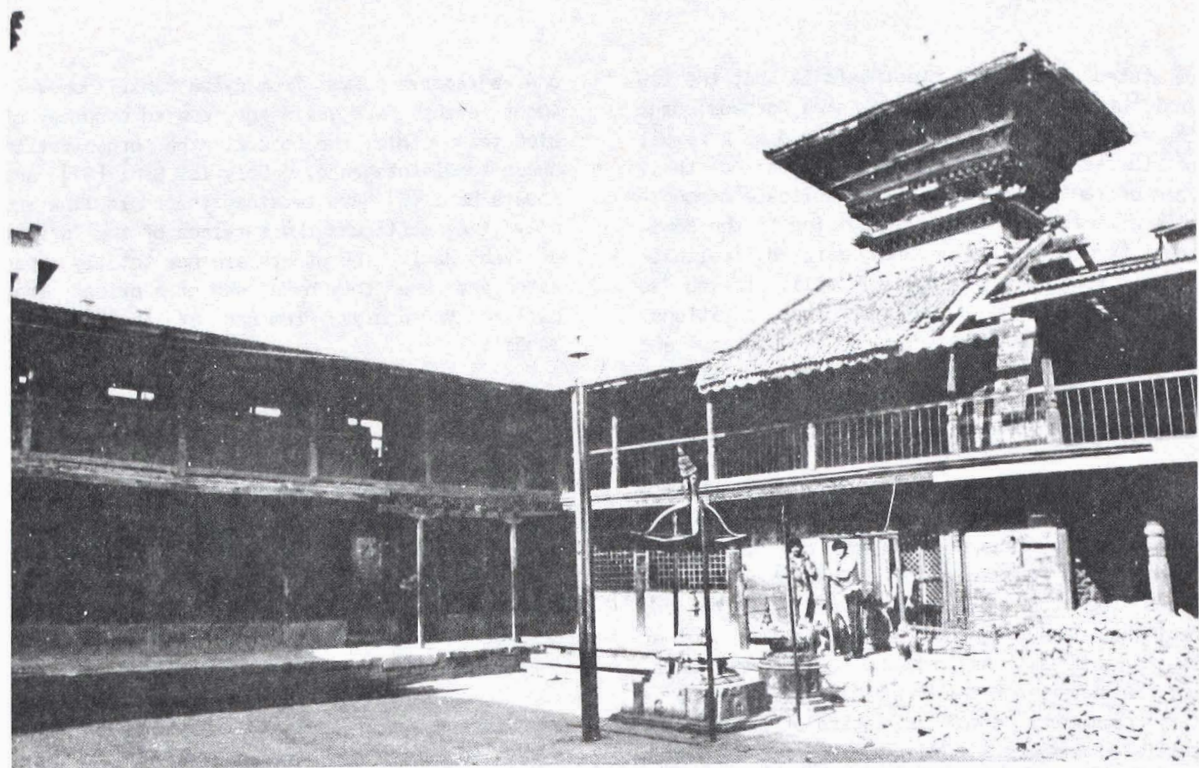
Until recent times these ten bahīs formed one overall saṅgha and were all served by the

one Vajracarya priest from Jyābā Bahī. However, about seventy five years ago, due to a number of disputes within the group, the organization began to disintegrate. Only Ibā Bahī [97] and Khwāya Bahī [6] have retained their old link and only they still use the services of the priest of Jyābā Bahī. The others are now totally separate and when they have need of a priest they call a Vajracarya from one of the 'Fifteen Bāhās'.

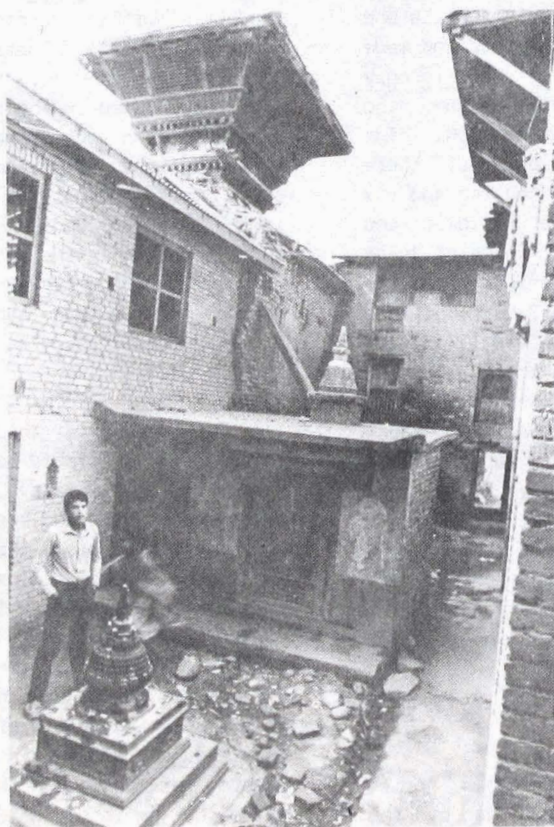
#### 1. Ibā Bahī -- Rājasrī Mahāvihāra\* [97] Cakha Bāhā

This is one of the oldest bahīs in Patan and until about ten years ago still retained its old architectural form of a two storied quadrangle with the upper and lower stories composed of open verandas. The shrine is situated along the western arm of the quadrangle and is a simple unadorned cella which can be circumambulated. Two small lions mark the entrance to the shrine and over the roof above the shrine is a pagoda style tower. The kwāpā-dya was an image of Akṣobhya facing east, but this was stolen a few years ago. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a stone dharma-dhātu maṇḍala. Within the past ten years, however, much of the original structure has crumbled and no effort has been made to restore it. A small school is housed in the remaining buildings, and they will also soon crumble. The bahī originally had quite a collection of old wood and terracotta images but most of these have disappeared in the last ten years and what remains is thrown in a corner near the entrance, damaged and unattended. The entryway to the whole complex is marked by two large stone lions, and on the right as one enters the quadrangle is a large image of Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this bahī now consists of thirty five initiated Sakyas. Despite the absence of the kwāpā-dya the usual rituals are performed morning and evening. Service is for one month and passes through the households of the saṅgha in turn. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival of the bahī during the sacred month of Guṇlā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The chief elder of this bahī is the eldest of all the members of the saṅghas of the Ten Bahīs and should by rights be considered the chief of the whole group, but he is recognised only by Khwāya Bahī.



131. Ibā Bahī [97]



132. Ibā Dune [98]

This is a result of an on-going dispute with the people of the other bahīs over land ownership and the stealing of the kwāpā-dya from this shrine. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasambhara whose shrine is preserved in this bahī. This bahī had thirty eight ropanīs of land which provided a good income, but it is this land that is now under dispute and consequently they get no income any more. Despite this, however, they still use the services of the Jyābā Bahī Vajracarya.

According to an inscription nailed to the front wall of the shrine this bahī was consecrated in the bright half of the month of Jyestha in N.S.547. On the third day of the fortnight the lakṣāhuti was begun and on the tenth the golden image of the Buddha (gandhurī tathāgata) was set up and consecrated. On the following day three golden finials and a banner were offered. At this ceremony King Jaya Jyotir Malla (the last of the sons of Jaya Sthiti Malla) was present. The foundations of the vihāra had been laid in Phālgun of N.S.538 and in Baiśākh the doors were set up. The donors were five of the Padhāna-mahāpātras of Patan. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bahī: Rājāsī Mahāvihāra. This bahī has one small branch.

a. Ibā Dune -- Bhājūdhana Sīmha Vihāra [98]  
Chaka Bāhā

This tiny little branch bāhā is situated directly behind the Ibā Bahī complex and now consists of nothing but a narrow ground floor shrine which is falling to ruins. The lattice doorway is unmarked and has no torāṇa or ornamentation. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing north. New buildings have crowded right up to the edge of the shrine and the upper storeys of the shrine itself have crumbled. Weeds grow out of the brickwork of what is left. In front of the shrine is a small paved courtyard with a single votive caitya.

This little branch has one family attached to it. They belong to Ibā Bahī and perform the regular rituals each morning. They observe the annual festival of this branch on the fullmoon day of the month of Kārtik. Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this branch, but KTMV dates it to the nineteenth century.

2. Jyābā Bahī -- Jyesthavarṇa Mahāvihāra\*  
[163] Chaka Bāhā

Jyābā Bahī is also a typical bahī shrine with three sides of the original quadrangle remaining. The outside entrance to the shrine is marked by two large stone lions. The remaining buildings have the usual open rooms on the ground floor and open rooms above behind an over-hanging balcony. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is unornamented and has no torāṇa. The cella is situated so that it is possible to circumambulate it. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are two caityas, a stone dharmadhātu maṇḍala, an image of Mahākāl and the feet of Mañjuśrī.

The saṅgha of this bahī has been reduced to one old man, a 'Vajracarya' who theoretically functions as the priest for all of those attached to the Ten Bahīs. Actually, at the present time, he functions only at his own bahī and at Ibā Bahī. This one man performs the daily rituals morning and evening and performs all the other duties connected with a bahī. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here, but since the old man has no male heirs this custom will probably cease with his demise. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasambhara who is worshipped at the bahī. The annual festival is observed on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Phālgun.

The oldest inscription at the site is dated N.S.772 and probably commemorates a renovation of the bahī. Several donations were made at this time including an image of the Buddha (śrī śrī śrī gandhurī bhāṭṭāraka). The principal donor was one Brahmācarya Bhikṣu Śrī Maṅgaladevajū of Sri Jyestha Vihāri. The foundation is surely older than this, but no other evidence remains and the saṅgha has no stories or legends telling of the foundation. In N.S.800 a caitya was set up at the bahī which is called in the inscription 'Jyaya Vāhāra Bāhīri'.

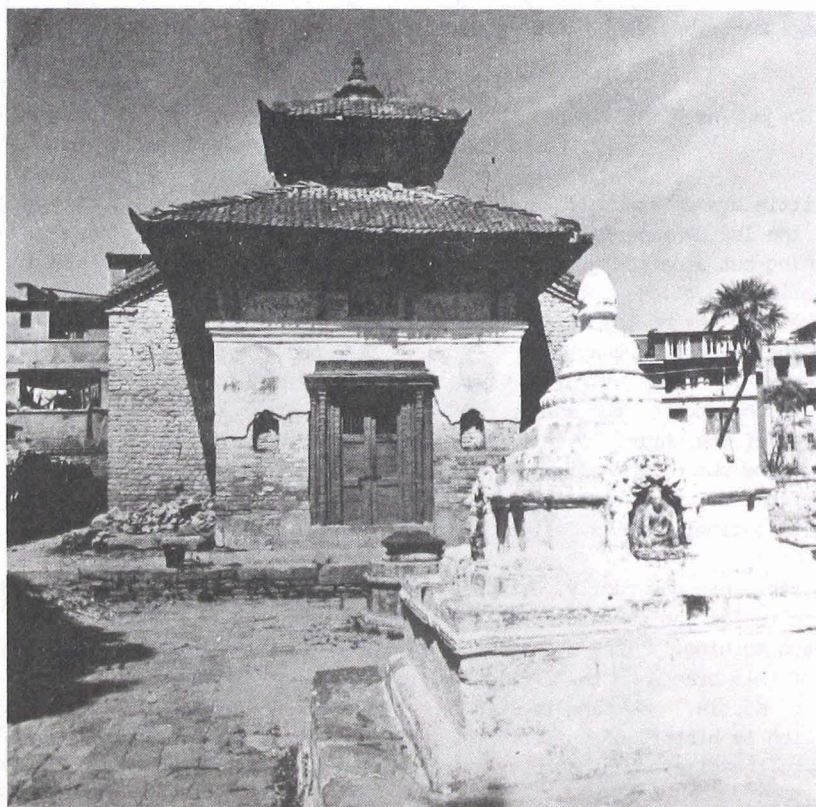
3. Khwāya Bahī -- Kāmūka Nāma Mahāvihāra\*  
[6] Na Bāhā Tole

All that remains of Khwāya Bahī is a crumbling, free-standing shrine in the middle of a walled field. The shrine is of two storeys and has a double tiled roof. At one time the building had been plastered but the plaster has crum-





133. Jyābā Bahī [163]



134. Khwāya Bahī [6]

bled away from the ground floor. Above, where the plaster has remained, one can see the remains of frescoes. The kwāpā-dya is an unusual stone image of Maitreya painted white and sitting with the right leg raised. The image faces east. In front of the shrine is a single stone maṇḍala. The edge of the walled field surely marks the boundaries of what were at one time bahī buildings. Near the entrance to the area are three large caityas and an image of Padma-pāṇi Lokeśvara which formed part of the complex.

The original saṅgha of this bahī died out entirely some years ago and the shrine is now looked after by one family of Sakyas ('Brahmacarya Bhikṣus') who have made this their bahī. Now the saṅgha consists of this one family, five initiated members. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by turn and perform their Barechuyegu initiations here. At the present time the saṅgha has one elder, but they say it should have five. Cakrasamvara is both the āgam-dya and the lineage deity of this saṅgha. As the bahī has no income there is no annual festival but it used to be held four days after Buṅgadya was placed on his ratha.

The only inscription left at the site is found at the base of the three large caityas. It is dated N.S.734 and commemorates the offering of a canopy for the caityas by Bhikṣu Śrī Jitadeva and Śākyavamsa Śrī Vijayadeva. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name Kāmūka-nāma Mahāvihāra. At this time the caitya was repaired and images of the five Buddhas were offered.<sup>4</sup>

4. Khwāya Bahī Cidhaṅgu -- ?? [7]  
Na Bahī Tole

Lists give a second bahī at this site, but all that remains is a small Buddha shrine to the side of the area of Khwāya Bahī. Nothing else is known about this second bahī, but informants say that it originally was a separate foundation with its own saṅgha.

5. Guita Bahī -- Dāpāvati Nagare Sarvānanda-nṛpa Saṃskārīta Padmoccaśrī Mahāvihāra  
[122] Guita Tole

There are three bahīs in this area which is clearly an ancient Buddhist site. Three Sanskrit names are known: Padmoccaśrī, Saptapura

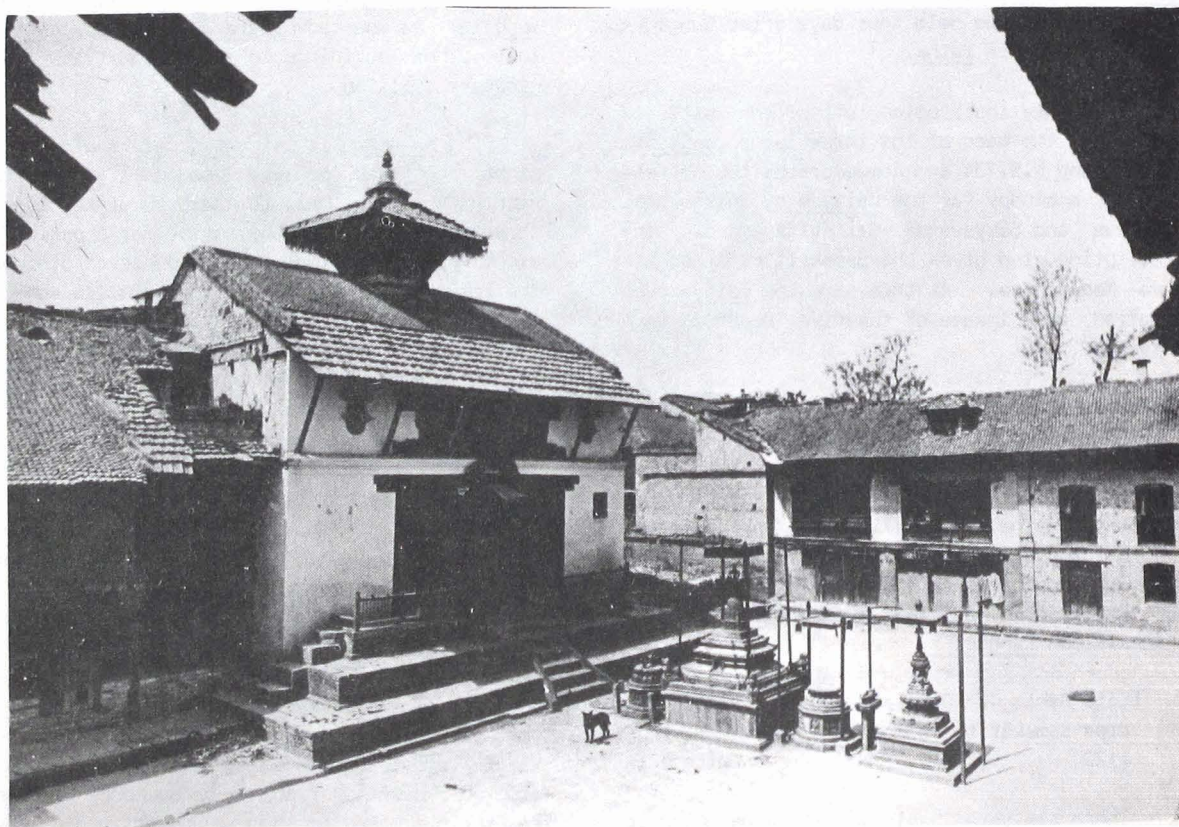
and Gustala. Of the three bahīs this first one is the best preserved and probably the most recent foundation. This bahī is an entirely closed courtyard but the only thing that remains of the original bahī structure is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The shrine is built on a raised platform five steps above the level of the courtyard. The actual entrance to the shrine is behind a veranda of wooden pillars. The entrance is unmarked but has a torapa depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya is a covered image which KTMV identifies as Maitreya. It is surely not Maitreya, but Buddha showing the visāvayākaraṇa mudrā, though he is called Dīpaṅkara by the local people.<sup>5</sup> The image faces north. The cella is so situated that it is possible to circumambulate it. The first storey of the shrine has three windows in the centre flanked by two other windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a typical bahī tower with a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard in front of the shrine are a maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra, a large caitya (the top part of which is a Licchavi style caitya), another maṇḍala, a mounted vajra and another caitya. The other buildings of the courtyard are ordinary dwellings.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of twenty eight initiated members who call themselves simply 'Sakya'. All the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for a period of eight days at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated according to seniority of initiation. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Baisākh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasamvara who is worshipped at the bahī itself. The relationship of this saṅgha to the other bahīs is not very clear. Some informants said that this saṅgha came later and that its members are not really bahī members (i.e. brahmacarya bhikṣus), but Sakyas and that hence their foundation is really a bāhā and not a bahī. This is confirmed by the fact that they do call themselves Śākya or Sakya Bhikṣu and that in the days when the Ten Bahīs had common feasts and festivals the people from this bahī did not have the right to be summoned to the festivals. They could come and often did, but did not have to be called as did the members of all the other bahīs. If they came to the festi-





135. Khwāya Bahī Cidhāṅgu [7]



136. Guita Bahī [122]



val they shared the work but were called balin, i.e. workers, and were fed because they had worked and not because they had any right to take part in the festival. Furthermore, bahī lists give two bahīs at this site. Informants say that they are the second and third; this first one is not listed as a bahī.

There are several inscriptions in the complex most of them of fairly recent origin.

6. Mūl Guita Bahī -- Saptapura Mahāvihāra\* [123] Guita Tole

This bahī is situated in a courtyard directly to the north of Guita Bahī. Only the western arm of the courtyard which houses the shrine of the kwāpā-dya has retained the original buildings. The shrine is of two storeys with a plain entrance marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway has no torāṇa. The shrine which can be circumambulated has a an image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā.<sup>6</sup> Above the shrine is a veranda and another doorway. The plain tile roof is surmounted by a bahī tower. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone mandala.

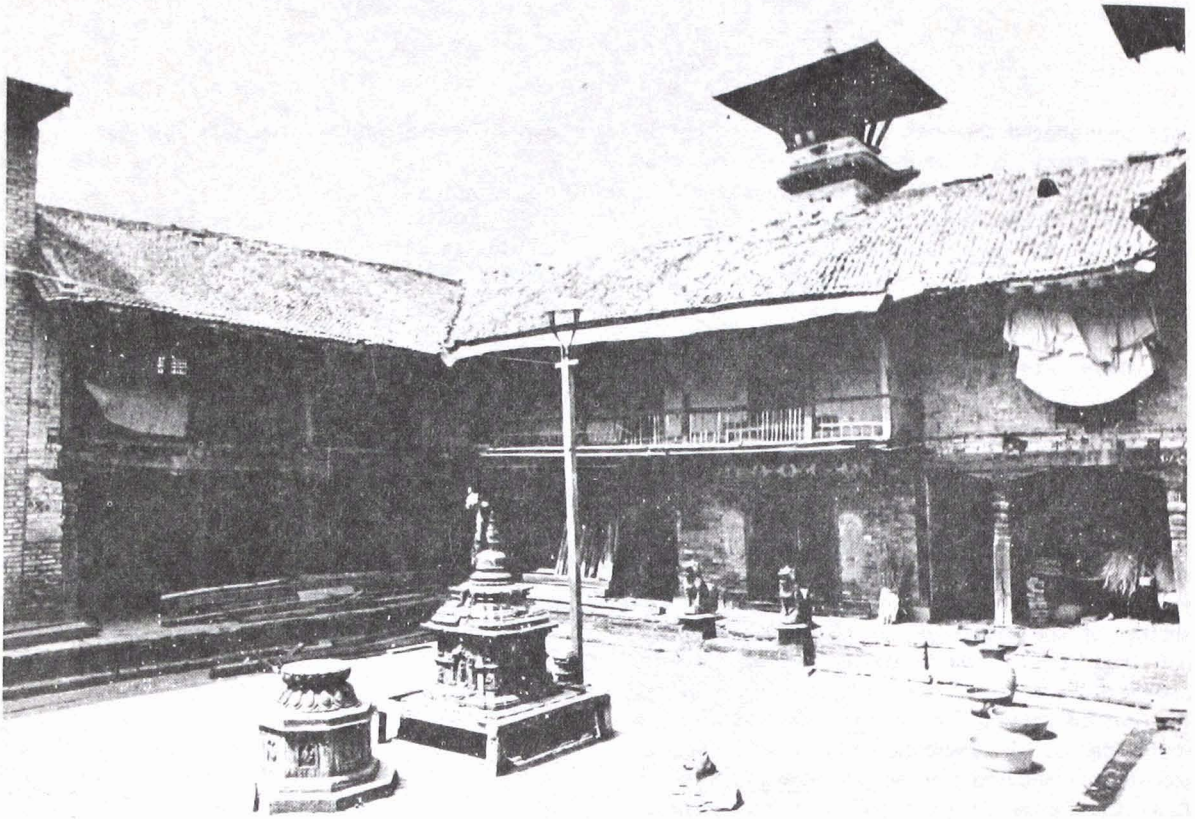
This bahī and the next one (Gustala Bāhā) have a combined saṅgha of thirty five members, thirty one of whom belong to this bahī and four of whom belong to Gustala. They call themselves Brahmacharya Bhikṣu and are probably the remnants of the original saṅgha of this very ancient foundation. Members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of this bahī and Gustala simultaneously. Service is for a period of one week and passes through the saṅgha by seniority. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for those that belong to this bahī, but the members of Gustala perform their initiations there. The combined saṅgha has five elders and has two lineage deities, the two large caityas just at the edge of these three bahīs. They refer to the deities simply as 'bhagavān' and their annual pūjā is niramis, i.e. a sacrifice without blood. Though this bahī and the next one originally belonged to the group of the Ten Bahīs, they have now broken all connection with the others and with Jyābā Bahī. The saṅgha no longer has an annual festival and there is no common feast except at the time of initiations. The bahī has no income at the present time.

a. Gustala Bahī -- Gustala Vihāra\* [124] Guita Tole

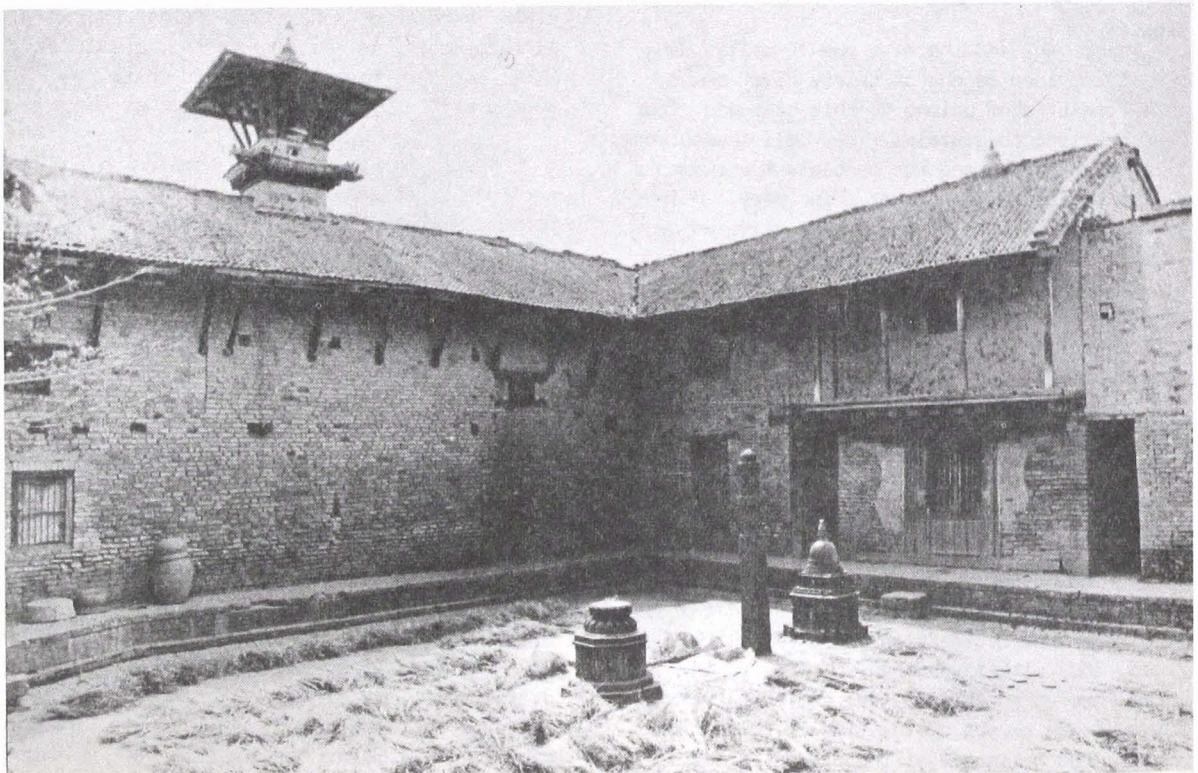
Though this is almost certainly the oldest of the three foundations, there is little left of this bahī. It is situated in an enclosed courtyard just west of Mūl Guita Bahī. The name Guita means nine roofs and according to local tradition the shrine of this bahī was once a magnificent temple of nine roofs. None of the original buildings have survived and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya consists of a single room on the ground floor of a crumbling brick structure. The plain lattice doorway has no torāṇa and no other ornamentation. The kwāpā-dya is an standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā whom the local residents identify as Maitreya. The shrine has a plain tile roof with no ornamentation. In the courtyard are a caitya, a pillar and a stone mandala.

The saṅgha of this bahī at the present time consists of one household of the combined saṅgha of this bahī and Mūl Guita Bahī. The current dya-pālā of Mūl Guita Bahī also performs the daily rituals here, but the one family that lives here performs their Barechuyegu initiations here and not in Mūl Guita Bahī. The lineage deity is the same as that of Mūl Guita Bahī and they have no festivals apart from the saṅgha of Dhatu Bahī. This bahī has no income.

These three bahīs are situated on a very ancient site and it seems clear that over the centuries there have been several foundations at this place, probably more than the three which have survived. A number of inscriptions in different places around the area refer to these foundations. I list them all here in chronological order though they may refer to different foundations. The oldest inscription is dated N.S.144 and is attached to the large stūpa outside of the bahī complex. On the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in this year the work of paving the courtyard of 'Śrī Saptapura Mahāvihāra in Lalitapura, which had been built by Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Gautama Sri, was completed. An inscription of N.S.368 in the southern niche of the northern stūpa commemorates the erection of an image dedicated to the memory of a nun (paramopasiki bhikṣuṇī Śrī Malayasirī [sic]).<sup>8</sup> An inscription of N.S.399 on the pedestal of a Buddha image at Guita Bahī has the following informa-



137. Mūl Guṭa Bahī [123]



138. Gustala Bahī [124]

tion. The inscription notes that in the eastern part of the city (of Lalitapura) there is a lovely vihāra called Gustala. At this vihāra a Bhikṣu called Gautama Śrī, having taken the advice of the sarva-saṅgha, erected another vihāra. Since this building which he had erected had fallen into disrepair, it has now been repaired and a lakṣāhuti was performed on this date for the setting up of the deity. A shrine of Mahākāl bears an inscription dated N.S.635 during the reign of Jayaratna Malla (of Kathmandu). The inscription, put up at the time of the consecration of an image of Mahākāl gives the Sanskrit name of the bahī as Sri Gustala Mahāvihāra. The donor was Brahmacharya Bhikṣu Sri Jakharāja and his wife of this vihāra.<sup>10</sup> Another image of Mahākāl was offered in N.S.777 by some Jyāpus. This inscription gives the name of the place as Sri Gusta Bahiri. An inscription outside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at Guita Bahī is dated N.S.778. It commemorates the construction of new bahī buildings and the installation of a Buddha image (gandhulī bhattā-raka).<sup>12</sup> A few later inscriptions at Guita Bahī commemorate even later donations.

7. Cōya Bahī -- ?? [178] Cōbhār

This bahī is not much more than a memory. It was situated at the northern edge of the village of Cobhar and all that remains now is a caitya and some images that seem to be quite recent. The saṅgha has died out except for one old man. He used to come, as the representative of this bahī, to the annual meetings of the Ten Bahīs and still recites hymns at the site of the bahī during the sacred month of Guṇlā. There are no other observances: no daily rituals, and no annual festival. This was a main bahī and initiations used to be performed here.

8. Thapā Bahī -- Sthavirapātra Mahāvihāra [155] Thapā Tole

Thapa Bahī is situated in a large, enclosed, brick-paved courtyard. Nothing of the original buildings remains. At the present time there is one long building along the western side of the courtyard which dates to a renovation undertaken in A.D.1911. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a single room in the centre of this long building. The entrance is unmarked and the lattice doorway has no torāṇa. The image of the kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya on a high

pedestal and facing east. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

At the present time the saṅgha of this bahī consists of only nine members. The nine serve as dya-pālās in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening by turn. Originally they performed their Barechuyegu initiations here, but as the numbers of the saṅgha declined and after the quarrel which broke up the association of the Ten Bahīs, they stopped performing initiations here and now perform them at Guji Bāhā. Their lineage deity is also at Guji Bāhā and they identify him as Yogāmbara. However, they say they are not and never were members of the Guji Bāhā saṅgha. At the present time the saṅgha has only one elder, though they say there should be five. The annual festival, which used to take place in the month of Paus, is no longer held and the bahi has no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bahī, except that it was renovated in A.D.1911. There are no other inscriptions here, but KTMV dates the caitya to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

9. Ubā Bahī -- Jaya Simha Vīrabhadra Saṁskārita Jayaśrī Mahāvihāra [139]

Uku Bāhā Tole

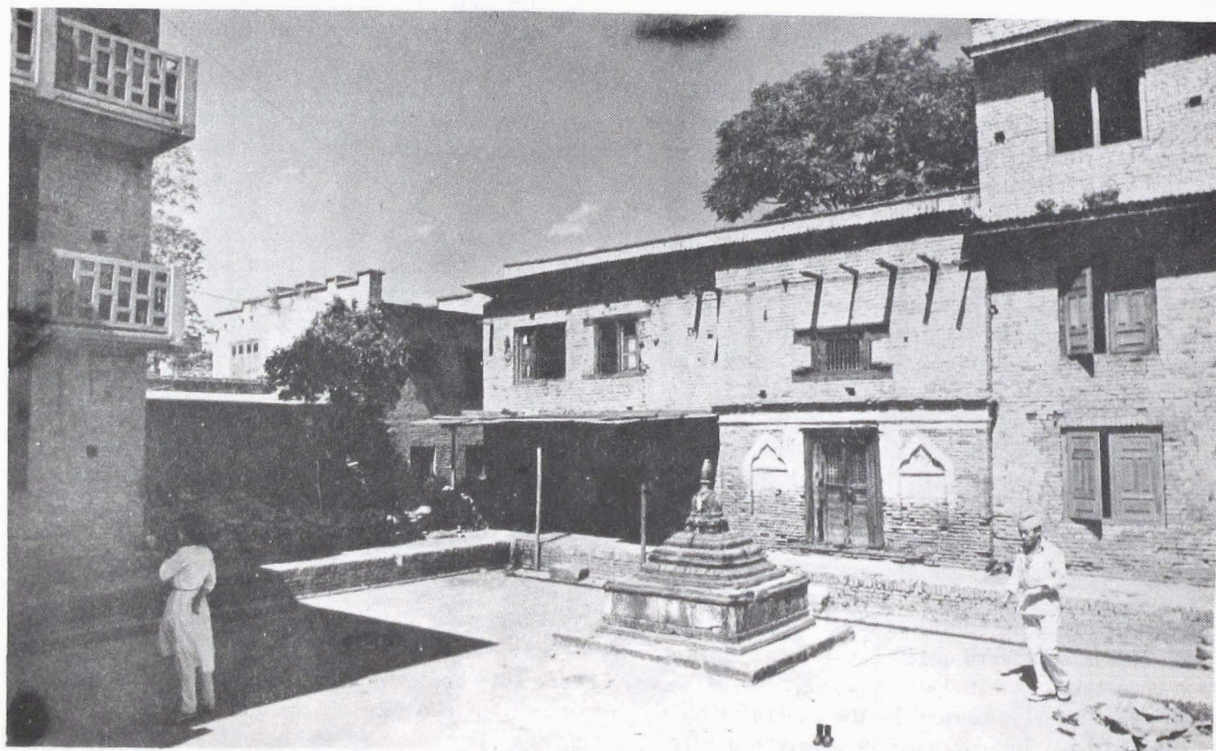
Except for one small section that has been recently rebuilt, Ubā Bahī has maintained its original architectural structure, a continuous two storied building with open verandas above and below and a bahī style tower over the shrine. The roof of tile is supported by plain struts and there is a single finial in the form of a caitya over the tower. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved doorway has a torāṇa showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. The cella has a passageway round it. In the courtyard are a caitya (the top part of which is Licchavi style), a second votive caitya and a maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of Ubā Bahī consists of one sub-lineage of the Mahābū lineage of Uku Bāhā, and for this reason the bahī is often listed as a branch of Uku Bāhā. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the same as that of Uku Bāhā and at the present time the members perform their initiations in Uku Bāhā. They also serve as dya-





139. Site of Defunct Coya Bahī [178]



140. Thapā Bahī [155]

pālās in the shrine of Uku Bāhā as well as in the shrine of the bahī. At the present time the saṅgha consists of forty initiated members, but only seven of these are active and take a turn serving in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. These seven serve in rotation for fifteen days at a time performing the usual rituals each morning and evening. Informants say, however, that until the break-up of the Ten Bahis they performed their initiations at U Bāhā Bahī, they took part in all common feasts of the Ten Bahis, and were served by the Bahī Vajracarya of Jyā Bā Bahī. Now they are served by Vajracaryas from Ta Bāhā.[99]. The saṅgha originally had five elders, but at the present time nobody really acts as an elder. The saṅgha still observes the annual festival of the bahī on the fullmoon day of the month of Caitra.

According to the oral tradition of this bahī and that of Uku Bāhā, this is the vihāra that the King Śivadeva built for his guru and was originally, at least, a vihāra of celibate monks, not householder monks. This is confirmed by the account in Wright's Chronicle.<sup>14</sup> They say that the original saṅgha had died out by the time of Abhayarāja and his sons, when one branch of that family came to Uba Bahi to live; and this much of the tradition seems fairly certain.<sup>15</sup> The earlier history of the bahī, however, is lost. The earliest inscription at the bahi is dated N.S.511 at which time the Buddha image, referred to as Gandhurī Bhaṭṭāraka, was set up. According to the inscription the vihāra was founded by the deceased Bhikṣu Jayasīṃha Virabhadra and the name of the vihāra is given as Jayaśrī Mahāvihāra. The donor of the image is one Bhikṣu Jayacandan and his two brothers of Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra. The inscription gives the date not only in Nepal Sambat but also in Kaligata, Bikram Sambat and Śaka Sambat.<sup>16</sup> The time is the reign of Jaya Sthiti Malla. Since this is evidently the consecration of the kwāpā-dya of the bahī, the date probably marks the founding of the bahī; but one cannot be certain. It may mark a renovation or simply the consecration of a new image for an old foundation. In N.S.672 another Buddha image was consecrated and in N.S.778 extensive renovations were carried out by the descendants of Abhayarāja who made up the new saṅgha.<sup>17</sup>

#### 10. Ilā Bahī -- Itirāja Mahāvihāra [130]

Nuga Tole

This is a defunct bahī and all that now remains is a small courtyard formed by one house and a wall. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is on the ground floor of this one building; and what little is left has the appearance of a bahī with a (now blocked) passage round the cella. In the courtyard are a caitya, a maṇḍala and the remains of three other caityas. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west.

The saṅgha of this bahi died out some forty years ago and Vajracaryas from Hyana Bāhā [116] took up the duty of performing the daily rituals to the kwāpā-dya which they still do each morning and evening. These Vajracaryas also observe the annual festival of the bahī on the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Kārtik. No other activities or rituals take place here. A few years ago the remaining building was repaired, and now there are some Theravāda nuns living in the building adjoining the shrine.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī and there are no extant inscriptions at the site.

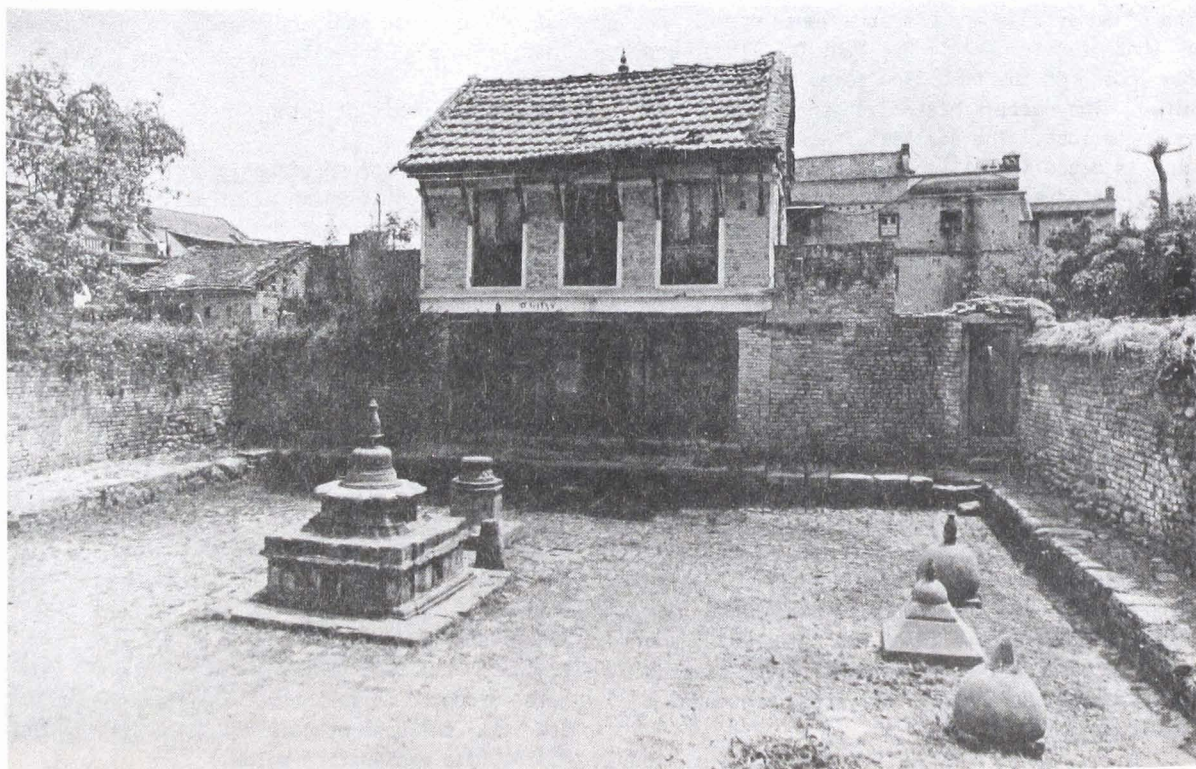
#### The Fifteen Bahīs of Patan

The second group of bahīs in Patan consists of fifteen bahīs which originally formed one large group or sarva-saṅgha. All were originally Sakyas but invariably known as Brahmacharya Bhikṣu, the only exception being the members of the Naka Bahī [45] saṅgha who were 'Vajracaryas' in the sense that they received the Ācālyegu initiations, but who functioned as priests only for the members of the saṅghas of the Fifteen Bahīs. They could have no other jajamāns. Some twenty five or thirty years ago seven of these split off from the group and formed a separate group. Later two of these, Buṅga Bahī [177] and Kyepu Bāhā [168] returned to the fold so that there are now two groups, with the five who split off (Duntu Bahī [63], Pintu Bahī [64], Konti Bahī [67]) and the two functioning institutions at I Bahī [75,76] now forming a separate group. It is interesting that these five are all the ones associated with Sunayā Śrī Miśra. (See explanation below.)





141. Ubā Bahī [139]



142. Ilā Bahī [130]



1. Naka Bahī -- Gargadeva Samskārita Lokakīrti\*  
Mahāvihāra [45] Naka Bahī Tole

Until quite recent times this was a well preserved bahī structure with a continuous two storeyed building running right round the quadrangle with open rooms on the ground floor and wooden screens facing the upper veranda. The continuous tiled roof is surmounted by a bahī style tower. However, little care has been taken of the complex in recent years and a primary school is now housed in the complex which does not auger well for its long term preservation. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions and the cella itself is situated so that one can circumambulate it. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. There is no torāṇa but above the ground floor are three wooden panels with paintings of the Buddha (Akṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī now consists of only three households of 'Vajracaryas' with twelve initiated members. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here, and the Vajracaryas of this saṅgha have traditionally served as priests for all the member families of the Fifteen Bahīs. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for one month at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The saṅgha has five elders and the annual festival is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the goddess Gūnyeśvarī, and they still celebrate the annual festival at her shrine near the Paśupati-nāth temple. This foundation used to have one of the more elaborate shows at the time of the 'Showing of the Gods' during Guṇlā, but it has been entirely discontinued now because of fear of theft.

By all accounts this is an ancient foundation, but there are no early inscriptions or references to this bahī. Several inscriptions in the courtyard note late donations, but the earliest of these is dated N.S.778. An inscription of N.S.839 gives the name of the bahīs as 'Lokakīrti--Naka Vihāra'. The courtyard was paved in N.S.842 and a metal canopy donated in N.S. 1002.

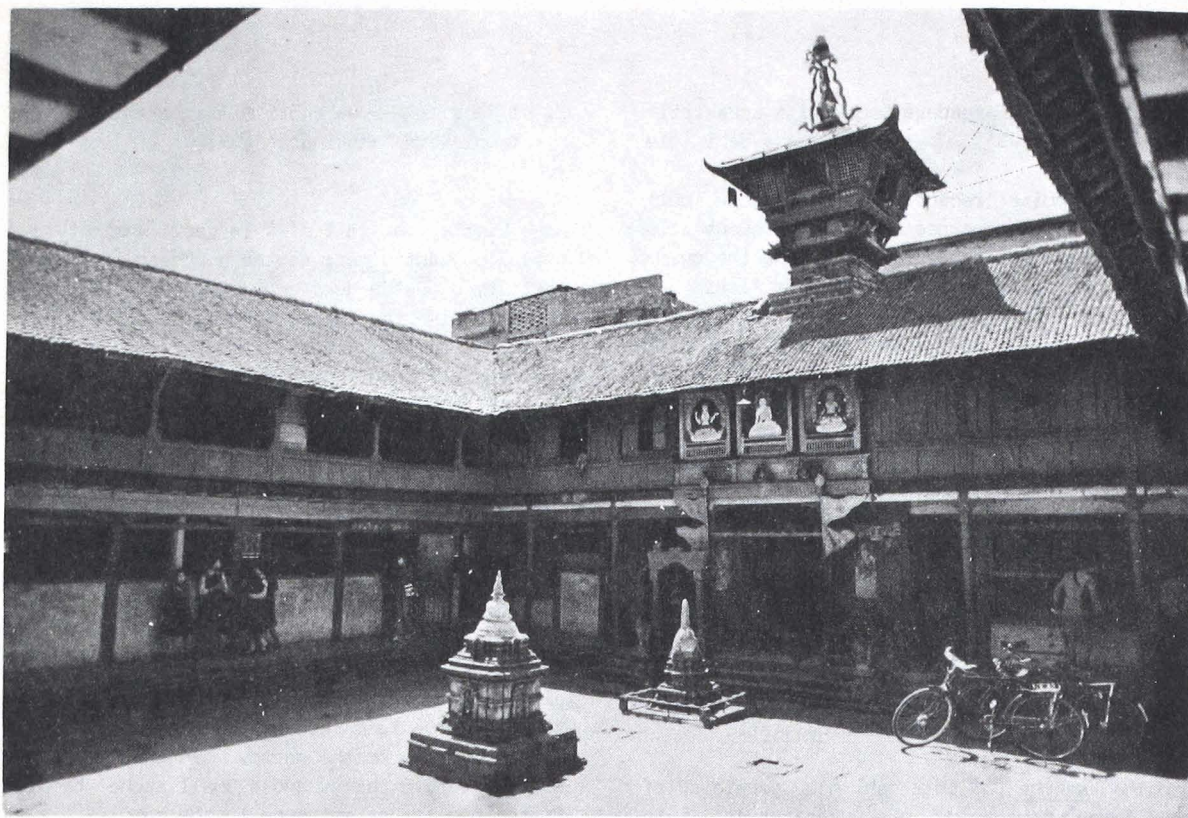
2. I Bahī -- Sunaya Śrī Mīra Samskārita  
Yampī Nāma Mahāvihāra\* [78]

I Bahī

Little is left of this very ancient and very important vihāra at the northern limits of the city of Patan just above Śaṅkhamūl. At the present time the complex consists of the main bahī shrine [78] with a large enclosed area to the north, about the size of a football field, containing three free-standing shrines and to the south a subsidiary bahī complex. Across the street to the west is the Northern Stūpa, one of the four stūpas at the four corners of the city of Patan. At the main shrine only the eastern and western arms of the original buildings are left and show the typical bahī architecture with the bahī tower above the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, which is an image of Akṣobhya, facing west. The upper balcony has a wooden railing running along its entire length. The unadorned entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions with a temple bell to the north. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a small stone temple. Over the street entrance to the complex is a wooden torāṇa depicting Padmaṇṛteśvara, the tantric, dancing form of Avalokiteśvara.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages with a total membership of forty Sakyas known as Brahmacharya Bhikṣu. The members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for one month at a time performing rituals only in the morning. The period of service is one month. The current dya-pālā must perform the usual rituals also in the bahī complex to the south and in the three shrines to the north. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun. Their lineage deity is an image of Vajravārahi which is worshipped at the bahī. There is no tradition of this deity having been 'brought' from somewhere else. At the present time the bahī has no income.

There is no doubt about the great antiquity of this site and its importance in medieval Patan; and there are still current legends which tell of its foundation, but it is impossible to get any definite dates for the foundation of the vihāra. Wright's Chronicle gives the following account:



143. Naka Bahī [45]



144. I Bahī [78]

In this reign [i.e. of Rudradeva-barma] a certain Sunayasri Misra Brahmana, from Kapilabastu, arrived here and took up his abode near Sarbeswara [Kumbeswara], who had appeared to Sarbapadacharya from a jar of water, when he was worshipping. Being in search of a spiritual guide to ensure his salvation . . and finding no one to serve his purpose, Sunayasri Misra went to Lhāsā, to take as his spiritual guide the inspired Patla (or Bhikṣu) Lama, one of the three sacred Lāmās, the other two being named Grihastha and Srāvaka. This lama was in possession of the six essential attributes, . . . Sunayasri Misra made the Lama his spiritual guide, and received instruction in the various matters connected with religion. He then returned to Nepal, with the intention of fixing on a place of residence, and building a bihar; but for a long time he could not select a spot. At last he fixed on one of the four chaityas built by Rājā Asoka of Patna, during his visit to Nepal, each of which was founded on the anniversary of the commencement of one of the four Yugas. He examined the ground occupied by each, and at last his choice fell on the one built on the anniversary of the commencement of Kali Yuga. He then presented a bidol (crystal jewel) to Rājā Rudradeva-barma; and having bought the ground, he built a bihar and fixed his abode there. Having received directions in several dreams, he put a bidol jewel in one of the four great Asoka chaityas, and repaired them all. His disciples, Govardhana Misra and Kāsyapa Misra, came from Kapilbastu to Nepal, in search of their Guru; and having found him, they became converted and lived there, each in separate bihars, which were built by their Guru and named Duntu Bihār and Lalibana Bihār.

Not having heard anything of Sunayasri Misra, nor of the two disciples who had been sent in search of him, his mother and sons came and found him here. He built for them a house called Choka [Karuṇā Cūka] near his own bihār. When a grandson was born, he made his son become a bhikṣu also. His wife placed an image of Kuliseswari to the south of the bihar. He made it a rule for his descendants, that, on the birth of a son, they were to leave their homes and live a life of celibacy in the bihar. Sunayasri's bihār is now called Yampi Bihār, and those of his

disciples are called Kontibahī Bihār and Pintu Bihār.

A later reference in the same chronicle refers again to this bahī in the time of the king Narendradeva when Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendranth was brought to Nepal.

The audience being contented with the decision [to place Avalokiteśvara in Patan rather than Kathmandu or Bhaktapur] went to the bihār in which Sunayaśrī Miśra once lived as a bhikṣu; and as they considered it a very sacred spot, they performed a purascharana at a place called Chobhā. Then, taking possession of one-third of the bihār which was built by Sunayaśrī Miśra, they caused an image to be made of Aryāvalokiteśvara-Machchhindranātha. This, after consecration, they took to Amarapur [Būṅgamati], and worshipped it; and after this the spirit of the god, brought from Kapotal mountain in the kalās, was transferred to the image.

account which it places in the reign of one King Biradeva. This story speaks of a Mithila Miśra brahman who left his home in the plains at a time of famine and went to the north. He went first to Nepal and from there on to Tibet. There among the Lāmās of Lhāsā he found one Lāmā who was a wizard and could perform many strange feats. He used to lick a certain tree and from this tree milk flowed which he drank as his only food, spending his time in penance. The brahman decided to test his strength against that of the Lāmā. So with the force of his mantras the brahman dried up the lāmā's tree. When the lāmā saw this he suspected that it was done by the brahman and called him. The two then fell into discussion each explaining his own religion. The brahman remained many years in Lhāsā, earned a fortune in gold and finally took his leave of the Lāmā to return to his homeland. He returned to Mithila, but his own family and other caste members refused to accept him back as a brahman after this association with outcaste people. So finally he returned to Nepal, built a Buddhist monastery above Sakhamūl and set up an image of the Buddha there. Since he had learned all about the Buddhist religion and since his own relatives would not have him back he became a Buddhist and took the initiation of a bhikṣu. From that time on he became a devotee of the Buddha and built a large stūpa with relics of



the Buddha. His brother also built a vihāra and became a Buddhist ācārya. The brahmanical influence on this version of the story is rather obvious.

Wright's Chronicle returns again to this bahī in the account of the reorganization of the bāhās and bahīs in the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla. It was Yampī Bahī which was singled out for special treatment and assigned to the priests of Dhum Bāhā. It was also the people of Yampī Bahī who protested that they could not take the initiation proper to people of a Tantric-this worldly-vihara.

The story of Wright's Chronicle is still current among the people of Patan and especially among those of the I Bahī Saṅgha who to this day consider themselves descendants of Sunaya Śrī Miśra and of brahman extraction and who still refer to themselves as brahmacarya bhikṣu. The fact that the general lines of the story occur in both these chronicles and are still current among the people lends some credence to it. Two questions are worth pursuing a bit more.

The first pertains to the identity of the founder Sunayasri. Some Nepali scholars have denied the brahman connection on the basis of the fact that the earliest reference to this man in inscriptions give his name as Sunayaśrī Mitra not Miśra. Later inscriptions and the chronicles refer to Sunayaśrī Miśra. Though it is certainly not impossible that later generations sought to upgrade their ancestors, there are two rather convincing arguments against this. First is the consistent tradition we have already seen. Even the brahmanical chronicle, the Bhāṣā Vamśāvalī, identifies the man as a Miśra Brahman and then has to uphold orthodoxy by saying that he lost caste by associating with Tibetans and became a Buddhist only because he had been out-casted. It would have been much simpler to just deny that he was a brahman. The more convincing argument comes from a still current tradition associated with the worship of Buṅgadya. People at I Bahī have repeatedly told me that they are the priests of the saṅgha at Buṅgamati. I found this rather strange as when doing my research on Bungadya no one ever referred to priests from I Bahī and in fact all rituals are performed by the Vajracarya Pānjūs of Buṅgamati. However on specifically inquiring about this point from the Pāñjūs I was given the following account. The Pāñjūs say that indeed the members of the saṅgha

of I Bahī are their gurus, since they are Brahmins. This is acknowledged once a year when they present a godān (the gift of a cow) to these 'brahmins'. To this day, every year on the day the image of Buṅgadya is removed from his temple to be placed on the ratha, the Pāñjūs of Buṅgamati make this donation to the people of the I Bahī saṅgha. The ceremony takes place at Ta Baha before the image is removed from the temple. This custom which is so strange in a Buddhist context, is a very strong argument in favour of the claim of the I Bahī saṅgha to Brahman ancestry.

The second question is that of the date of the foundation of the vihāra. Members of the I Bahī saṅgha claim that their vihāra is at least two thousand years old. Wright's Chronicle places the story of Sunayaśrī Miśra in the reign of one Rudradeva which it places many reigns before the time of the Licchavi kings. The Bhāṣā Vamśāvalī places the story in the time of Vira Deva which it places just before the reign of Narendradeva who brought Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendrānth to Nepal. Such an early date of 2000 to 1500 years ago is not a priori impossible, but highly unlikely in view of the rest of the legend. All accounts--the two chronicles and the still current oral tradition--say that Sunayaśrī Miśra went to Lhasā where he met with and studied under learned and skilled Lāmās. There certainly were no learned Lāmās in Lhasā 1500 to 2000 years ago, several centuries before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Furthermore, among the confirmed kings of the Licchavi period there is no Vira Deva and no Rudradeva. However, there are two kings from the Thakuri period by the name of Rudradeva. The first reigned from at least A.D. 1008 to 1015. It is unlikely that anyone could have gone to Lhasa to study under learned Lāmās at this time as Buddhism was in eclipse except in western Tibet due to the persecutions of the tenth century. The second Rudradeva reigned from at least A.D. 1167 to 1174, well after the revival of Buddhism which took place with the coming of Atiśa in A.D. 1042. This would be a very reasonable period for the story of Sunayaśrī Misra and the foundation of the vihāra--a little less than two hundred years before the earliest dated reference to Yampī Vihāra in contemporary Newar documents. What this hypothesis does not explain is the connection with Bungadya whose cult certainly predates this period. Perhaps Sunayaśrī Misra or his descen-

dants were later accepted as gurus by the people of Buṅgamati because they were brahmins and learned Buddhist scholars. It is quite possible that at some period a new image of Buṅgadya was made at Karuṇā Cūka; the image is of wood and repainted each year; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it has been entirely replaced some time in the past 1300 years.

There is a reference to the caitya outside the bahī from N.S.174. The reference comes from a copy of the Astasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā dated this year in the reign of Baladeva. The manuscript was copied for a lay devotee (paramopasi-ka) Kumudaika who lived in Sri Yambityuttara (the Yampī Caitya) Tole.<sup>8</sup> There is no mention of the vihāra; and since all later references, even to people and land having nothing to do with the vihāra, call the area Yampī (or Yambī) Vihāra, I presume that the vihāra had not been founded at this time. If this is the case, the vihāra took its name from the Tole which was named after the caitya, one of the four caityas at the four cardinal points round the city of Patan.

There are numerous references to Yampī Vihāra in palmleaf land deeds (45 that I know of) and inscriptions extending from N.S.470 down to the end of the Malla period. The reference in N.S.470 speaks of a house which it identifies as being near Yampī Vihāra. Most of these palmleaf documents are similar, i.e. they describe a house or piece of land in reference to Yampī Vihāra which by this time was obviously a well known land mark in the north of Patan. One document of N.S. 655 actually speaks of a member of the saṅgha of the vihāra whom it identifies as a Brahmacarya Bhikṣu.<sup>10</sup> In N.S.599 a great Samyak ceremony was held at Ta Bāhā in Patan to which the Dīpaṅkara, the Sthavira and the entire Saṅgha of Sri Yampithupa Mahāvihāra were also invited.<sup>11</sup> Hence we have abundant references to Yampī Vihāra from the fourteenth century down to the present. Unfortunately there are no early dated pieces remaining at the site. According to the members of the saṅgha the bahī had an excellent collection of manuscripts, old documents and inscriptions up to 1934 at which time the original buildings were destroyed in the earthquake and most of these treasures were either lost or stolen.

### 3. I Bahī (2) -- Yampī Karuṇācūka [79]

I Bahī

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard directly to the south of Yampī Vihāra. About two thirds of the original buildings remain but have been completely remodelled so that they are now all brick faced and lack the traditional balcony. The shrine is simply a room on the ground floor along the eastern wing. The plain lattice doorway is unmarked and the roof is unadorned. The shrine contains a small image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the grass courtyard is a single votive caitya.

Though the list of the fifteen bahīs contains two bahīs at I Bahī, this is in fact a branch of I Bahī at the present time. It has no separate saṅgha and all rituals are performed by the current dya-pālā of I Bahī. According to the legend, this is the place where the image of Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendranāth was made and this explains the name Karuṇā Cūka.

a-c Yampī Bahī -- Yampī Yanta Vihāra  
[75, 76, 77]

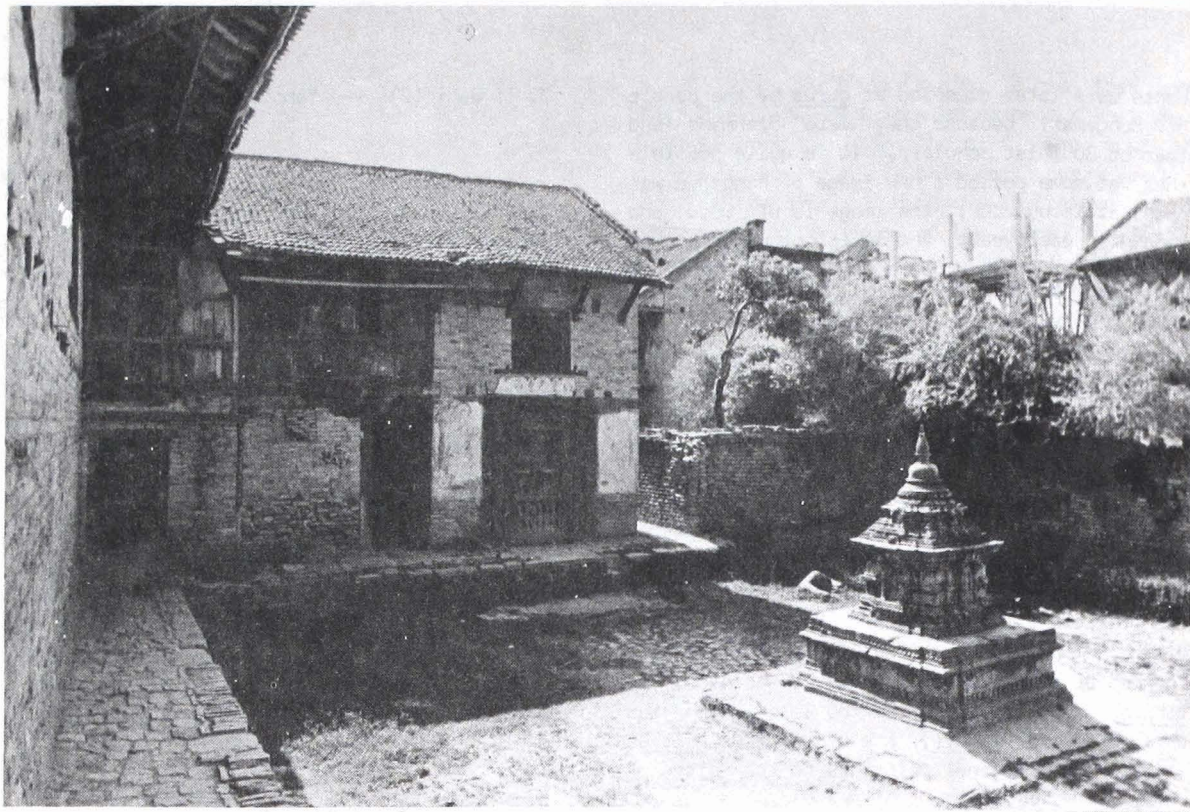
I Bahī

To the north of I Bahī is a large, enclosed grassy area containing three, free-standing shrines with a caitya in front of each of the shrines. According to informants these were originally three separate, branch bahīs. In fact they say there were originally a total of seven bahīs here. The northern most shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya flanked by an image of Prajñāpāramitā on his right and one of Avalokiteśvara on his left; the central shrine has an image of Akṣobhya flanked by Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on his right and Prajñāpāramitā on his right. The southern shrine has a headless image of Akṣobhya. According to KTMV these three shrines<sup>12</sup> (of the Three Jewels!) were erected in N.S.792.

### 4. Duntu Bahī -- Gobardhana Miśra Saṁskārta Nāpicandra Mahāvihāra [63]

Ikhācheñ Tole

The original buildings of this bahī in Ikhācheñ Tole had fallen into complete ruins a few years ago and the image of the kuāpā-dya was housed in an ordinary house. In 1980 a new shrine was built for the image of the kuāpā-dya which is an image of Vairocana showing the dha-



145. I Bahī (2) Karunācūka [79]



146. Yampī Bahī [75,76,77]



rmacakra mudrā, painted white and covered with garments. The present building is entirely new consisting of a single brick structure, done more or less in the bahī style with large, lattice windows in the upper storey and a bahī tower. The shrine is housed in the central ground floor room and faces east. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of only one family of Brahmacharya Bhikṣus comprising three initiated members. One of these members always performs the daily rituals morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the saṅgha. According to informants this bahī and Pintu Bahī have always formed one saṅgha despite the fact that initiations are performed here. Hence there is one group of five elders for the two bahīs four of whom come from Pintu Bahī and one from Duntu Bahī. The lineage deity of the entire saṅgha is at Pintu Bahī but identified by some as Mahākāl and by others as Cakrasaṃvara. At the present time the annual festival traditionally held on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun has been discontinued, and the saṅgha has no income.

At the present time there are no inscriptions left here and nothing is known about the history of this bahī other than the tradition that it was founded by Gobardhana Miśra the disciple (or relative) of Sunayaśrī Miśra the founder of Ī Bahī.

#### 5. Pintu Bahī -- Gopicandra Misra Saṃskārīta Gopicandra Mahāvihāra\* [64]

Ikhācheñ Tole

Pintu Bahī, just down the street from Duntu Bahī, has retained the original architectural structure of a bahī, but the buildings are in a sad state of disrepair. The plain entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and to the south of them is a temple bell. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone maṇḍa-la. The tile roof is surmounted by the usual bahī tower over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is a large image of Akṣobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of nine households of Brahmacharya Bhikṣus with a total of thirty nine initiated members. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās performing the usual rituals each morning and evening. Service passes through the nine house-

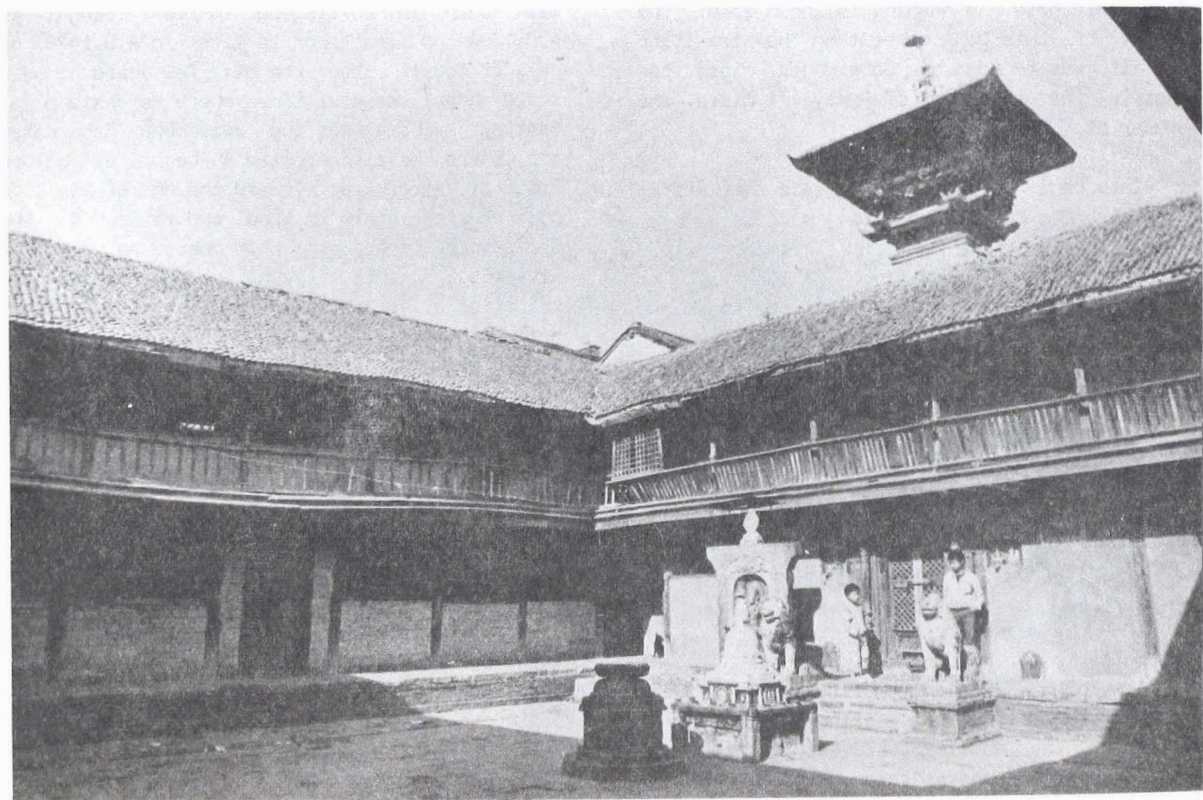
holds in turn. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha, which also includes the small saṅgha of Duntu Bahī [63] has five elders, four from Pintu Bahī and one from Duntu Bahī. The lineage deity is situated here at the bahī and identified by some as Mahākāl and by others as Cakrasaṃvara. The annual festival of the bahī is no longer observed; but they do perform an annual pūjā to the caitya on the fullmoon day of the month of Aśvin.

According to tradition the founder of this bahī was also a disciple of Sunayaśrī Miśra and like him a brahman. What is probably the oldest reference to this bahī comes from the colophon of a manuscript dated N.S.511 which refers to 'Śrī Paṇṭi Vihāra in Śrī Maṇigalottara Mahāvihāre'.<sup>13</sup> This is most probably Pintu Bahī; the place is right and there is no other vihāra by this name.

Two other sources give us early dates for this foundation. The first of these is Tibetan. The Blue Annals give an account of one Vanaratna whom the Tibetans refer to as the Last Paṇḍit (i.e. the last of the great Indian teachers of Buddhism to go to Tibet.) Vanaratna was born in Chittagong in East Bengal in A.D.1384 and first went to Tibet in A.D.1426 by way of Nepal. Over the next few years he visited Nepal several times where he resided at Sāntipur Vihāra near the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and where he also erected a beautiful golden image of Vajradhara. Toward the end of his life he returned again to Nepal and retired to the Gopicandra Vihāra in Patan where he died in A.D.1468.<sup>14</sup> This is confirmed by two actual paintings of Vanaratna. These are pauwās (banner paintings), but very unusual in that they are actual portraits of Vanaratna. One of these was painted the year after Vanaratna's death at Gopicandra Vihāra and bears an inscription which explains who he was and the date of his death, N.S.589 (=A.D.1468) which accords with the Tibetan account. The second painting is an exact copy of the original made in N.S.982 (=A.D.1862) when the original painting had become faded and damaged with age. The inscription found on both paintings explains that in the year N.S.575 Sri Vanaratnapā of Govicandra (sic) Mahāvihāra gave donations of grain to a whole host of ascetics and sadhus. In the year N.S.588 he again gave lavish donations to a total group of 1,590 people. In



147. Duntu Bahi [63]



148. Pintu Bahi [64]

the year N.S.589, on the seventh day of the dark half of Mārga Śrī Vanaratnapā attained Buddhahood. An additional few lines on the more recent painting explain that in N.S.982 Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Sri Bhannarasim and others, all of the saṅgha of Govicandra Mahāvihāra, had the new painting made and consecrated.<sup>15</sup> Strangely, no one at Pintu Bahī today has any recollection of this famous Indian paṇḍit, though a little over a hundred years ago he was still known and respected, a fact that is an eloquent commentary on what has happened to the traditions of the bahīs within the past hundred years.

There are several inscriptions within the complex the oldest of which is dated N.S.764.<sup>16</sup>

6. Konti Bahī -- Kāsyapa Miśra Saṁskārīta  
Lalitavarṇa Mahāvihāra [68]

Konti Tole

Konti Bahī is a fairly well preserved bahī complex consisting of the usual two storeyed building with open verandas and a simple tile roof. The shrine which contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east, is placed behind a veranda supported by wooden pillars. There is no torāṇa but on either side of the shrine doorway are large eyes. The roof over the shrine is surmounted by a single finial in the form of a caitya. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two, small stone lions and in the courtyard is a single caitya of Licchavi style. The courtyard is paved with stone.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of only three households with a total membership of eight initiated members. Only one of the members actually lives at the bahī and he alone performs the usual rituals morning and evening. Barechyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. At the present time the saṅgha has only one elder and the annual festival, which used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun, is no longer observed. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasaṁvara who is worshipped at the site.

Just inside the entrance to Konti Bahī is enshrined a relief plaque showing a wheel and a vajra on end. It is similar in style to the plaques at Tukañ Bāhā in Kathmāṇḍu which Pal dates to the eighth century. This, of

course, tells us nothing about the present institution, but does indicate that the site had ancient Buddhist connections. The caitya in the courtyard is also very old, but the oldest inscription is dated N.S.743 and commemorates the paving of the courtyard. Another inscription of N.S.865 commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine.<sup>18</sup> Nothing is known about the foundation of this bahī other than the tradition that it was founded by another disciple of Sunayasri Misra.

a. Konti Bahī Cidhaṅgu -- Lalitavarṇa Vihāra  
[67] Konti Tole

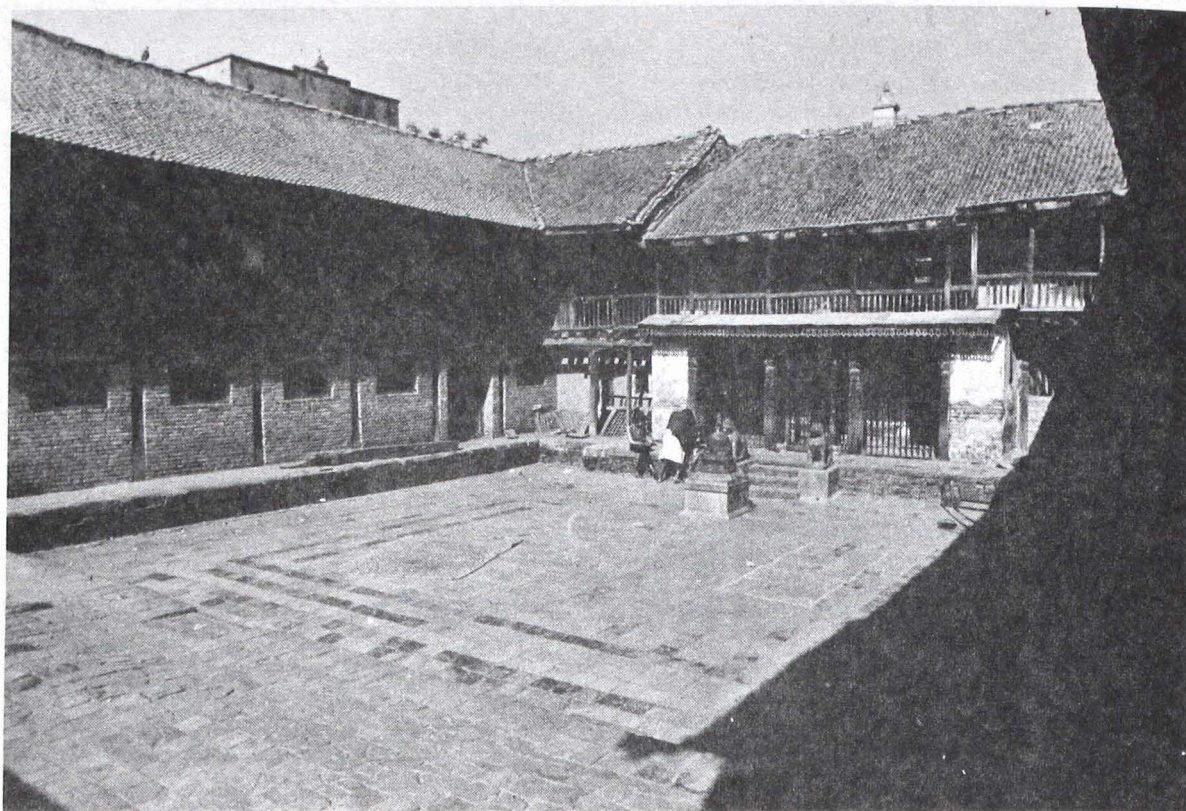
This is simply an open grassy space to the north of Konti Bahī containing a modern shrine with an image of Akṣobhya facing east and a caitya. Informants say that this was once a branch of Konti Bahī, but has now been entirely abandoned since the saṅgha is so small that all its needs can be met by Konti Bahī. The usual rituals are performed at the shrine by the current dya-pālā of Konti Bahī. KTMV, however, lists this foundation as a defunct bāhā.<sup>19</sup>

7. Cikañ Bahī -- Saptapurī Mahāvihāra\* [83]  
Chyāsāl Tole

Cikañ Bahī is a well preserved and typical bahī in Chyāsāl Tole, one of the oldest sections of the ancient city of Patan. The entire quadrangle with its two-storied building and running verandas is still intact. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions each flanked by a large temple bell. Over the doorway is a repousse metal torāṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and on his left by the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍḡaṣṭarī Lokeśvara) and surmounted by the five transcendent Buddhas. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Above the cella itself, which can be circumambulated, is an overhanging lattice-work veranda which contains a shrine of Ugra Tārā. The tile roof is surmounted by a typical bahī style tower. In the courtyard are a maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra, a caitya built on a maṇḍala, a second votive caitya, an image of the Three Jewels and another maṇḍala-caitya. At the time of writing the entire southern wing of the bahī has been torn down for reconstruction.

Cikañ Bahī has the largest and most active saṅgha of all the bahīs of Patan. At present



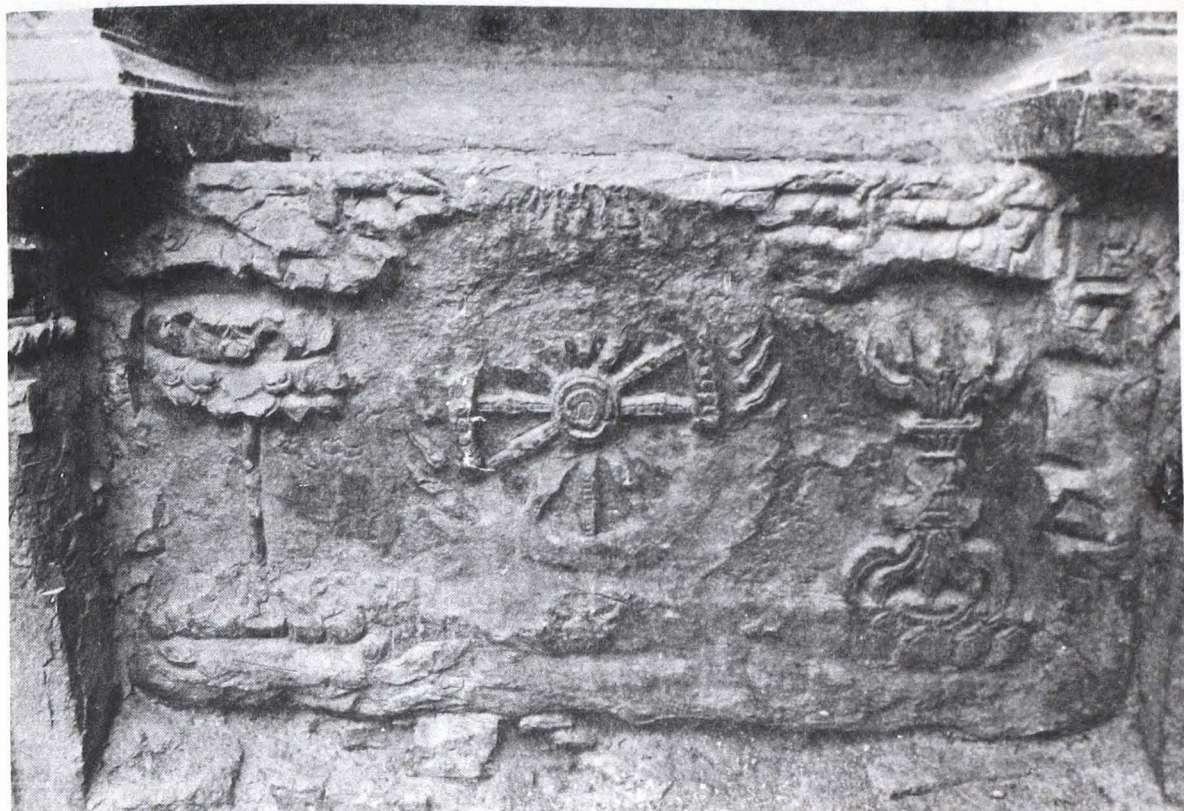


149. Konti Bahī [68]

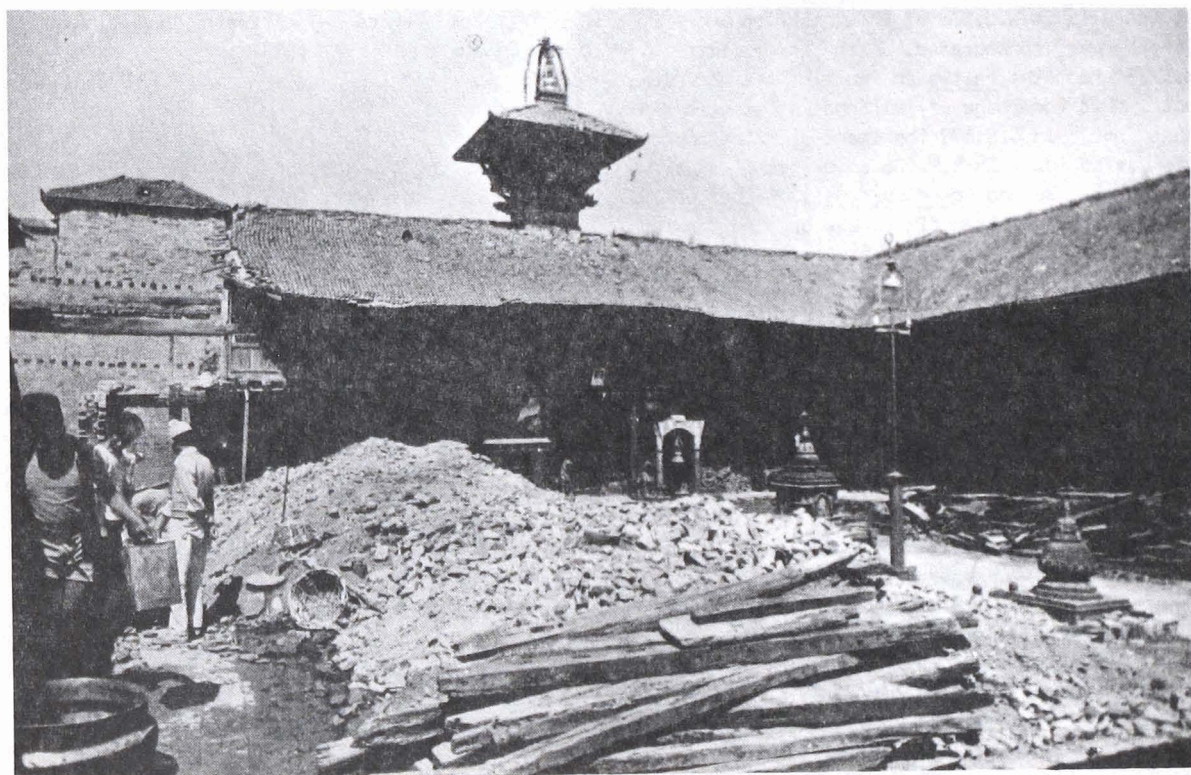


150. Konti Bahī Cidhaṅgu [67]





151. Licchavi Plaque at Konti Bahī



152. Cikañ Bahī [83]

the saṅgha consists of one hundred thirty five initiated Sakyas, i.e. Brahmacharya Bhikṣus. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for eight days at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival of the bahī on the eighth day of the bright half of Baiśākh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Vajravārāhī located at her shrine near Chāpāgaun south of Patan. Some, however, identified the lineage deity as Cakrasamvara. This seems to come from a confusion between the lineage deity and the āgam deity (Cakasamvara) who is also worshipped on the day of the lineage deity pūjā. This bahī used to have an elaborate show on the day of the 'showing of the gods', but this has now been discontinued as many of the pieces have been stolen and others were lost in a fire some years ago. The saṅgha had twelve ropanīs of land from which they obtained a fair income, but little of this is now left. Cikañ Bahī has four branch bahīs, the only bahī in Patan to have such functioning branches.

Though this would appear to be a fairly ancient foundation, the earliest date recorded at the site is N.S.535 at which time an image of Ganesh was consecrated.<sup>20</sup> An inscription of N.S.554 on the caitya in front of the complex notes that the image of Amitābha was erected in that year. In N.S.577 the image of Ratnasambhava was added. In N.S.736 an offering was made to the main Buddha (gandhurī deva) of the bahī. In N.S. 758 a golden finial was offered for the shrine of 'Saptapurī Mahāvihāra'. In N.S.777 a caitya was erected and repairs were made to (the shrines) of 'gandhurī deva' and Vajravārāhī. In N.S.808 a statue of Sri Manucandra of this vihāra was erected. An inscription of N.S.835 again mentions the Sanskrit name of the bahī. In N.S.854 offerings were made to the gūthī for the conduct of the daily rituals of Sakyamuni Buddha and Vajravārāhī. In N.S.859 Silver ornaments were offered to Sakyamuni and Vajravārāhī; more ornaments were offered in N.S.860. In N.S.991 the metal torana over the door of the shrine was donated. In N.S.996 metal flags and banners were offered. In N.S.998 a levy of five mohars each (Rs.2.50) was made on each of the families of the saṅgha to make repairs to 'Saptapurī Mahāvihāra'. A document of N.S.1005 lists all of the expenses for the various feasts of the year. A bell was offered in N.S.1015 and a

copper-plate of N.S.1016 lists the income currently accruing to the gūthī. In N.S.1020 a bell, a lamp and a torana were offered in memory of deceased members of the saṅgha. In N.S.1028 plaques with the ṣaḍakṣari mantra were erected on either side of the door of the shrine. In N.S.1065 on the occasion of Buddha Jayanti Śrī Jagatmān Vaidya (also known as Dharmāditya Dharmācārya) sponsored a procession, a 'cuḍākarma' ceremony and a feast for the saṅgha. In addition to this he donated Rs. 100 and a field as an endowment.<sup>21</sup> (This seems to be the first attempt to revive the ancient observance of Baiśākh Purnimā which had totally lapsed among the Buddhists of Nepal.)

I present this list of inscriptions in some detail because this is one of the few vihāras in the Valley to retain (or make available for study) a continuous record of saṅgha activity stretching over a period of more than five hundred years. This bahī has four branches all founded in the last century. Three of these branches have inscriptions which detail the founding of the monastery, the members of the donors' families and the lands given in endowment for the performance of rituals.<sup>22</sup>

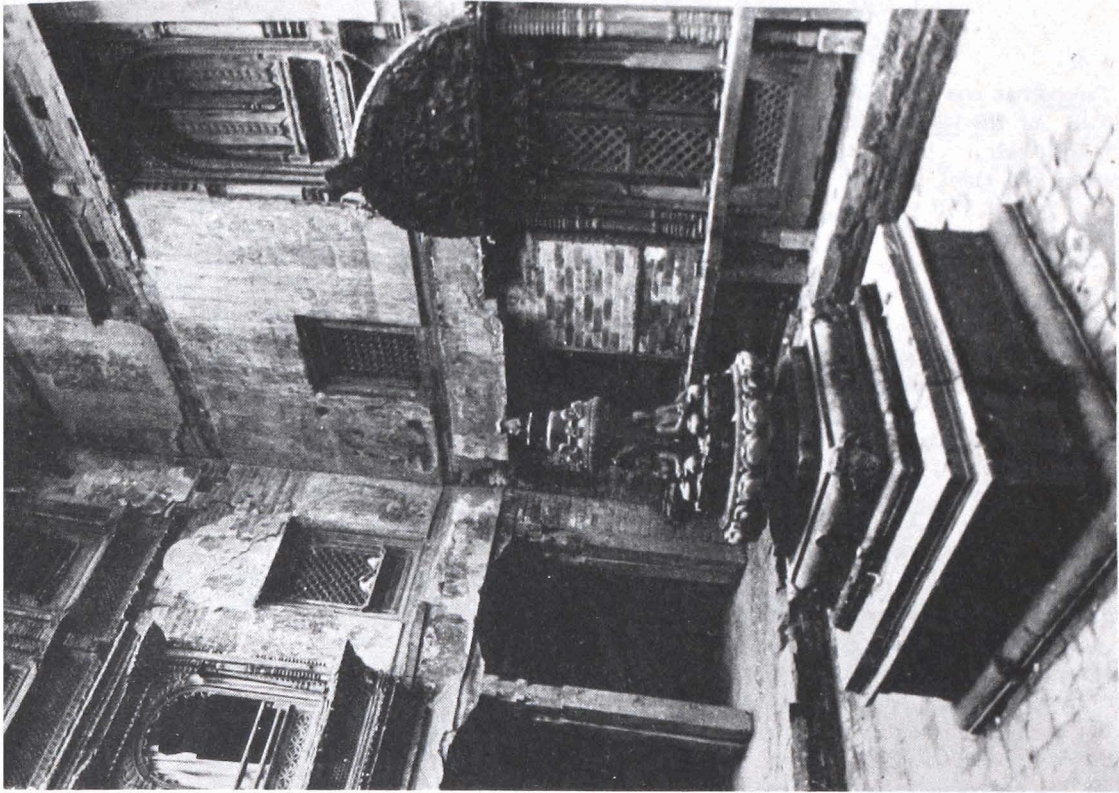
a. (Cikañ) Bahicā -- Tiriratna Vīra Vihāra\*  
Cibahā Cūk [81]

Cyāsaal Tole

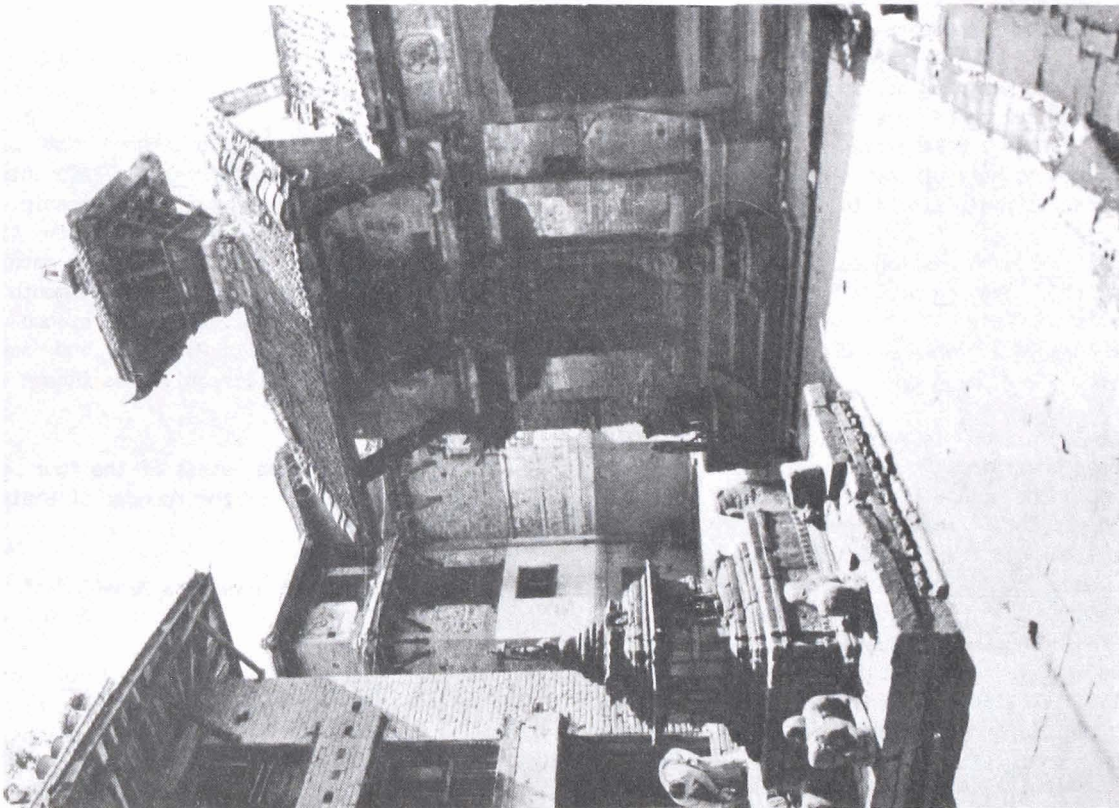
All that is left of this bahī is a narrow shrine next to a pati in a small square just off the road. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a carved wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and on his left by the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). The torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella. Traces of frescoes can be seen above the torana and on either side of the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Amitābha facing west. The second storey has a lattice-work, triple window and the tile roof is supported by two carved struts. Above the roof is a typical bahī style tower. In front of the bahī is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four members, one household, of Brahmacharya Bhikṣus of Cikañ Bahī. These four take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine for a month at a time, performing the usual rituals only each morning.





154. Cikañ Bahī Buddhīmān [82]



153. (Cikañ) Bahicā [81]

The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bahī on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin. Though this branch had some income at one time, it is now all lost.

An inscription to the side of the door of the shrine gives the date of construction of this branch (N.S.991) and the Sanskrit name. The vīra in the Sanskrit name comes from the fact that the three brothers who founded this branch each had the second name 'Vir'.<sup>23</sup>

b. Cikañ Bahī Buddhimān -- Maṇikuṭa Vihāra  
[82] Cyāsal Tole

This little branch is situated in a tiny courtyard; and the shrine consists simply of a ground floor room on the south side of the quadrangle. The entrance is unmarked but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and on his left by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara). The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The rest of the building is an ordinary house.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Brahmacharya Bhikṣus of Cikañ Bahī. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning serving for a month at a time. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the branch on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Kārtik. The branch still has a little income.

This branch was founded in N.S.986 by one family of the saṅgha of Cikañ Bahī.

c. Bhaṣajyarāj Bāhā -- Bhaṣajyarāja Vihāra\*  
[86] Cyāsal Tole

This branch is also situated in a tiny enclosed courtyard, and the shrine is a single room on the ground floor of the south side of the courtyard. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and near the doorway are two metal, triangular flags and four halampas depicting tantric female deities. Fading frescoes can be seen on either side of the doorway.

This branch and the following one have a

combined saṅgha of five households of Brahmacharya Bhikṣus of Cikañ Bahī consisting of thirty initiated members. The combined saṅgha has one elder. Three households comprising eighteen members are attached to this shrine and they serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for a month at a time performing the usual rituals each morning. The annual festival of this shrine is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Baiśākha. The branch has no income at the present time.

According to a long inscription which gives the Sanskrit name of the branch this bahī was founded in N.S.998 at which time gūthi lands were given as an endowment.

d. Kulratna Bāhā -- Sumaṅgala Vihāra [84]  
(Hodola Bāhā) Cyāsal Tole

This branch consists in a small entirely modern shrine on the ground floor of an enclosed quadrangle with lattice doors and a domed top. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In front of the shrine is a single stone maṇḍala. According to informants the proper name of the shrine is Sumaṅgala Vihāra; the name Kulratna comes from the man who renovated the shrine in recent times; according to KTMV this renovation took place in N.S.1015

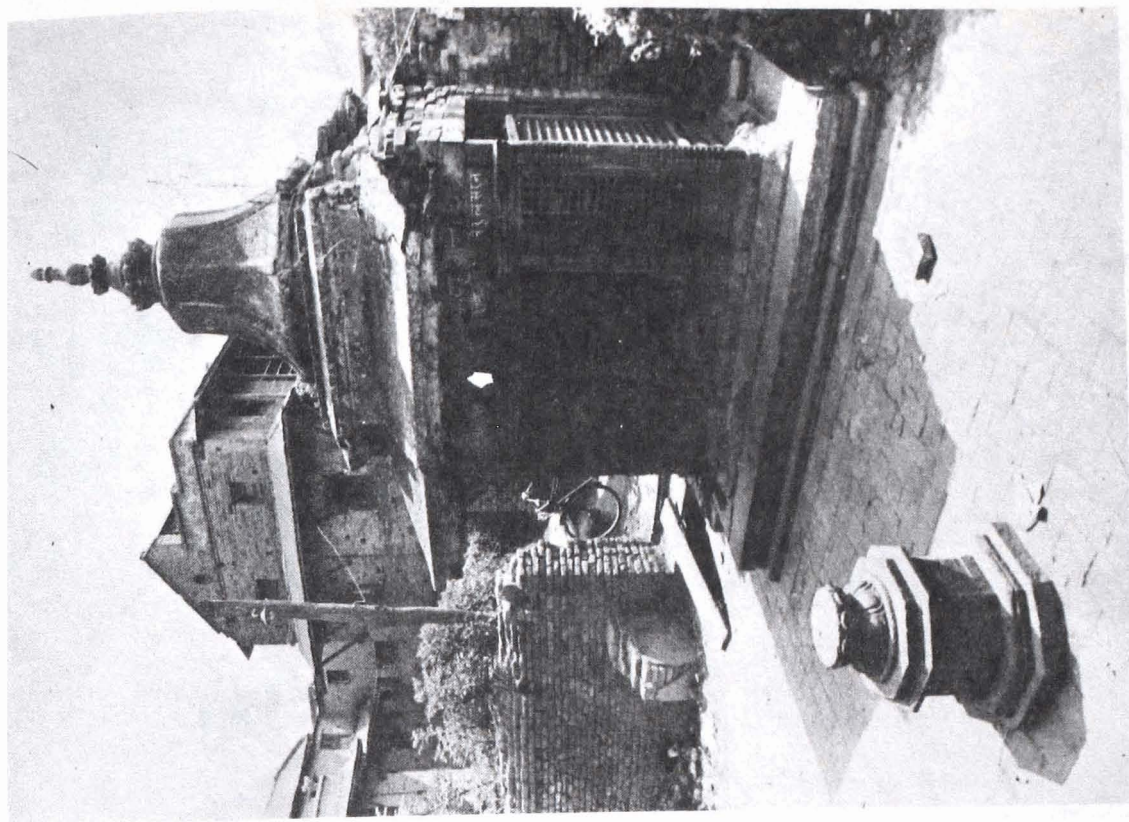
As mentioned above this branch and the preceding one have a combined saṅgha of thirty members; two households with a membership of twelve Brahmacharya Bhikṣus are attached to this shrine. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening serving by household for a month at a time. The annual festival of this branch is observed on the day of Śrī Pañcami; and seven pāthis of rice are still received as income to support this festival.

This branch is the latest of the four and was founded by the son of the founder of Bhaṣajyarāj Bāhā.<sup>24</sup>

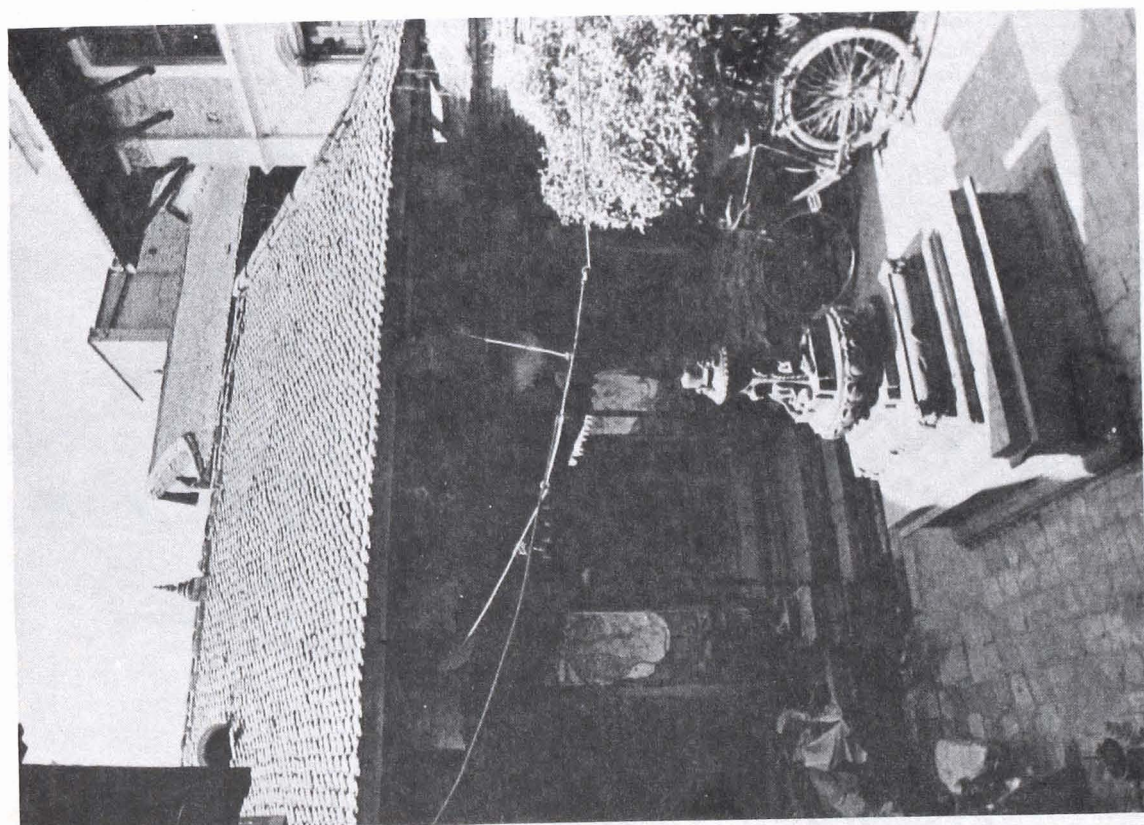
8. Dhaugā Bahī -- Maṇimaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra\*  
[49] Patuko Tole

Nothing is left now of this old bahī complex but the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which has been completely rebuilt in the traditional style within the past fifteen years. The present shrine is a typical bahī shrine front with a wooden torana which depicts three eight armed





156. Kulratna Bāhā [84]



155. Bhaiṣajyarāj Bāhā [86]





157. Dhaugā Bahī [49]



158. Kīnu Bahī [100]

tantric figures. Above this is a triple window and a tile roof supported by plain struts. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the paved courtyard is one large votive caitya and the street entrance is marked by a carved doorway and two large stone lions.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of a total of six households of Sakyas comprising thirty six initiated members. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya a month at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Five of these households also serve as dya-pālās in the now defunct Kinu Bahī [100]. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The annual festival of the bahī is observed on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Yogāmbara at Kwā Bāhā, but the members of this saṅgha claim that the deity was first at the Swayambhū Mahācaitya whence it was 'brought' to Kwā Bāhā. This bahī has a strange custom at the time of the annual 'Showing of the Gods!'. Among the images put on display are an image of a man and a woman smoking a hukkā. The hukkā is life-sized and lit each year at the time of the festival. It used to be the custom for all the visitors to the bahī to take a puff on the hukkā when they came to view the display.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bahī, but it is evidently an ancient foundation. The earliest inscription at the site is dated N.S.795 and commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine in that year.<sup>25</sup> Another inscription of N.S.802 commemorates repairs made to the shrine by one Bhikṣu Jalagajū and his son Jayacandra. The son also donated the images mentioned above which are of his father and mother with the hukkā.<sup>26</sup>

9. Kinu Bahī -- Lokakīrti Mahāvihāra [100]  
Iti Tole

This bahī is now almost entirely abandoned and all that remained until a couple of years ago was the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, a one-roomed slice of the old bahī complex. The shrine is unmarked and contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the grassy area in front of the shrine is an eight-sided caitya. Nothing else remains but a small shrine of Mahā-

kāl near the entrance to the field of weeds that surrounds the shrine. A couple of years ago some of the young Buddhists of Patan took the initiative to renovate the place and turn it into a sort of Buddhist hostel for pilgrims to Nepal. A foundation for the new structure was laid, but all work has been stopped due to a dispute over part of the land.

The saṅgha of this bahī has entirely died out but five of the households of Dhaugā Bahī [49] still perform rituals at irregular intervals. No initiations are performed here any longer, and there is no annual festival, but the bahī still has three ropanīs of land behind the shrine.

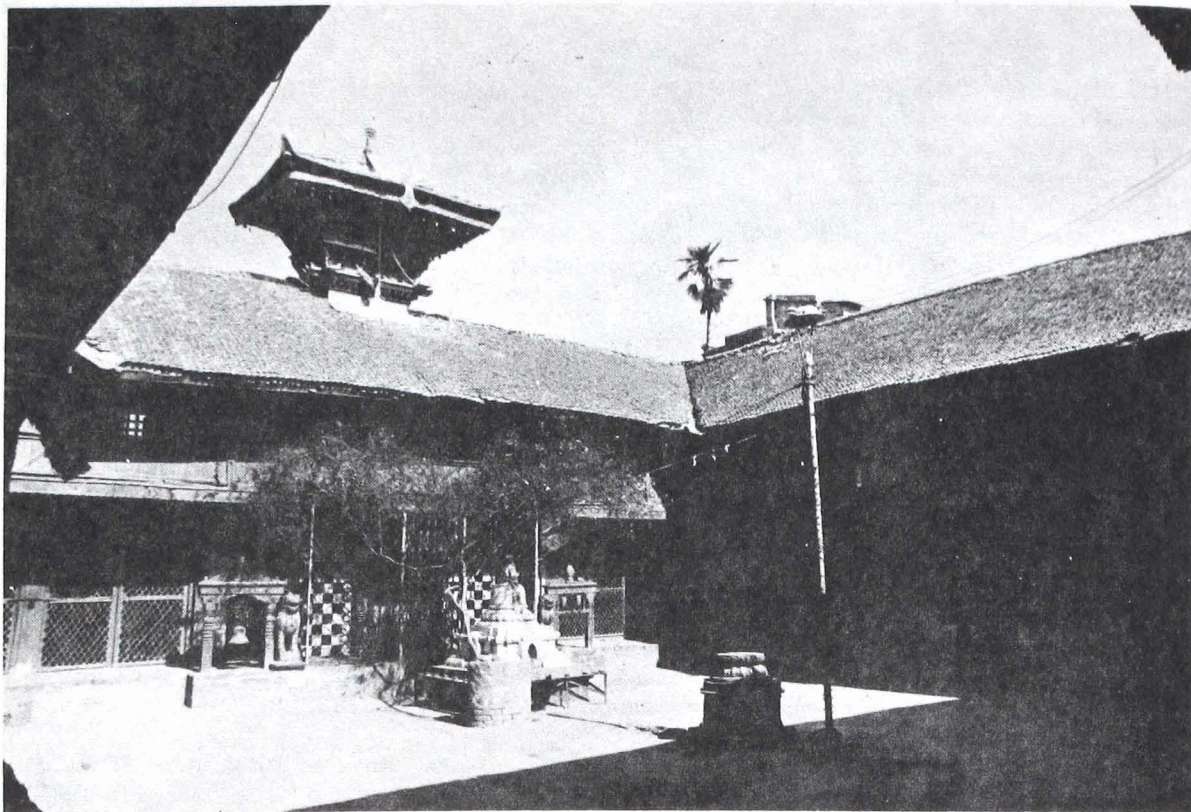
Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bahī or its defunct saṅgha. However the base of the Buddha image is inscribed with Licchavi letters and the shrine of Mahākāl is dated N.S.538.

10. Nhāykañ Bahī -- Suraścandra Mahāvihāra\*  
[29] Nhāyakan Bahī Tole

This is one of the few well-preserved bahī complexes in Patan; the buildings are kept in a good state of repair and additions have been made to the ornamentation in recent years. The ground floor has been screened in with lattice work and the upper storey has the usual overhanging veranda. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions flanked by temple bells. The door itself is flanked by two triangular flags and surmounted by a metal repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. Below the torāṇa is another small repousse plaque depicting Amitābha. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The wall on either side of the shrine door has been faced with coloured ceramic tile. The plain tile roof is surmounted by the typical bahī style tower whose roof is ringed with small bells. In the paved courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone maṇḍa-la; and there are two more votive caityas just to the south of the bahī complex. The street entrance to the complex is marked by two large stone lions and just inside the doorway to the right is a shrine of Mahākāl.

This bahī has a large saṅgha of some ninety initiated members, all called Brahmācārya Bhi-





159. Nhāykañ Bahī [29]



160. Cwecwangu Puco Bahī [165]



kṣu. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for eight days at a time in order of seniority. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here and the saṅgha has five elders. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an image of Cakrasamvara preserved within the bahī. This deity is also the lineage deity of the saṅgha of the bahī in Kirtipur whose saṅgha originally came from here. The annual festival takes place on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun and there is an annual festival in honour of the caitya on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. The bahī still has an annual income of thirty pāthīs of rice but used to have considerably more.

This is probably an ancient foundation but the oldest date is that found on the caitya, N.S.727. In N.S.801 a gilded decoration for the image of the kwāpā-dya was donated.<sup>27</sup> In N.S.836 a quarrel broke out among the members of the saṅgha and this was settled by the King of Patan, Riddhi Narasimha Malla, who established new rules and regulations for the rituals to be performed at the bahī.<sup>28</sup>

11. Kwecwangu Pucō Bahī -- Akṣeśvara Mahā-  
vihāra\* [165]  
(Coya Bahī) Pucō Mahāvihāra  
Pulchok

Until 1980 this was a fine, but crumbling old bahī complex, situated on the hill directly above the western stūpa of Patan. Finally the old building was completely beyond repair and the entire structure was pulled down to make way for a new building and a new Buddhist institution, so that nothing remains now of the original bahī except for images and bits and pieces of the old structure that were salvaged and incorporated into the new structure.

The saṅgha of this bahī has died out completely and until recently the usual rituals were performed by two of the members of the lower bahī (see below), but even this has now been discontinued with the foundation of the new institution. To the side of the entryway is an āgam shrine which belongs not to the former saṅgha but to a group of Shresthas.

Until some sixty to seventy years ago this bahī retained some connection to Thām Bahī in Kathmandu and according to local traditions it was founded by people from Thām Bahī, though so

far there is no documentary proof of this. Local tradition places the foundation of this vihāra in the sixth century A.D. and attributes the foundation to a man by the name of Akṣeśvara. There was one fragment of a Licchavi inscription near the stone steps leading into the old structure at Pucō Bahī but this was undated. A thyāsaphu dated N.S.373 gives the first confirmed reference to this bahī. A palmleaf document of N.S.485 notes that one Brahmācārya Bhikṣu Sthavira Śrī Tejaḥjū of Śrī Pulcō Mahāvihāra constructed a shrine for Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara. A large, but badly abraded inscription of N.S.527 at the caitya outside of the bahī commemorates the construction of the caitya. A palmleaf document of N.S.543 speaks of a famous man of Pulcō Vihāra called Brahmācārya Śākya Bhikṣu Śrī Āchāyasiri Thapājū. In N.S. 562 a donation was made in honour of Śākya Bhikṣu Śrī Ānandajū of Pulcō Vihāra by his son. In N.S.566 a merchant by the name of Śivarāja donated all of his possessions to the Buddha of the vihāra, called Śrī Gandhurī Bhaṭṭāraka. Both of these last two references also mention a samyak festival celebrated at Pucō Vihāra. In N.S.606 a new image was donated and installed in the shrine of the vihāra. Again the image is called Gandhurī Bhaṭṭāraka. A wooden inscription of N.S.704 at the shrine of the old structure describes gifts made to the saṅgha by certain 'Karmarājas' of Thuka Vanagiri Mahāvihāra. (This may be an alternate name for the vihāra.) In N.S.784 a rest house was made in front of the stupa and images of Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha were erected there. In N.S. 825 the caitya built in N.S.527 was repaired and it was covered with stone. In N.S.996 the wooden image of the Gandhurī Devatā<sup>29</sup> was repaired and gold ornaments were offered. This must have been one of the last major donations and renovations before the decline of the foundation.

12. Kwecwangu Pucō Bahī -- Rakṣeśvara Mahā-  
vihāra\* [166]  
(Koya Bahī) Pulchok

The second bahī at Pulchok is situated below the hill and south of the Patan Stūpa in the centre of the old village of Pucō. Nothing is left of the original bahī structure but the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which has been repaired, plastered and white-washed. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting Vajrasa-



161. Kwecwangu Puco Bahī [166]



162. Cithuñ (Kyapu) Bahī [168]

ttva. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing east. The upper storey has an overhanging wooden balcony and the plain tile roof is surmounted by a bahī type tower. In the open space in front of the bahī are a votive caitya and a maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of a total of twenty two initiated Sakyas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). They serve in the shrine for one month at a time, service passing through the roster of initiated from eldest to youngest. Rituals are performed morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and observes a festival in honour of the caitya on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. No festival is observed in honour of the bahī itself. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasaṃvara and the people here claim that in a bahī the lineage deity and the āgam deity are always the same. They certainly are here, but it is not universally true. At the present time the bahī has no income.

This is a companion foundation to the one on the hill and is reputed to have been founded by one Rakṣeśvara, a relative of the founder of the bahī on the hill. Here also there is a fragment of a Licchavi inscription which is undated. However the earliest dated inscription is of N.S.672 and is attached to the base of the Mahākāl shrine.<sup>30</sup> In N.S.805 a golden finial was offered to the shrine.<sup>31</sup> In N.S.812 the wooden torana was donated by one Bāsuraṃ Bhāwo (Jyāpū)<sup>32</sup>

13. Cithūñ (Kyapu) Bahī -- Padmakirtigiri  
Mahāvihāra [168] Kirtipur

All that is left of this bahī is a paved courtyard with a building along the western edge which houses the shrine of the kwāpā-dya on the ground floor. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, called Samantbhadra by the local people. The upper storey has a plain veranda surmounted by a low sloping tile roof. In the paved courtyard are two votive caityas and a stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of forty five initiated Sakyas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). They take turns serving in the shrine of the

kwāpā-dya but for irregular lengths, some for a lunar fortnight and some for four or five days. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and their lineage deity is Cakrasaṃvara residing at Nhāykan Bahī [29], from where the members of the saṅgha originally came. The annual festival is no longer observed here and the bahī has no income.

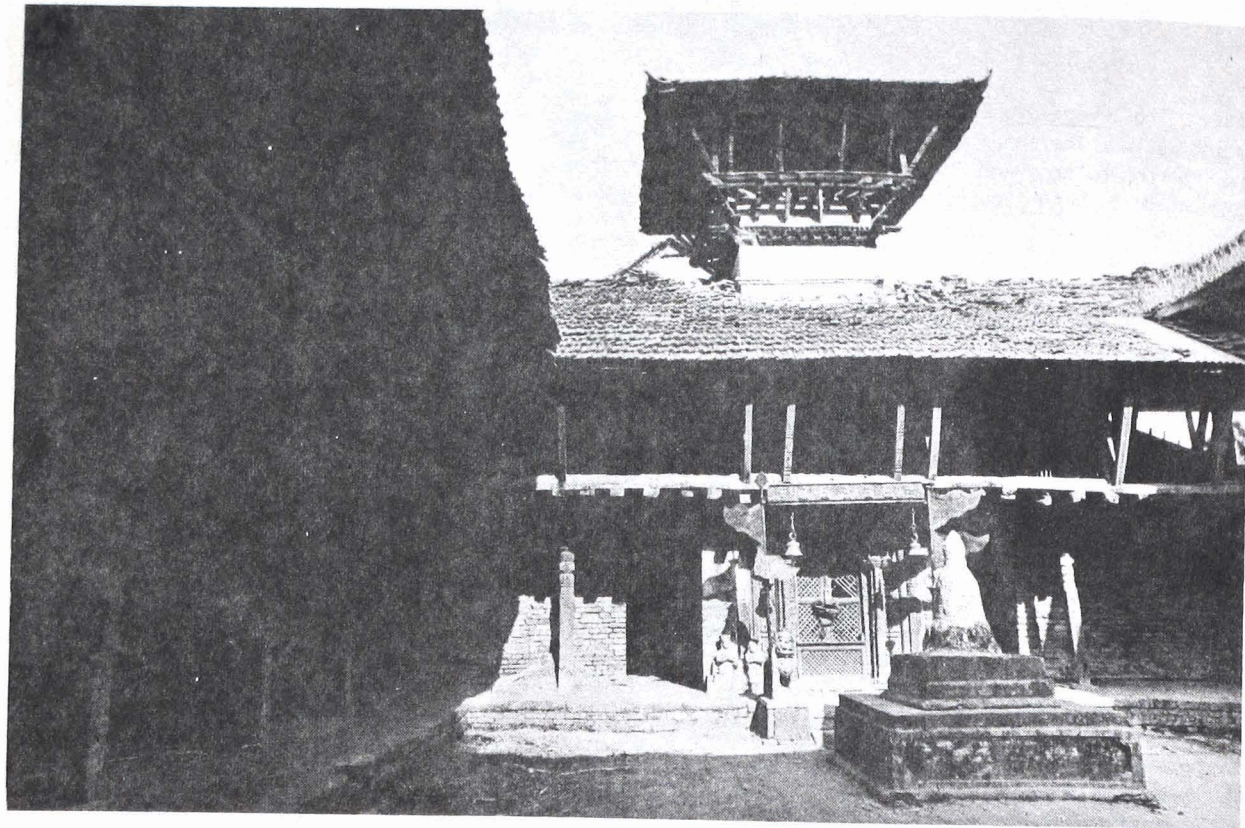
The oldest date here is found on a copper-plate inscription attached to the shrine and dated N.S.779. At this time offerings were made to the Buddha image ( śrī śrī śrī gandhurī deva) by one Brahmacaryabhikṣu Sri Deva Ratna. The name of the foundation is given as 'Kirtipula Vihāri'. In N.S.791 a long list of people simply called 'Bhikṣu' made donations for a 'yañña-sālā' before the shrine of śrī śrī śrī gandhurī deva'. In N.S.827 the courtyard was paved with teliya bricks; and in this same year an image of Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha was offered along with a gūthī for its worship. In N.S.831 the shrine of the Buddha itself was paved with bricks. In N.S.832 a wooden torana and a stone maṇḍala were offered.<sup>33</sup> The bahī was renovated in N.S.1015 by one Nirmani Vajracarya, and the last renovation was carried out after the earthquake of A.D. 1934.<sup>34</sup>

14. Buñga Bahī -- Amarāvati-pura Mahāvihāra  
[177] Bungamati

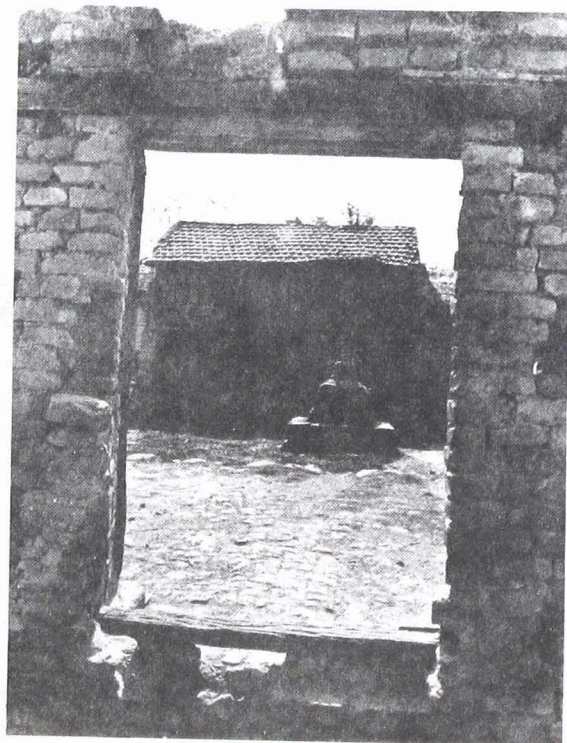
What is left of this shrine on the edge of Bungamati village has the appearance of typical bahī structure, but it is in a sad state of disrepair and fast crumbling. Three fourths of the original quadrangle remains: a typical two-storied structure with open rooms on the ground floor, an overhanging, lattice balcony above, and a bahī style tower above the roof. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and the shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single, plastered, 'Aśoka' Caitya.

The saṅgha of this bahī has a total of twenty two initiated Sakyas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). All the members serve in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for a lunar fortnight at a time by rotation according to seniority. The saṅgha has five elders who serve strictly according to age, rather than the usual custom of according to seniority of initiation. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of





163. Buṅga Bahī [177]



164. Wā Bahī [181]

Baiśākh. The bahī used to have forty five ropānis of land which provided a good income, though nowadays the framers bring only a little grain, not enough to support the annual festival.

According to the traditions of the saṅgha this bahī was founded by one of three brothers who came to Patan. The first went to Konti Bahī in Patan, the second to Kinu Bahī and the third to Buṅgamati. To this day they consider the members of Konti Bahī to be close relatives (phuki) and marriage is not permitted with members of that saṅgha. (The same was true of their relationship to the saṅgha of Kinu Bahī which has now died out). According to an inscription at the site the bahī was renovated in N.S.808 by Bhikṣu Dharmasena. It was last renovated by<sup>35</sup> the gūthī after the earthquake of A.D.1934.

15. Wā Bahī -- [181] Chāpāgaon

The present form of this bahī dates to the time after the earthquake of A.D.1934. It is simply a single room on the ground floor of a two-storied village house. The shrine is unmarked and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the grassy area in front of the shrine is a single, plastered caitya.

The saṅgha consists of only eight initiated Sakyas. They take turns serving in the shrine and performing rituals each morning. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here and the saṅgha has one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasaṃvara worshipped at the bahī. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bahī has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī, and the present building dates to A.D.1934. Further repairs were made in 1958 with a donation made by King Mahendra. The only Malla period date at this site is N.S.739 found on the caitya at which time an image of Sakyamuni was installed in the caitya.





## Other Bahas of Patan

The following bāhās, each of which has a Bare saṅgha, have no connection with the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan and no connection with the bahīs of Patan.

### 1. Hyana Bāhā — Laynacaityabiṃba Mahāvihāra [116] Nuga Tole

This bāhā consists of a small, unpretentious shrine just off a narrow lane in Nuga tole. The shrine itself is a free standing 'modern' shrine. Over the door to the shrine is a small torāṇa depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Next to the shrine is a small stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of twenty three initiated Vajracaryas. This saṅgha is entirely independent and as a saṅgha has no connection with any of the eighteen main bāhās or the bahīs, although these Vajracaryas do serve as priests at the shrine of Lokeśvara at Tanga Baha, which has no Vajracaryas of its own. These Vajracaryas are reputed to be experts in the performance of the nāga sādhanā, a pūjā performed to the snake divinities to bring rain. They claim that they originally came from the Santipur shrine below the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and were called to Patan because of their expertise in the performance of the nāga sādhanā. Their lineage deity is an unnamed deity near the Bal Kumārī temple in Patan. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. One informant said, however, that originally they performed their Ācāluyegu initiations at Sāntipur and then later at Taṅga Bāhā; but I was unable to get any further confirmation of this, and others denied that these people had any connection with Santipur other than the fact that they are experts in the nāga sādhanā the

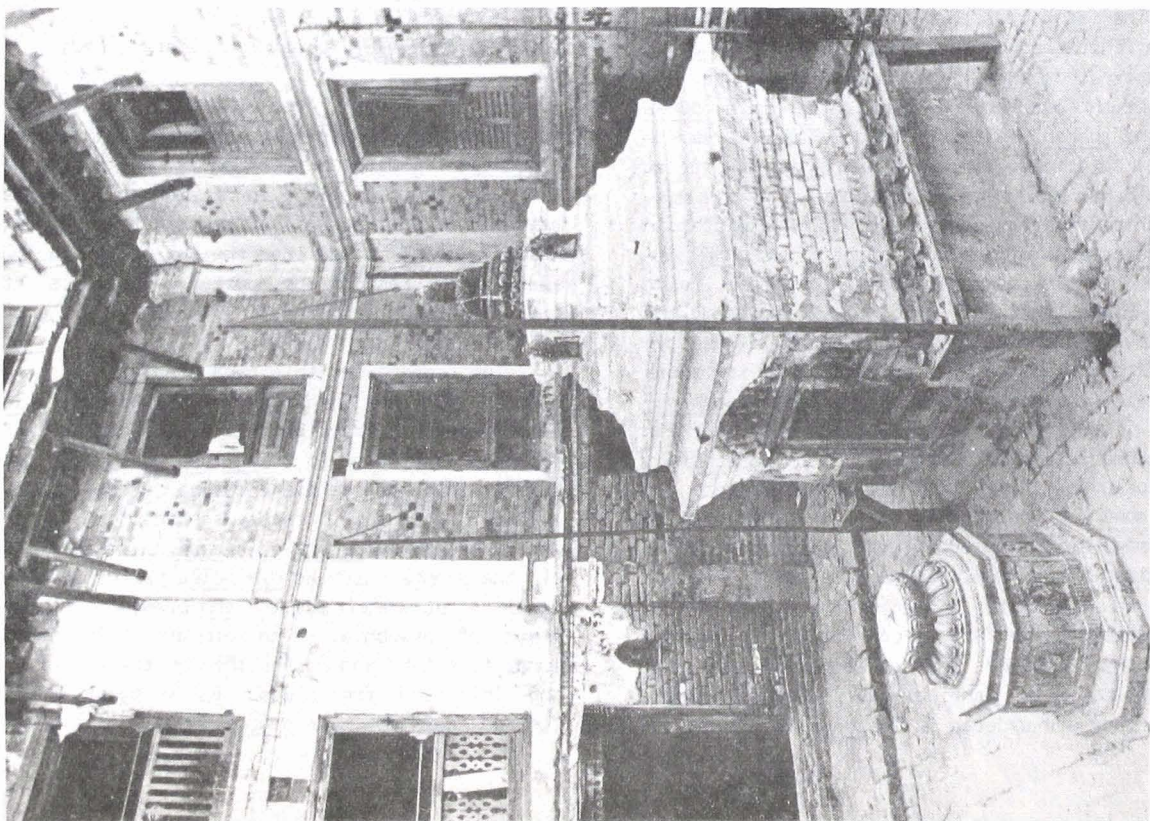
main centre for which is Sāntipur. The saṅgha has five elders and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Śrī Pañcamī. They also perform a busādañ ceremony of a shrine of Nilakantha Lokeśvara located in Dhāla Cheñ Tole. At the present time this bāhā has no income, but informants of the saṅgha say that originally they were given twelve ropanīs of land when they were called to Patan. This has now been lost.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā other than the tradition that the members of the saṅgha were called to Patan from Sāntipur. The only inscription at the site is dated N.S.805 and commemorates repairs to a caitya.

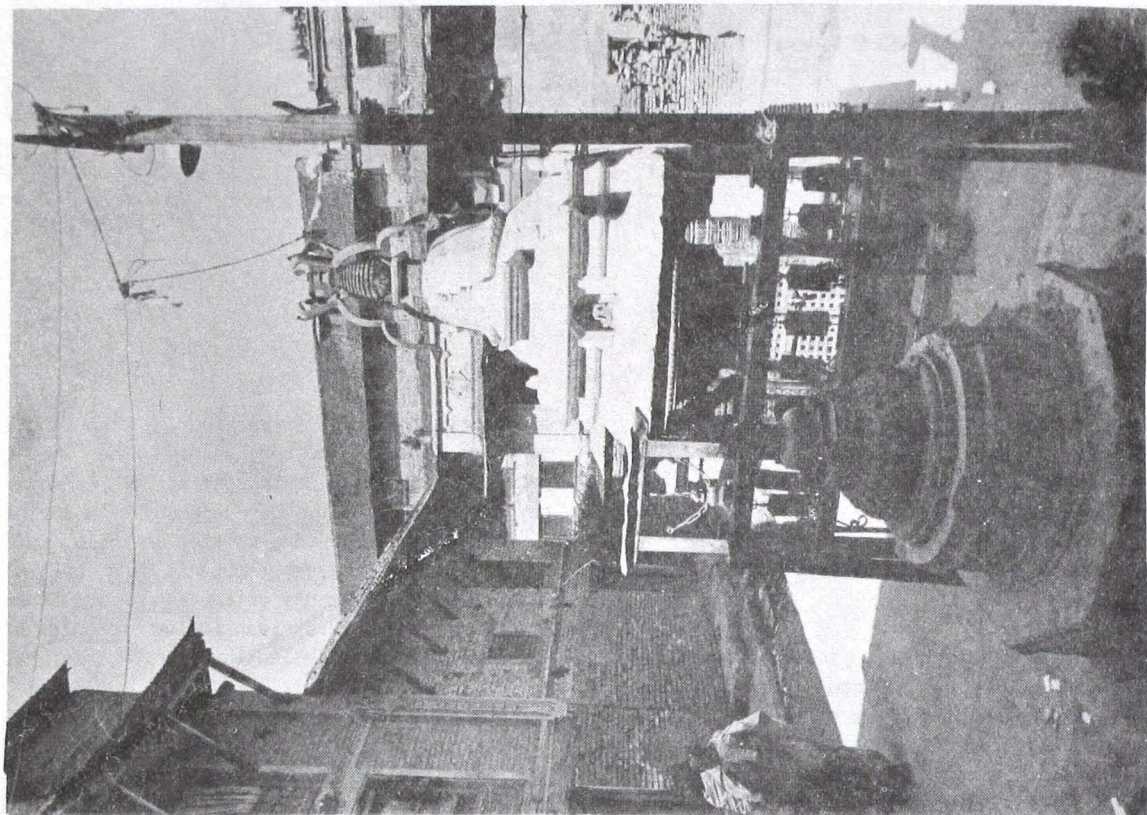
### 2. Yoku Bāhā — Yokuli Mahāvihāra [40] Dau Bāhā Tole

This bāhā consists of a square shrine with a caitya top with another caitya to the side of it. In fact the caitya is considered to be the main shrine of the bāhā rather than the image of Akṣobhya which is set into the shrine and facing east. The rest of the courtyard consists of plain, modern structures.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred fifteen initiated Sakyas who are initiated here in front of this shrine-caitya and are thus considered to be cailaka Sakyas, i.e. Sakyas initiated before a caitya rather than in a bāhā. However, in every respect the saṅgha functions as the saṅgha of a bāhā. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās performing the usual rituals each morning and evening to the image of Akṣobhya. The term of service is a lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The lineage deity of this saṅgha was originally an



165. Hyana Bāhā [116]



166. Yoku Bāhā [40]

image situated on Nāgarjun, the ridge to the northwest of the valley. The deity was first 'brought' to Pul Chok and placed below the Pucho Jahī; later it was taken to Lagan Khel. At the present time there are two groups within the saṅgha one of which performs the worship of the lineage deity at Pul Chok and the other of which performs it at Lagan Khel. This saṅgha is entirely separate from the eighteen main bahas of Patan. Though informants at Dau Bāhā claim that these people were originally a part of the Dau Bāhā saṅgha, this is denied by the Yoku Bāhā people. They say that at one time they used priests from Dau Bāhā, but they don't even do this anymore. They use priests from Bū Bāhā. The fact that their lineage deity is different from that of Dau Bāhā lends credence to their contention that they never were a part of Dau Bāhā, though they do belong to the sī gūṭhī (funeral gūṭhī) of Dau Bāhā. The saṅgha has five elders. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Māghe Sankrānti. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. An inscription attached to the wall of the shrine is dated N.S.931. This bāhā has one branch.

- a. Yēkuli Bāhā -- Sukhāvati Prasāda Vihāra  
(Keku Bāhā) [41] Dau Bāhā Tole

This bāhā is situated in a tiny courtyard off the western side of the area around Dau Bāhā Nanī, the open area round the large stupa outside of Dau Bāhā. The tiny courtyard leaves room for only two rooms and the room to the left is the shrine. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked, but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Akṣobhya surmounted by all five transcendent Buddhas. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Above the shrine door is a single small window and above that a tin roof. The facade of the shrine has been recently plastered with plain cement. On either side of the doorway are images of Gaṇesh and Mahākāl. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya on a stylized lotus base.

At the present time this small branch does not have a saṅgha as such but the usual daily rituals are performed by a Sakya of Yokuli Bāhā. The annual festival of the shrine is no longer

observed and the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā; it may originally have been the branch of another bāhā abandoned by its original members. The only inscription in the complex is attached to the caitya and dated N.S.1002. It commemorates repairs made to the caitya by one Cinānanda Śākya.

3. Naha Bāhā -- Cakrakīrti Mahāvihāra [164]  
Khwākhañ Bāhā Chaka Bāhā Tole

At present this bāhā consists of a shrine on the ground floor of a plastered, modern style building. The building rests on a high plinth just off the road. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, but the carved doorway has no torana. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The door to the shrine is flanked by fading frescoes. The second storey has a large carved window in the centre flanked by two ordinary glass windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a single, plastered finial. Two of the roof struts are carved figures, probably relics from an earlier structure. There are three votive caityas in the area just in front of the bāhā shrine with a stone maṇḍala in front of them and another caitya across the street.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of two households of Sakyas comprising eleven initiated members. This saṅgha has no connection with any other saṅgha in Patan and they perform their Barechuyegu initiations here. The members of the saṅgha serve as ḍya-pālās in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated according to seniority. The saṅgha has two elders, one from each household, and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā during the sacred month of Guṇlā. Their lineage deity (which is identical to their āgam deity) is an image of Yogāmbara worshipped here at the bāhā.

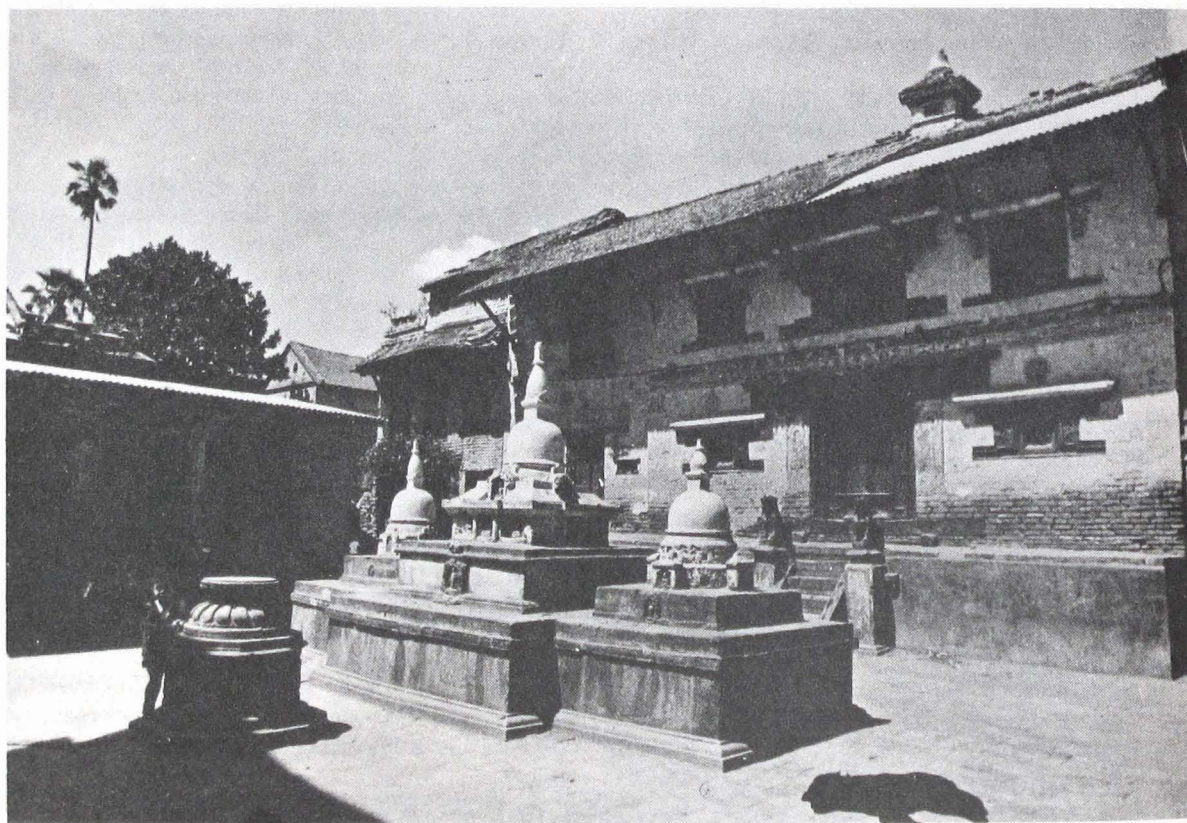
Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there are no inscriptions here, however the three caityas appear to be from the early Malla period.

The following bāhās do not have a Bare saṅgha and have no connection with the saṅghas





167. Yekuli Bāhā [41]



168. Naha Bāhā [164]

of the eighteen main bāhās nor with the bahīs. Most of the rituals are performed by the non-bare who live at the bāhās.

1. Hauga Bāhā -- Hastināga Vihāra [93]  
Hauga Tole

This is a very well preserved bāhā shrine in an enclosed courtyard just off the main road leading south from the Patan Darbār. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway are stone images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows and the top storey one opening in the centre flanked by two large lattice windows. The entire brick facade has been kept in an excellent state of repair and the windows have been decorated with bands of white plaster. The metal roof is surmounted by a bahī-style tower.

The community associated with this bāhā are all Rājkarṇikars. Castewise they are considered Śilpakārs and intermarry with the Śilpakārs, Tamrākārs etc. of Patan. According to their traditions they are descendants of brahmins of Kanauf who were called to the Valley in the time of Jayasthiti Malla to act as halwāis (i.e. sweet-makers). They were official confectioners to the Malla court in the three cities, and in the time of Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah their position as confectioners to the court was again confirmed and they were given a shop near the shrine of Nārāyaṇa at the present Nārāyaṇa Hiti compound. To this day they still have an official position at court as confectioners (kotwāli halwāi). According to their traditions they first settled in Patan at Hauga Bāhā; and, though many have now moved to Kathmandu or to other centres outside of the Valley, there are still four lineages comprising fifty members, centered on Hauga Baha. Until the last century they claim that they still followed strict brahmin traditions, e.g. they were strict vegetarians, but since settling in Patan have always been Buddhist. The daily pūjā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is performed by a Vajracarya of Cukha Bāhā and a Vajracarya of Hyana Bāhā who serve or alternate months performing the usual

rituals morning and evening. The lineage deity of the Rājkarṇikār community is Yogāmbara at Mhaypī but now 'brought' to a place near Thati Bāhā in Lagan Khel. At the time of Indra Jātrā they have a mask of Dhairava which they exhibit and worship as is done at many places in Kathmandu. This is the only bāhā where this custom is observed.

Unfortunately there are no early inscriptions at this site to authenticate the story of the origin of this community. The bāhā has been regularly repaired. One inscription of N.S.926 speaks of repairs made by the Rājkarṇikārs in that year; it was last renovated after the earthquake of A.D.1934.

2. Nalacchī Bāhā -- Jagat Maṇḍala Vihāra [27]  
Agni Math

This bāhā consists of a large caitya and two small, modern shrines constructed in A.D.1944 by a family of Śilpakārs. According to tradition this was a bāhā before that time, but what its status was and who it belonged to is not known. The two shrines contain images of the Buddha and Vasundharā who is considered to be the main deity. One family of Śilpakārs live here and they themselves perform daily rituals at the shrine of Vasundharā and observe an annual festival in her honour in the month of Bhādra.

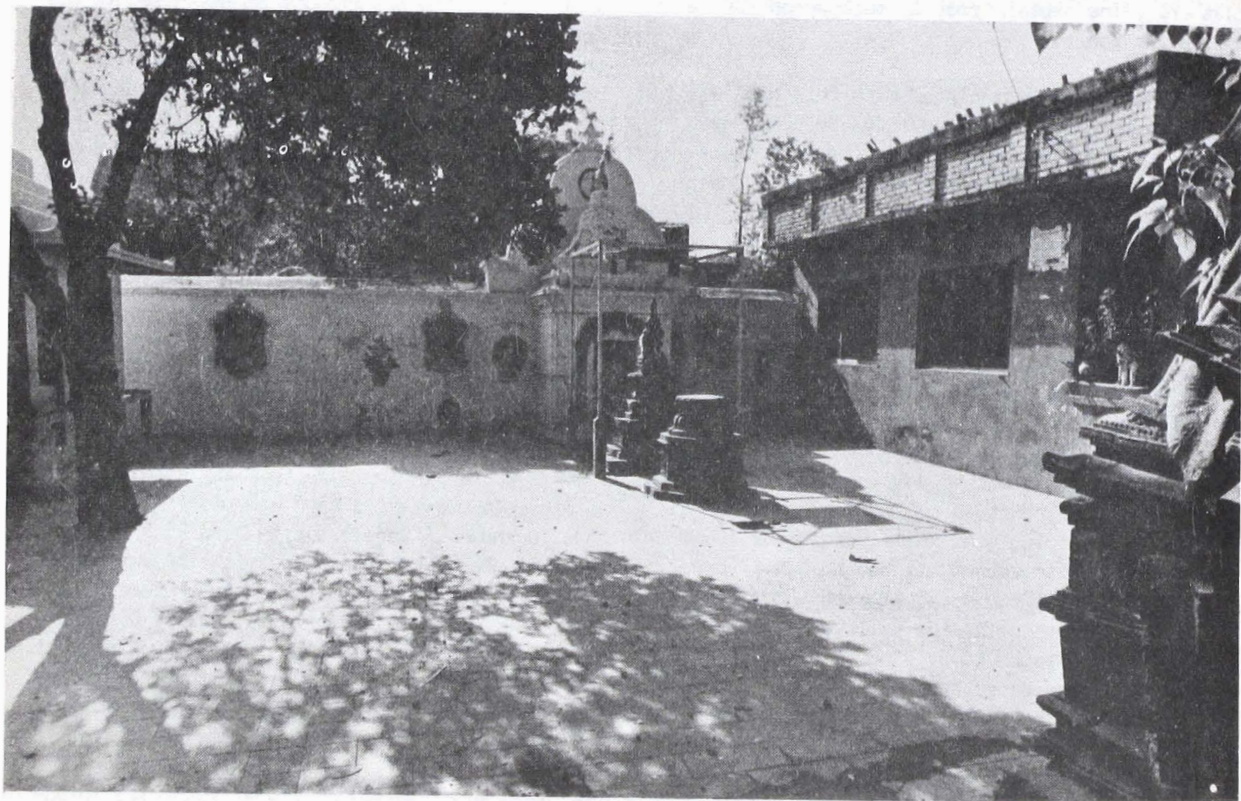
3. Bāhācā -- [72] Swantha Tole

All that is left of this bāhā is a free-standing shrine containing an old image of Akṣobhya facing south (!) in a water-logged and cluttered sort of junkyard behind a blacksmith's shop. In front of the shrine is a plain maṇḍala. People in the area call it a bāhā, but whether it ever was a bāhā and who lived here is now unknown. Regular rituals are no longer performed here but the blacksmith informants say that there are some Sresthas to the south who come to perform rituals occasionally. At one time they owned all the land from their present house up to this shrine and at that time they performed rituals at the shrine regularly. It was probably always their shrine and never a proper bāhā. It is unheard of for a bāhā shrine to face south which is always considered inauspicious.



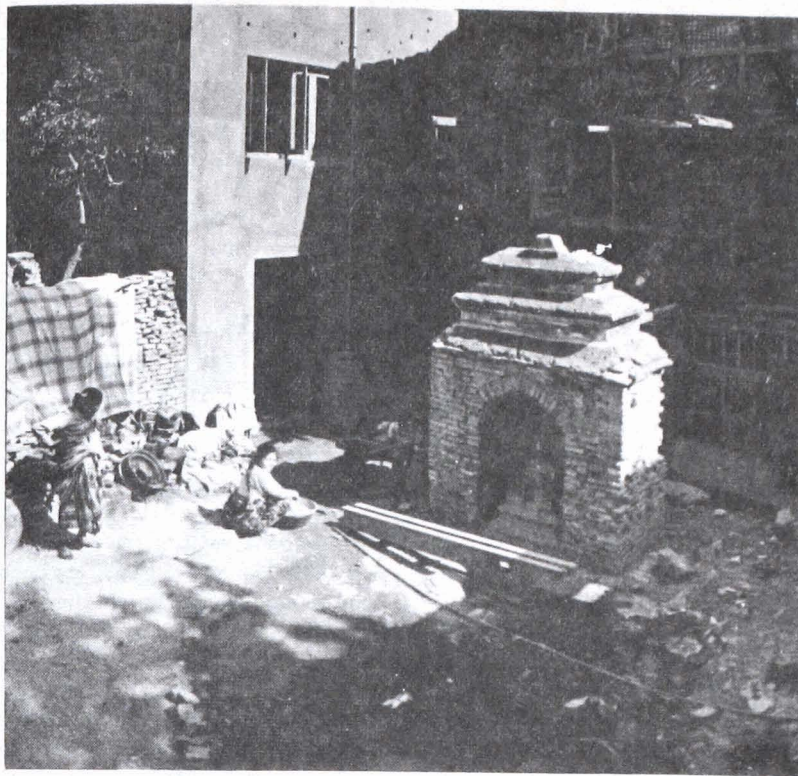


169. Hauga Bāhā [93]



170. Nalacchi Bāhā [27]





171. Bāhacā [72]



172. Gā Bāhā [5]

The following bāhās, though they existed as vihāras at one time are now defunct.

1. Gā Bāhā -- Gāḍa Vihāra [5]  
Śrī Nimma Śrī Visvasānti Vihāra

Gā Bāhā

Gā Bāhā as it exists today is a modern reconstruction of an ancient site. There are many medieval references to Gā (Gāḍa or Gwāra) Vihāra,<sup>1</sup> the earliest of which is possibly N.S.40, and the bāhā has given its name to the entire area. However, by the beginning of this century it was no more than a name remembered. The site had disappeared and the saṅgha was long extinct. About thirty years ago remains of the old Gā Bāhā were discovered at this site and local people financed a renovation. The area was cleared and a typical bāhā shrine was built to house the relics. The Shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway surmounted by a torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The torāṇa which was taken from an earlier structure is dated N.S.967. The first storey has the typical five-fold bāhā window and the top storey has a triple window. The tile roof is supported by carved struts. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone maṇḍala. This bāhā has no saṅgha, but the daily rituals are performed by a Vajracarya from Bū Bāhā; and Buddha Jayanti has been observed here every year since the renovation in A.D.1956. For some years an annual busā dan was observed in Baisakh on akṣaya trītya, but this has been discontinued as the original group which renovated the shrine has passed on.

2. Pim Bāhā -- Mahāpintha Vihāra\* [19]

Pim Bāhā Tole

All that remains of this famous medieval vihāra is a large stūpa, similar in style to the Swayambhu Mahācaitya, with four smaller stūpas surrounding it at the four corners. It is situated at the edge of a small pond. The oldest inscription here is dated N.S.479 and commemorates repairs made to the caitya after it was damaged in the raid on the Valley by the Moslem conqueror Shamsud-din. This is one of two inscriptions in the Valley which speak of this raid and its destruction; the other is at Swayambhū. The inscription gives the name of the vihāra itself as Mahāpintha Vihāra.<sup>2</sup> A refer-

ence in the Gopālarājavamsāvalī under the date of N.S.377 may refer to this vihāra. On that date Jayasimha Malla entered the fort of Pim.<sup>3</sup> This may refer to this place, but it is doubtful because he was fighting the forces of Banepa. It is unlikely that they would be attacking Patan.

The bāhā itself has completely disappeared now. Informants say that until about thirty years ago the bāhā still existed in a courtyard behind the stūpa. Its 'saṅgha' consisted entirely of Shresthas and they eventually sold the property to others who tore down the bāhā and built a new house. Until that time the Shresthas of Pim Bāhā used to have a very elaborate pañcadāna ceremony which was supported by a large endowment and in which they fed all the Bare of Patan. With the coming of land reform most of this land was lost and the custom discontinued. Some income still remains and the Jyāpūs from the Si Bāhā area who farm this land conduct a modest pañcadāna to which they invite only the Bare from Mū Bāhā. The original Shresthas have moved away from Patan. They may well have been the descendants of the Pardhāna Mahāpātras of Pim Bāhā whom we know of from other sources. (See for example the treatment of Kyapu Bāhā [174] above. Occasional rituals are still performed at the Pim Bāhā stupa by the members of the saṅgha of Mū Bāhā [18] (See the section on Mū Bāhā.)

3. Yaṅgala Bhuja -- Yaṅgra-ugranāma Vihāra  
Yamu Bāhā [110] Yamu Bāhā

This is also nothing more than a memory enforced by a number of Buddhist remains in the area, the principal of which is an old image of Padmapāni Lokeśvara which has been recently enclosed in a poorly constructed brick shrine. At the present time the entire area is inhabited by Jyāpūs and they perform whatever rituals are performed at this shrine of Lokeśvara and at the various caityas scattered around the neighbourhood. It seems fairly certain that there was a vihāra in this area and it may well have been the Yaṅgala Vihāra, referred to in a palm-leaf document of N.S.272<sup>4</sup>

4. Konti Bāhā (?) [69]

Kumbhesvara

To the east of the Kumbhesvara temple in Patan is a large grassy area enclosed by a high wall. At the present time this area contains





173. Pim Bāhā [19]



174. Yaṅgala Bhuja [110]



nothing but a large caitya and a few sculptural remains. Informants in Patan claim that this was at one time a bāhā and until recently bāhā pūjā was performed here annually. People still come here to perform the aṣṭami vrata. Most probably this is the site of an ancient vihāra. Was it the often referred to Ko Vihāra which was certainly somewhere in this area? Perhaps excavation of the site would shed some light on the question. At the present state of our knowledge nothing more can be said.

## 5. Sika Bahī [74]

Sika Bahī

This site has for centuries been the shrine of Camuṇḍā Mai, an entirely Hindu, tantric deity. Tradition says that it was originally a bahī, and this contention is confirmed by two large caityas which are still found within the area of the temple. As at Vijesvari in Kathamndu and Vajroyoginī in Śānkhu and Pharping what was originally a Buddhist vihāra has retained fame and popularity as the shrine of a tantric female deity, but in this case the deity is Hindu and the Buddhist connections are long forgotten except for the name Sika Bahī and the two caityas.

## 6. Swantha Bāhā -- Swantha Vihāra [85]

Swantha Tole

This is no more than a name remembered. Most lists of the bāhās give a Swantha Bāhā in this area and local people say there was a bāhā here; but there is no trace of it today.

## 175. Sika Bahī [74]



## Bahas and Bahis in Villages Near Patan

Following are a number of bāhās in villages near Patan which have no connection with the 'Fifteen' Bāhās of Patan or the Patan bahīs.

1. Buṅga Bāhā -- Narendradeva Saṃskārīta  
Amarāvatināma Mahāvihāra [175]

Buṅgamati

The bāhā in Buṅgamati is the home of Būṅga-dya or Matsyendranāth the small red image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara who is in many ways the patron deity of the city of Patan. He is also the kwāpā-dya of this bāhā. The village of Buṅgamati lies about six kilometres to the south of Patan. The temple of Buṅga-dya lies at the southern end of the village in an open courtyard surrounded by ordinary village houses and a few religious rest houses. The temple is a free-standing, śikhara temple, one of the few Buddhist śikhara temples in the Valley. The temple complex does not have, and perhaps never did have, the appearance of a bāhā, or vināra. The approach to the temple complex is up a long series of stone steps at the southern end of the village. About half way up the stone steps is a guardian lion half buried in the facing stones. At the top of the steps are two large guardian lions flanking a doorway which leads through the surrounding buildings into the courtyard. There is an inscription on one of the lions commemorating repairs made in the year B.S.2000. The doorway leads through a sort of rest house into the temple compound.

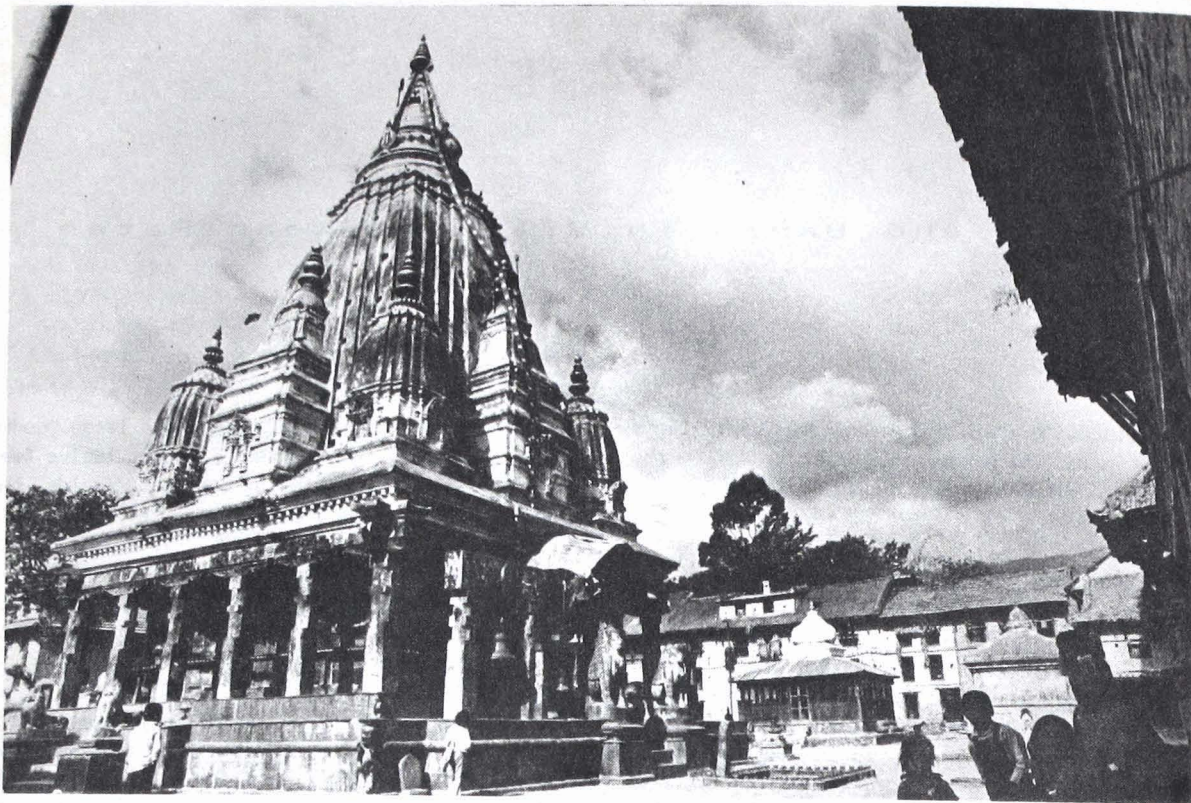
The temple is directly in front of the doorway as you enter the compound. It rests on a plinth of two levels, the top level being about four and a half feet above ground and about twenty feet square. The sanctum, which is made of stone, is surrounded by a veranda about two and a half feet wide. A series of stone

pillars round the veranda support a large wooden beam. The sanctum itself is about twelve feet square and the image is kept just inside the door. The entire superstructure of the temple is lime-plastered brickwork. Two large stone lions guard the steps leading up to the main door of the sanctum. At the top of the stairs is a sort of railing with a gate set into it. Over this gate is a brass repousse torāṇa of three figures, the central figure of which is Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara standing in the sambhaṅga pose and wearing the bodhisattva crown with his right hand in varada mudrā and his left hand in the position of holding a lotus. He is flanked by two identical figures, both seated in lalitāśāna. Directly behind the gate is the main door into the sanctum, surmounted by a copper or brass repousse torāṇa. The main figure in this is a standing, eight-faced figure with twelve hands the right holding a sword, arrow, an elephant goad, a noose and showing the varada mudrā; the left hands hold a lotus bud, a fully opened flower, a noose, a bow and one unrecognisable object. The two main hands are in dharmacakra mudrā. The figure can probably be identified as Mahāvairocana. The main figure is flanked by two seated figures. The right one is three-faced and has six hands. The left is six-faced and has twelve hands. The figures are so badly sooted up with smoke from oil lamps that the symbols in the hands are unrecognisable.

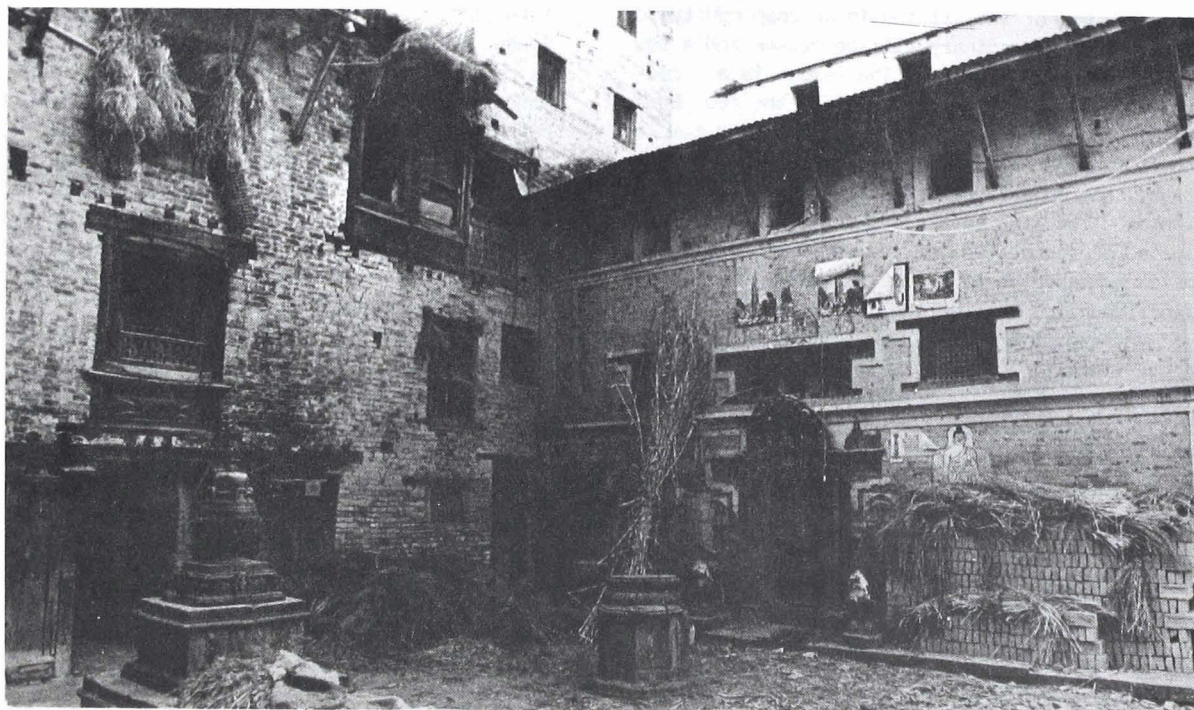
The door frame is done in brass work with nine small brass figures set above the door, the five transcendent Buddhas in a row flanked by two bodhisattvas on either side. There is a chain of twelve bells across the doorway and five hanging down the right side.

Across the wooden beam which runs along the northern face of the temple are brass repousse representations of the eight auspicious signs





176. Būṅga Bāhā [175]



177. Kwācheñ Nani Bāhā [176]



(the aṣṭa maṅgala). There are three bells on the front veranda, one to the left dated B.S.1927 and two on the right, one of which is dated B.S.1966. The other one is not dated, but from the script of the inscription can be placed in the late Malla period.

The other three sides of the temple have very little ornamentation. Smaller stone lions flank the steps leading up to the doorways and each doorway has five prayer wheels set into it. Each is surmounted by a carved wooden torana. The main figure in each of the toranas is a multi-armed tantric figure, but due to decay and repainting the hand symbols are not clear. Brass repousse lotus flowers decorate the wooden beam on all three sides.

The main śikhara or spire rises to a height of about thirty feet and is surmounted by a golden finial. Above this is a five-fold, golden umbrella supported by a gilded triangular supports. Above this is another small, triple umbrella. Next to the finial is a rather battered brass banner of some sort. Attached to the top of the spire, just below the finial are four symbols: N--a wheel, E--a club, S--a lotus, and W--a conch shell, a very curious addition as these are the standard symbols of Viṣṇu.

Around the main śikhara are grouped eight smaller śikharas, one at each corner, about six feet high and another slightly higher, over each of the entrances to the temple. Each of these smaller śikharas is crowned with a golden finial. From the small śikhara above the main entrance hangs a single, rather battered, metal banner. The area immediately around the temple is paved with large flagstones. For a description of the rest of the courtyard see the accompanying diagram.

For roughly half of the year Buṅgadya resides in his temple at Ta Bāhā in Patan. Though situated in Ta Bāhā, this temple belongs to Bungadya and the Buṅgamati saṅgha. Whenever Bungadya is in Patan the priests from Buṅgamati must accompany him and only they are ever permitted in the shrine of Buṅgadya. The members of the Ta Bāhā saṅgha are never permitted inside of the temple and never perform any official rituals to Bungadya. The temple in Ta Bāhā is a free-standing temple of three roofs situated in a large grassy compound about seventy-five by a hundred yards.

The saṅgha of Buṅga Baha is a mixed saṅgha of Sakyas and Vajracaryas comprising 325 members. In an arrangement that is, as far as I know, unique among the bāhās, the saṅgha has an elite inner core of thirty-one, seven Vajracaryas and twenty four Sakyas, known as the pāñjūs (or pāñijūs). They and they alone are eligible for office within the saṅgha and service of the deity. At the present time the office of pāñjū is auctioned off by the government Guthi office. When a pāñjū dies any initiated member of the saṅgha, regardless of age, is eligible to fill the vacancy with the one proviso that a Vajracarya must be replaced by a Vajracarya and a Sakya by a Sakya to keep the traditional proportion of seven to twenty four. Any one interested in taking up the office must submit an application to the Guthi Office stating how much he is willing to pay. The post goes to the highest bidder. The money is given to the Guthi Office and goes into the general gūthī fund. It is considered to be a sound investment because of the amount of income accruing to the office of pāñjū from gūthī lands and free will offerings. Office within the saṅgha is confined to the pāñjūs--the seniormost elder of the entire saṅgha being the eldest pāñjū, irrespective of whether he is a Sakya or Vajracarya and regardless of the fact that there may be older members of the saṅgha who are not pāñjūs. The saṅgha has a total of eight elders. Seniority among the pāñjūs is calculated from the date of each man's initiations into the saṅgha and not from the date of his assumption of the office of pāñjū.

The principal duty of the pāñjū is temple service and service of the deity during the annual chariot festival. For his service the pāñjū gets a generous stipend from the gūthī fund and a further amount from free-will offerings given by the people who visit the deity daily, especially in Patan and during the annual festival. There is a special gūthī for the pāñjūs and they alone are entitled to the income from the lands of this gūthī. There is another gūthī of the entire saṅgha. The other members of the saṅgha take part in feasts and festivals of this gūthī, but they are never permitted to touch the image or to serve as attendants either in the temple or on the chariot.

The pāñjūs's term of service in the temple is only one lunar fortnight. Before he takes up

his duties he is expected to shave his head and undergo the usual purificatory rites. During his term of service he must stay at the temple throughout the day and he is allowed only one meal of rice which he must cook himself. Temple service and the nitya pūjā follow the same pattern as at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but they have fewer pūjās to perform, and they do it with much less care and exactitude. There are only four pūjās to be performed: one in the morning on rising, one at noon, one in the evening, and one in the middle of the night. One peculiar feature is that the ārati pūjā is performed at each of the four times, whereas in other bāhās it is performed only in the evening. The morning pūjā consists in the bathing of the reflection of the image in the mirror, as at Kwā Bāhā, and the pañcopacāra pūjā plus the ārati. The pūjā at the other times of the day consists simply of the pañcopacāra pūjā and the ārati. At each of the hours the pañcopacāra pūjā is followed by the recitation of the stotra proper to that time of the day. After the noon pūjā, the dya-pālā cooks his rice, and before eating, he offers some to the deity. The night pūjā, which informants tell me is performed between two and three AM is another unique feature not found at any other bāhā. Usually the only ones present for this pūjā are the dya-pālā and two assistants, one to wave the yak tail fans and one to blow the conch shell.

The Sakya pañjūs can perform all the ordinary pūjās in the temple, i.e. any rite which does not require a homa sacrifice. Any ritual which requires a homa, such as the removal of the life of the image, the dasā karma rites, etc. must be performed by a Vajracarya, and the seven Vajracarya pañjūs perform this service in rotation. The period of service is for one year. During the year of service the Vajracarya pañjū will perform all the homa rituals connected with the annual worship of Buṅgadya, officiate at any initiation rites into the saṅgha and perform the annual bathing ceremony of Buṅgadya. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed at Buṅgamati for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, Barechuyegu initiations before the temple of Bungadya, Ācāluyegu initiations in the āgam situated to the west of the temple complex. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yogāmbara which they say was originally 'brought' from Swayambhū. The saṅgha still has some connection with Swayambhū. Once a year they must go to the bahī at Swayambhū where they are feasted by the

saṅgha of that bāhā. Twelve people go from Buṅgamati: the six eldest of the pañjūs, the current Suwa Jyāpu, the four pañjūs who ride on the platform of the ratha outside the shrine, and four Vajracaryas. They no longer know the origin or significance of the connection to Swayambhū Bāhā, but they say that if it should ever happen that the saṅgha at Buṅgamati should die out, the people from Swayambhū Bāhā would take over, and vice versa. This has been confirmed by the Bauddhācaryas at Swayambhū or Syaṅgu Bāhā. (See the section on Swayambhū under Kathmandu.)

The main festival of the year for the saṅgha is of course the annual ratha jātrā of Bungadya, but the saṅgha has no būsā dañ festival as such. Once a year, however, there is a festival primarily for the eight elders of the saṅgha. The four eldest of these take part in a homa ritual and the four younger ones recite scriptures. After the pūjā there is a feast. This feast is prepared by a group of eight Jyāpūs, called Suwā, who take turns over a period of eight years making preparations for the festival.

In the southwest corner of the area around the shrine of Buṅgadya is a large and important shrine of Bhairava. This shrine is also tended by the seven Vajracarya pañjūs who take turns performing the prescribed rituals a year at a time. Just to the west of the area of the temple of Buṅga Dya is an enclosed courtyard which contains a bāhā-like shrine. This is the shrine of the āgam deity which is housed upstairs. Originally I was given the name Luta Baha for this shrine. However, KTMV calls it Hayagriva Āgancheñ, but then says that the main deity is Manakāmanādevī<sup>2</sup>. Across the front is a brass or copper inscription now painted over with aluminum paint. The inscription speaks of repairs made to the āgam shrine in the year N.S.1031. The torāṇa, also painted over with aluminium paint, portrays an eight-handed and four-faced deity, probably a form of Mahāvairocana. In the courtyard in front of the shrine is an octagonal, votive caitya dated N.S.829.

According to the legends associated with the bringing of Matsyendranāth to Nepal, he came to Nepal during the reign of one King Narendradeva. This is usually taken to be the Licchavi Narendradeva who probably assumed the throne in A.D.642. The earliest confirmed date for the

cult, however, is N.S.191 found on a manuscript which contains a picture of a red Lokeśvara called Bugma-lokeśvara.

a. Kwācheñ Nani Bāhā -- Nijapati Vihāra  
[176] Buṅgamati

In an enclosed courtyard just to the left of the entrance to the complex around the shrine of Buṅga Dya is another bāhā complex. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is on the ground floor of what is in other respects an ordinary house of three stories. The shrine is marked by two small lions. The carved lattice door is surmounted by a repousse torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. On either side of the shrine door are fading frescoes of eyes and an image of the Buddha. In the courtyard are a caitya and a dharma-dhātu maṇḍala.

This bāhā has no saṅgha as such. According to informants this was built about a hundred and fifty years ago by one Dinapāni Āju who went to Lhāsā and came back with a considerable amount of money. At one time it was the custom to conduct Barechuyegu initiations here for Bare living in Buṅgamati who were not members of the Buṅga Bāhā. However, these people have all moved away, and no Barechuyegu initiations are performed here any more. The usual rituals are performed each day by people from Buṅga Bāhā who live nearby.

2. Bare Nani -- [185] Buṅgamati

This is not a bāhā at all in the architectural sense but simply a caitya and an open shrine of Akṣobhya. However, this is the 'bāhā' of a group of Sakyas independent of Buṅga Bāhā. They say that the image of Akṣobhya is not the kwāpā-dya. They perform the daily rituals to the caitya and receive their Barechuyegu in front of the caitya. There are four families, comprising fifteen initiated members at the present time. They are completely independent of the main Buṅga Bāhā, but they are the official dya-pālās for the Bhairava shrine near the temple of Buṅga Dya. Their lineage deity is an unnamed deity at the edge of the village. No one knows anything about the origin or history of this separate group. There are three inscriptions at the caitya, the oldest of which is dated N.S.802.

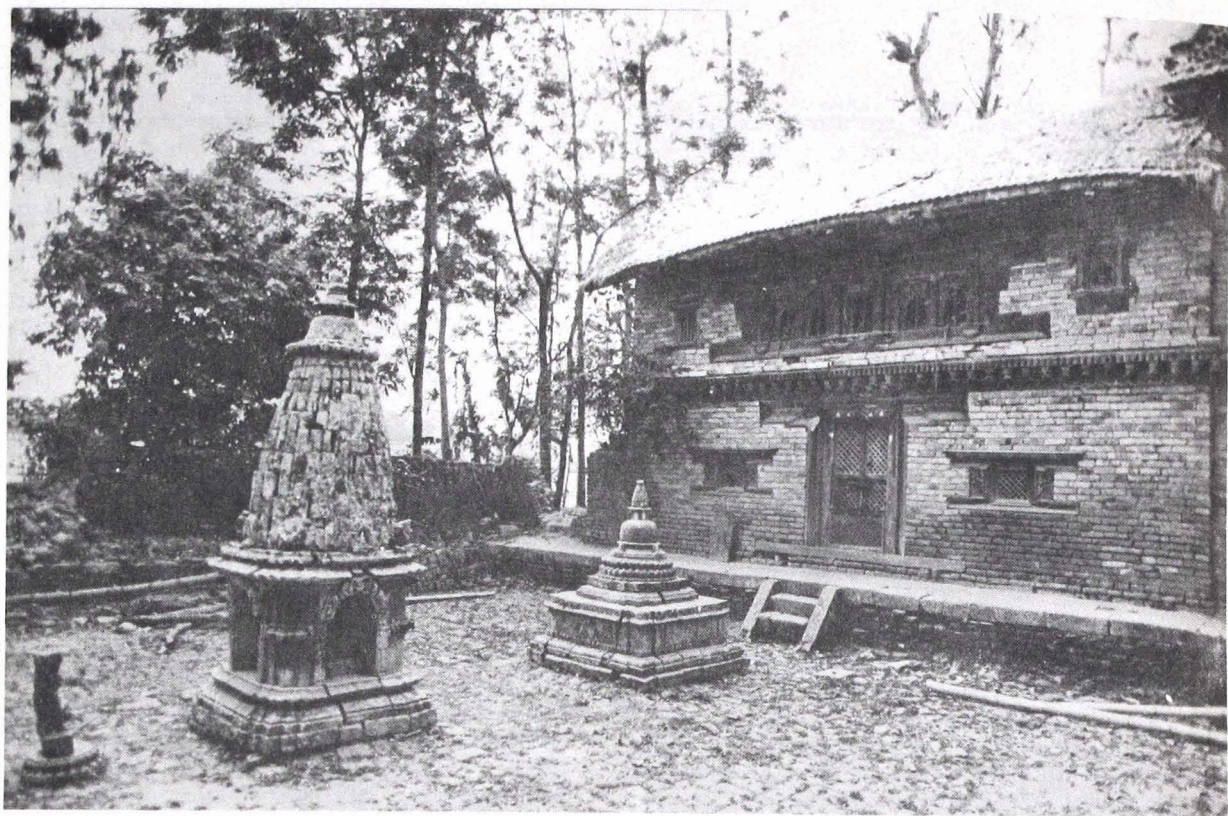
3. Duru Khya Bāhā -- Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra\*  
[179] Theco-Chāpāgaon

This bāhā is situated in an open area south of the village of Theco on the way to Chāpāgaon. All that remains is a kwāpā-dya shrine with a caitya in front of it. The shrine has no torana and the kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one family of Sakyas with three initiated members. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening at the shrine. The saṅgha has one elder and the only annual festival they observe is that of the disi pūjā in the month of Pauṣ. According to their own traditions they came to Duru Khya from Gujī Bāhā in Patan and this is confirmed by people of Gujī Bāhā who say that one section of the area at Gujī Bāhā once belonged to the people of Duru Khya. It is also confirmed by the fact that the lineage deity of this little saṅgha is the same deity in Sunaguthī worshipped by the Gujī Bāhā saṅgha. The saṅgha is now, however, completely separate and they perform their Barechuyegu initiations in Duru Khya. They are served by Vajracarya priests from Chāpāgaon. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

An inscription at the site of the bāhā tells of the foundation of the bāhā and gives the Sanskrit name. The bāhā was founded in N.S.736 at which time the image of Buddha, the dharma-dhātu caitya, the āgam deity (Cakrasaṁvara), Ganesh, Mahākāl and Hanūmān were consecrated. The donor was the wife of one Śākyaśaśa Śrī Amṛtasiṁha Bhadra of Campāpura (Chāpāgaon). Some years later an image of Dipaṅkara was donated to the bāhā and consecrated. At this time in N.S.750 the son of Amṛtasiṁha Bhadra, Lakṣman Bhadra, and other members of his family held a samyak ceremony. After this ceremony Lakṣman Bhadra and his wife went to live at this bāhā in N.S.759. The present saṅgha are not descendants of this Lakṣman Bhadra as the saṅgha at Chāpāgaon has no connection to Gujī Bāhā. They originally came from Kwā Bāhā and their lineage deity is still there. Probably the original saṅgha died out and people from Gujī Bāhā later came and took the place over.





178. Duru Khya Bāhā [179]



179. Ikhā Bāhā [180] (Chāpāgāoŋ)

4. Ikhā Bāhā -- Kalyāṇa Mahāvihāra [180]  
Chāpāgaon

The present shrine of Ikhā Bāhā is simply a room on the ground floor of a very ordinary building of two storeys. The entrance is marked by two small, stone lions but the doorway has no torana and no other ornamentation. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The upper storey has three ordinary windows and the roof is of plain tile with no ornamentation. In front of the shrine is a large plastered caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten initiated Vajracaryas. They perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya each morning, serving by rotation for a month at a time. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here. The saṅgha has a single elder and celebrates the annual festival of the shrine on the fullmoon day of the month of Phalgun. Their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' at Kwā Bāhā whom they 'brought' to Chāpāgaon where they now perform the annual pūjā.

The present shrine dates from a renovation after the earthquake of A.D.1934. According to an inscription at the site the courtyard was paved in N.S.770 by one Svakarjū Vajrācārya. Nothing else is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā.

5. Kwā Nanī -- [182] Baregaon

Whether or not there was ever a proper bāhā structure in this village is unknown, but there has long been a community of Bare here and the very name of the village (the village of the Bare) indicates that they were once the dominant group in the village. All that remains now is a stone maṇḍala surmounted by a vajra and an open shrine containing an image of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara facing north. He is considered to be the kwāpā-dya of this saṅgha. There are also images here of Vāsuki, Śiva-Pārvati, Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, Ganesh and Bhairava.

The saṅgha of this 'bāhā' consists of fifteen initiated members, both Sakya and Vajracārya. At present these three families are the only Bare in Baregaon; many members of the original community have moved to other places both inside and outside of the Valley. These fifteen take turn performing the usual rituals morning

and evening at the shrine of Śaḍakṣari. And they perform their Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations before this image. The saṅgha has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Sravana. They also have a feast at the time of the disi pūjā in Pauṣ and again in Baisakh, on the day that the ratha of Bungadya is first pulled. According to their own traditions they originally came from Bhiñche Bāhā in Patan and were for some time considered to be a branch of Bhiñche Bāhā. Now they are entirely separate.

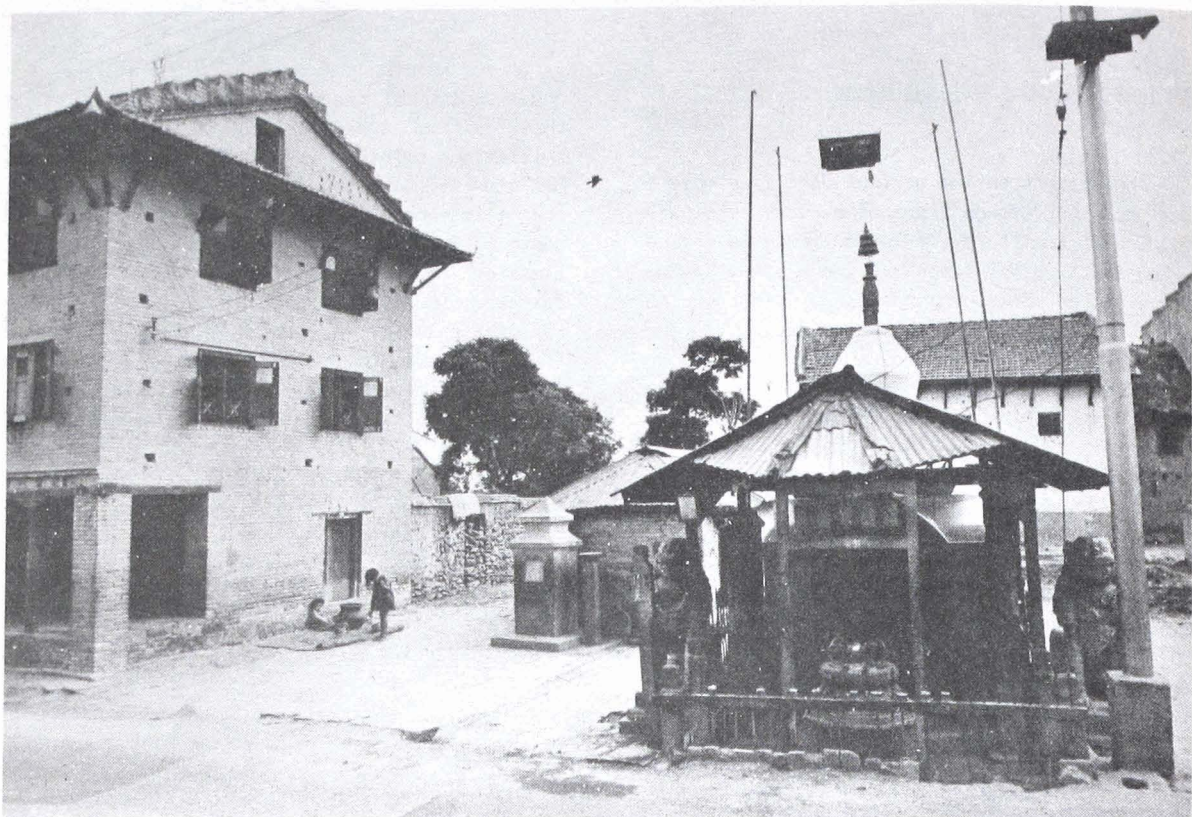
Little is known about the history of foundation of this community in Baregaon. There is an inscription at the site dated N.S.799 according to which one Bishvambhar Bhāro established a gūṭhī for this shrine in that year to celebrate his work of freeing the people from a tax called Vitlvaha.

6. Phampī Bāhā -- Gaganakṣara Mahāvihāra [183] Pharping

The bāhā in Pharping, like that in Sankhu, is primarily now a shrine of Vajrayoginī. The shrine is of three roofs and located within an enclosed courtyard near the village Pharping. The lower level of the shrine itself is an open area with a wooden torana showing Vajrasattva. It contains three large images: Akṣobhya (the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā), Vasundharā and Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. The first floor shrine is the much more elaborate shrine of Vajrayoginī flanked by the attendant figures of Vyāghrinī and Simhinī, the usual guardian deities of a tantric shrine. The doorway to this shrine has an elaborate silver frame and a gilded torana of Vajrayoginī. Near her shrine is a glass case with two small figures of Tara dressed in coloured clothes. The figures are wooden, brightly painted and about two feet high.

The outside of the shrine is unusual. Above the ground floor is a sloping balcony partly screened with three large open windows. The lower border has large images of the eight auspicious symbols on a blue background. The roof is of corrugated iron. The two upper roofs have corner ornaments of a floral design. Below these are metal banners which hang down to the level of the shrine of Vajrayoginī. The top roof is bordered by bodhisattva faces.





180. Kwā Nani [182] (Baregāoñ)



181. Shrine of Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara, Baregāoñ



This shrine is now primarily a shrine of Vajrayoginī. The original saṅgha has long since died out and the rituals both in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and in the shrine of Vajroyoginī are performed by a Vajracarya from Bū Bāhā in Patan. The appointment is life-long; and when the man dies another man from Bū Bha is assigned to take his place.

This is evidently the site of a very ancient vihāra, but nothing definite is known now about its foundation or history. There are no inscriptions which speak of the bāhā as such.

7. Phampī Bahī -- [184]

Pharping

This is no more than a name remembered. According to tradition and old lists there was also a bahī in Pharping, but no one even knows any more just where it was. There is no saṅgha and no trace of the foundation.



182. Phampī Bāhā [183] (Pharping)



**The Bahas and Bahis**

**of Kathmandu**





# Maplist of Bahas and Bahis in Kathmandu

## Note:

The eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī are printed in bold type. All main bāhās are called Mahāvihāra; all branches are called simply Vihāra. Bāhās and bahīs which are outside of the confines of the old city of Kathmandu are not on the map.

1. Kwā Bāhā -- Maitripura Mahāvihāra Thā Hiti-Kwā Bāhā p. 269
2. Chusyā Bāhā -- Guṇākara Vihāra Jyāthā Tole p. 272
3. Musyā Bāhā -- Karuṇapura Vihāra Jyāthā Tole p. 270
4. Jhwā Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Vihāra Thā Hiti Tole p. 280
5. Jyotiya Bāhā -- Triratnaketu Vihāra Jhwā Bāhā p. 280
6. Dhwākā Bāhā -- Henākara Mahāvihāra Tyauda-Dhwākā Bāhā p. 170
7. Gaṁ Bāhā -- Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra Nasa Tole p. 275
8. Sigḥa Bāhā -- Śāntighata Caitya Mahāvihāra Nagha Tole p. 337
9. Nagha Bāhā -- Ratnamāṇḍala Mahāvihāra Nagha Tole p. 340
10. Nhū (=Jhwā) Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra Thāya Madu Tole p. 275
11. Cā Bāhā -- Karnaketu Vihāra Nhāyakañtalā Tole p. 278
12. Dhālisikwa Bāhā -- Gautama Śrī Vihāra Asan-Dhālisikwa p. 278
13. Hāku Bāhā -- Harṣacaitya Vihāra Asan Tole p. 274
14. Kwatu Bāhā -- Aśokavṛkṣa Vihāra Asan Tole p. 300
15. Takse Bāhā -- Surataśrī Mahāvihāra Asan-Takse Bāhā p. 298
16. Huakhā Bāhā -- Aśokaśrī Vihāra Asan Tole p. 343
17. Asan Bāhā -- Aśokacaitya Mahāvihāra Asan-Jaruncheñ p. 342
18. Dagu Bāhā -- Raṅgabhuvaṇa Vihāra Bhotāhiti p. 300

19. Tekañ Bāhā -- Bodhiprasthāna Vihāra Ko Nāya Tole p. 300
20. Mahābuddha Kacā Bāhā -- Bodhiprāṇīdhi Vihāra Mahābuddha p. 345
21. Mahābū Bāhā -- Mahābuddha Mahāvihāra Mahābuddha p. 343
22. Dugañ Bahī -- Ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra Dugañ Bahī p. 388
- 22a. Kothu Dugañ Bahī -- (Ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra?) Dubañ Bahī p. 389
23. Te Baha-- Rājākṛti Mahāvihāra  
Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Teda Mahāvihāra Te Bāhā p. 304
24. (Te Bāhā) -- Bandhudatta Vihāra Te Bāhā p. 304
25. Gaṇa Bahī -- Gaganasaṅgam Mahāvihāra Gana Bāhā p. 386
26. Bhoṭe Bāhā -- Brahmācakra Vihāra Bhoṭe Bāhā-Central Jail p. 325
27. Kusāñ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Mahāvihāra Hyumat Tole p. 347
28. Tamu Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra Hyumat Tole p. 345
29. Tukañ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra Hyumat Tole p. 347
30. Lhugha Bāhā -- Maitrī-uddhara Vihāra Jaisī Deval p. 332
31. Ko Hiti Bāhā -- Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra Ko Hiti Tole p. 370
32. Ko Hiti Kacā Bāhā -- Ko Hiti Tole p. 372
33. Yo Bāhā -- Nadīsaṅga Rājākṛta Vihāra Ko Hiti Tole p. 332
34. Chwasapā Bāhā -- Sukhāvātī Vihāra Maru Tole p. 263
35. Maru Bāhā -- Sakyaketu Mahāvihāra Maru Tole p. 383
36. Mukum Bahī -- Muktipura Mahāvihāra Yatakā-Mukum Kewa p. 391
37. Dhanasīmha Bāhā -- Samantabhadra Vihāra Yatakā Bāhā p. 293
38. Yatakā Bāhā -- Bhāṣkarakīrti Vihāra Yatakā Bāhā p. 393
39. Tamuga Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra Tamuga Gallī p. 367
40. Tamu Bāhā -- Dharmacitta Vihāra Tamuga Gallī p. 290
41. Arakhu Bahī -- Italampu Kṛta Mahāvihāra Yatakā Tole p. 389
- 41a. Māhānkā Bahī -- Yatakā Tole p. 391
42. Makhañ Bāhā -- Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra Makhañ Tole p. 282
43. Makhañ Bahī -- Rājākṛta Mahāvihāra Makhañ Tole p. 375



44. Itum Bāhā -- Bhāṣkara Deva Saṃskārita Śrī Keśavacandra Kṛta Pārāvata Mahāvihāra Itum Bāhā p. 284
- 44a. Kāygu Nanī -- Aśoka Maṇḍapa Vihāra Itum Bāhā p. 290
- 44b. Baku Nanī -- Kutum Vihāra Itum Bāhā p. 290
- 44c. Tārā Nanī -- Dharmacakra Vihāra Itum Bāhā p. 290
- 44d. Sasu Nanī -- Sarasvati Mahāmañjuśrī Vihāra Itum Bāhā p. 290
- 44e. Dhananjy Caitya -- Dhavala Caitya Vihāra Itum Bāhā p. 290
45. Jana Bāhā -- Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra Kel Tole p. 308
46. Mū Bāhā -- Mūla Śrī Mahāvihāra Wotu Tole p. 300
47. Pinchē Bāhā -- Jambunadavana Vihāra Wotu Tole p. 352  
Manijū Bāhā  
Khuñ Bāhā
48. Cidhañ Bāhā -- Jīna-uddhāra Vihāra Wotu Tole p. 352
49. Tadhañ Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra Wotu Tole p. 349
50. Sawal Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra Guccā Tole p. 295
51. Āju Bāhā -- Daśabala Vihāra Guccā Tole p. 296
52. Pyukhā Bāhā -- Aśoka Caitya Vihāra Pyukhā Tole p. 356
53. luñ Cheñ Bāhā -- Tutakṣam Vihāra Makhañ Gallī p. 284
54. Lāyku Bahī -- Rājakula Vihāra Hanūmān Dhokā p. 265  
Śrīnaka Vihāra
55. Sikhamu Bāhā -- Tarumūla Mahāvihāra Basantapur p. 258
56. Kumārī Bāhā -- Rājakīrti Manoram Vihāra Basantapur p. 265  
Kumārī Cheñ Rājalakṣmīkūla Vihāra
57. Basantapur Bāhā -- Desasumantra Vihāra Basantapur p. 265
58. Jho Cheñ Bāhā -- Vasundharākīrti Vihāra Jhocheñ Tole p. 263
59. Na Bahī -- Udyotakīrti Mahāvihāra Na Bahī p. 379
60. Na Bahīcā -- Dharmodhyāyana Vihāra Na Bahī Tole p. 379
61. Waku Bāhā -- Indrapuranagara Vihāra Jor Ganesh p. 365
62. Puncheñ Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra Poḍe Gallī-Om Bāhā p. 362
63. Nhū Cheñ Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra Jor Ganesh p. 362
64. Tuākewa Bāhā -- Amṛtakānti Vihāra Om Bāhā p. 362

65. Gubhā Bāhā -- Brahmācakra Mahāvihāra Om Bāhā p. 321
66. Bikamā Bāhā -- Mañjuśrīnaka Mahāvihāra Om Bāhā p. 356
67. Khasā Cheñ Bāhā -- Varsacandana Vihāra Om Bāhā p. 358  
Wañ Bāhā  
Pakhā Cheñ Bāhā
68. Mimnanī Bāhā -- Nimha Nimha Vihāra Om Bāhā p. 365
69. Ganthi Nanī Bāhā -- Buddhagaṇṭhī Vihāra Gācheñ Nanī-Om Bāhā p. 360
70. Ratnapur Bāhā -- Ratnapura Vihāra Gācheñ Nanī-Om Bāhā p. 360
71. Bhwañ Bāhā -- Bhwanta Vihāra Om Bāhā p. 367
72. Thāna Bāhā -- Sthānavimba Vihāra Cikamuga Tole p. 360
73. Nhū Bāhā -- Dharma-yasodhara Vihāra Cikamuga Tole p. 323
74. Mikhā Bāhā -- Munisaṅgha Vihāra Mañjesvarī Tole p. 334
75. Jyā Bāhā -- Jagavanda Vihāra Jyā Bāhā p. 328
76. Iku Bāhā -- Vajrasīla Mahāvihāra Yangal Tole p. 325
77. So Bāhā -- Dharmadhatu Śrī Mahāvihāra Yangal Tole p. 367
78. Kacā Bāhā -- Caitanya Vihāra Jyā Bāhā p. 321
79. Khalā Cheñ Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra Jyā Bāhā p. 318
80. Lagañ Bāhā -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra Lagañ Tole p. 313
81. Wantā Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra Lagañ Bāhā p. 317
82. Jog Bāhā -- Lagañ Bāhā p. 318
83. Ta Bāhā -- Kīrtipunya Vajradhātu Vihāra Lagañ Tole p. 318
84. Nhāyakañ Bahī -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra Lagañ Tole p. 381
85. Cwākañ Bahī -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra Lagañ Tole p. 383
86. Yatā Bāhā -- Kīrtipunya Bhūvana Sundara Vihāra Gophal Tole p. 372
87. Na Bāhā -- Siddhivara Vihāra Gophal Tole p. 321
88. Pikhā Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra Brahma Tole p. 330
89. Musuñ Bāhā (1) -- Manisaṅgha Mahāvihāra Musuñ Bāhā p. 328
90. Musuñ Bāhā (2) -- Manisīmha Mahāvihāra Musuñ Bāhā p. 330

91. Dhancakra Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Vihāra Musuñ Bāhā p. 334
92. Khusī Bahī -- Nadisaṅgam Mahāvihāra Tāhācal p. 385
93. Bilāsa Bahī -- Udayagiri (Nilagiri) Mahāvihāra Bijesvarī p. 392
94. Syaṅgu Bahī -- Jyotikīrti Mahāvihāra Swayambhū p. 378
95. Kinnu Bāhā -- Śrī Kirttana Vihāra Swayambhū-Kiṇḍol p. 401
96. Thaṃ Bahī -- Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra Thamei p. 404
97. Kwathu Cā Bahī -- Gaganaganja Mahāvihāra Cābahīl p. 394
98. Thatu Cā Bahī -- Samadhimandapa Mahāvihāra Cābahīl p. 392
99. Jamo Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Vihāra Jamal p. 404
100. Ĵeku Dobān Bāhā -- Cintāmanī Vajradīpa Mahāvihāra Ĵeku Dobān p. 413
101. Ratnākara Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra Gācheñ Nanī-Ōm Bāhā p. 360
102. Cā Bahī -- Dharmadevacaitya Mahāvihāra Cābahīl p. 399
103. Cidhangu Kinnu Bāhā -- Tejakīrti Vihāra Swayambhū-Kiṇḍol p. 402
104. Jogmuni Bāhā -- Jagatoddhāra Vihāra Swayambhū-Bhuīkheḷ p. 296
105. Syangu Bāhā -- Samhyengū Mahāvihāra Swayambhū Mahācaitya p. 397
106. Thāya Madu Bāhā -- Sthāna Maṇḍapa Mahāvihāra Thāya Madu Tole p. 413

#### Defunct Bāhās and Bahīs

- A. Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa Bāhā -- Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa Mahāvihāra Maru Tole p. 417
- B. Cikañ Muga Bāhā -- Guhyakuksa Vihāra Cikañmuga p. 417
- C. Bhonsiko Bāhā -- Vandakṛta Triratna Nāma Vihāra Dugañ Bahī p. 417
- D. Kwathu Bahī -- Gaganagana Mahāvihāra Thāya Madu Tole p. 417
- E. Bakai Bahī Iku Bāhā p. 417
- F. Buddha Bārī -- Dīpaṅkara Mahābauddha Mahāvihāra Hyumat Tole p. 418
- G. Wotu Bāhā Wotu Tole p. 418
- H. (Sawal Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra) Sawal Bāhā Tole p. 418
- I. Bakañ Bahī Yangal Tole p. 418



- J. Sāmā Khusī Bāhā -- Dharma Śrī Mitra Mahāvihāra      Sāmā Khusī p. 418
- K. Sukuṃ Bāhā      Lājimpat p. 421
- L. Lām Bāhā -- Mañjugīri Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra      Pakanājole p. 421
- M. Pim Bāhā -- Sarvasiddhi Mahāvihāra      Pasupatināth p. 421
- N. Takhācheñ Bāhā -- Yogasadhana Vihāra      Kel Tole p. 421
- O. Majyuya Baha -- Siddhinagara Mahāvihāra      Itum Bāhā p. 421
- P. Kacā Bāhā -- Asoka Caitya Vihāra      Mahābauddha p. 421
- Q. Vajrabīra Mahākāl -- Buddha Sāsana Rakṣak Mahāvihāra      Tuṇḍhikhel p. 421

## The Bahas of the Acarya Guthi

### Introduction

In Patan there are two clear cut sets of Buddhist institutions: the bāhās and the bahīs. There are eighteen main bāhās, and all of the other bāhās are branches of one of the main bāhās. Then there are the twenty five bahīs. Except for two little bāhās and one group of Sakyas initiated before a caitya, all the bāhās and bahīs of Patan plus thier branches fit into this pattern. In Kathmandu, there are three sets of Buddhist insitituitions: the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī plus their branches, ten purely Sakya main bāhās plus their branches, and sixteen bahīs.

The Ācārya Gūṭhī, or De (=deśa) Ācā Gūṭhī, as it is called in Newari, is an association of the Vajracarya members of the eighteen main bāhās of Kathmandu whose saṅghas have Vajracarya members. Of the eighteen, twelve have entirely Vajracarya saṅghas and six (Sikhamu [55], Makhañ [42], Itūm [44] Jana [45], Lagan [80], and Gubhā [65]) have mixed saṅghas of Vajracaryas and Sakyas. In a mixed saṅgha the Sakya members, though they are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha are not members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī. Almost every commentator on the bāhās of Kathmandu has said that these eighteen are the main bāhās of Kathmandu, i.e. these are the only bāhās in Kathmandu 'which have the right of initiation.' This statement has been repeated so often that it has become a sort of historical and sociological article of faith. Unfortunately, it is a biased statement and, as it stands, totally erroneous. When one talks of the bāhās and their saṅghas the initiation involved is the Barechuyegu, which is the initiation into the saṅgha of a bāhā. In Kathmandu this initiation is given by right in the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, in the ten

main Sakya bāhās, and in the sixteen bahīs. In fact it is given occasionally in a few others; and again, in fact, it is no longer given in some of the bahīs, but it used to be. It is true that the Ācāluyegu, the initiation of a Vajracarya, is given only in these eighteen bāhās for the simple reason that there are no Vajracaryas in any of the other bāhās or bahīs. Even this statement, though, must be qualified because the Ācāluyegu is in fact given in Makhañ Bahī [43] for the members of that saṅgha who act as priests for the members of the bahīs, it used to be given regularly in Dugañ Bahī [22], and it is given to the Jyāpū Phu Bare (see below) in his little bāhā. The Ācāluyegu has nothing to do with one's membership in a bāhā saṅgha. This is clear from the status of the Sakyas in mixed bāhās who are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha. It is even clearer from the fact that in Jana Bāhā and Makhañ Bāhā there are Sakyas whose forebearers were Vajracaryas but for some reason or other neglected to take the Ācāluyegu. Because of this they and their descendants are not Vajracaryas but are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha. What is true is that these are the principal bāhās in the sense that these bāhās contain the Vajracaryas who function as priests for the entire Buddhist population of Kathmandu, Bare and lay, except for the members of the saṅghas of the sixteen bahīs who have their own priests.

The confusion arises partly because of the terminology used in Newari. In Newari they refer to two types of bāhās: mū(1) bāhā and kacā bāhā. A mū bāhā is a main bāhā (=a main bāhā of the Ācārya Gūṭhī) and kacā bāhā is a branch bāhā. There is no third term to refer to the ten main bāhās which have only Sakya members. Since the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu recognise only eighteen main bāhās, they call

these ten kacā bāhās. Though some Vajracaryas claim that one or other of the Sakya bāhās is a branch of a main bahā of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, this is denied by the Sakya members of these bāhās who assert that their bāhās are entirely independent. In fact, they perform their initiations separately in their own bāhās. I was originally informed that in Kathmandu the word used was not kacā (=branch), but kaccā (=un-authentic). This would correspond to the reality. The Vajracaryas do consider these ten bāhās to be unauthentic since they are not part of the Ācārya Gūṭhī. However, the etymology is highly suspect. Kaccā is a purely Hindi word and certainly almost unknown in Malla Period Newari usage.

By the time of the Malla kings (from A.D.1200 on), the Vajracaryas had assumed a predominate role in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu, because they alone functioned as priests empowered to perform the tantric rituals essential to many Buddhist pūjās, the life cycle rites and the rituals for the dead, all of which had to be performed by every Buddhist whether lay or Bare. Therefore, their bāhās assumed a place of importance which overshadowed the other non-Vajracarya bāhās. This predominance of the Vajracaryas affected all of the Buddhist communities of the Valley, but it was most marked in Kathmandu, probably because the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu were so well organised. In Patan, by way of contrast, of the eighteen bāhās still considered to be the main bāhās by every commentator, only nine of them have any Vajracarya members and only two have exclusively Vajracarya saṅghas.

Before going into the structure and functions of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, it is first necessary to comment on the traditional divisions of the city of Kathmandu, as these divisions are reflected in the organization and functioning of the Ācārya Gūṭhī. For the purposes of ritual and the organization of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, the old Malla city of Kathmandu is still considered to be divided into four sections: Tathu Puiñ, Dathu Puiñ, Kwathu Puiñ and Lāyaku Puiñ. The divisions run from north to south. Tathu Puiñ, the 'Upper Quarter', runs from the northern limits of the old Malla city at Kwā Bāhā to the fish set into the pavement in Asan Tole. Dathu Puiñ, the 'Central Quarter', runs from the fish in Asan Tole to the 'Lion Gate' in Makhan Tole near Hanūmān Dhokā. Kwathu Puiñ, the 'Low-

er Quarter' extends from the Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa (Maru Saṭṭal) to the southern limits of the old Malla city. Lāyaku Puiñ, the 'Palace Quarter' extends from the 'Lion Gate' in Makhan to the Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa. These divisions reflect the historical growth of what came to be the late Malla, walled city of Kathmandu. The stages of growth are seen in the names used for these sections of the city. In Licchavi times there were two main settlements in this area known as Koligrāma (the area north of the Hanūmān Dhokā area), and Dakṣiṇa Koligrāma, the area south of the Hanūmān Dhokā area. With the waning of the Licchavis and their highly Sanskrit culture the local names for these two settlements came into prominence: Yaṅgala (Dakṣiṇa Koligrāma), Yambu (Koligrāma). Later the two came to be referred to as Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa and Kāntipura respectively. Though there is evidence from as late as the eighteenth century that Tathu Puiñ was considered as part of Kāntipura (Yambu-Koligrām), it was considered to be separate at least for ritual purposes and even had a Sanskrit name: Suvarṇapraṇālī Mahānagara. This name derived from the Golden Fountain (suvarṇapraṇālī) which once existed near the walls of the city and gave its Newari name to the whole area: Tha Hiti (the 'upper fountain'). This fountain was filled in and the present stūpa built on the site in N.S.552. Lāyaku (=palace) Puiñ, of course, is the area between the two main divisions and was probably originally an unsettled area between the two settlements of Koligrāma and Dakṣiṇa Koligrāma. The four divisions then can be summarised thus: Tathu Puiñ-Suvarṇapraṇālī; Dathu Puiñ-Kāntipura-Yambu-Koligrāma; Lāyaku Puiñ-the area of the Hanūmāndhokā Palace; Kwathu Puiñ-Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa-Yaṅgala-Dakṣiṇa Koligrāma.

These divisions are reflected in the organization of the Ācārya Gūṭhī which is actually an association of four gūṭhīs, one for each quarter of the city. These four in turn are an association of the Ācārya Gūṭhīs of each bāhā within the quarter. The Ācārya Gūṭhī of Tathu Puiñ comprises the Ācārya Gūṭhīs of Kwā Bāhā, Jhwā Bāhā, Dhwākā Bāhā, and Gaṃ Bāhā; Dathu Puiñ: Itūm Bāhā, Jana Bāhā, Takṣe Bāhā, Mū Bāhā, Sawal Bāhā, Te Bāhā and Makhañ Bāhā; Lāyaku Puiñ: Sikhamu Bāhā; and Kwathu Puiñ: Gubhā Bāhā, Mikhā Bāhā, Iku Bāhā, Lagañ Bāhā, Musuñ Bāhā (1), and Musuñ Bāhā (2). Each of these gūṭhīs is associated with a famous tantric preceptor: Tathu Puiñ, Vākvajra; Dathu Puiñ, Suratavajra;



Lāyaku Puiñ, Lilāvajra; and Kwathu Puiñ. Mañju-vajra. Unfortunately there is almost no reliable historical evidence concerning these four tantric preceptors. Some informants say that these four were each the founder of a bāhā in each of the four quarters of the city, and that all the other bāhās were offshoots of these four. There is no historical evidence to support this, and it is denied by other informants who said that these men were not founders but famous tantric adepts who lived at different times in history. What little we know about these four men will be treated below under the bāhā with which they are associated.

These four Ācārya Gūṭhīs are still active, but their functions have been reduced primarily to an annual meeting plus a feast. The eldest member of each individual gūṭhī is the head or thāypā of the gūṭhī of the quarter, and he must conduct all Ācālyeyu initiations at each of the bāhās within his quarter. The Ācārya Gūṭhī of Tathu Puiñ still, in 1984, had 360 active members. This gūṭhī actually has two elders, one each from Kwā Bāhā and Dhwākā Bāhā. The gūṭhī meets annually on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. The other members of the gūṭhī take turns by rotation according to seniority to run the affairs of the gūṭhī for a year at a time. At the present time this merely means that they must arrange the annual meeting and feast and foot the bill for any expenses not covered by gūṭhī funds. The gūṭhī meets at the main bāhā of the man making the current arrangements. The Ācārya Gūṭhī of Dathu Puiñ still has 700 active members, but the affairs of the gūṭhī are run in rotation by only four men. The gūṭhī meets annually on the full-moon day of the month of Caitra at the main bāhā of the one of the four who is currently making the arrangements. The Gūṭhī of Lāyaku Puiñ, of course, consists only of the Vajracaryas of Sakhamu Bāhā. They have a gūṭhī called Kegu Kāwangu, and it also meets once a year. The Ācārya Gūṭhī of Kwathu Puiñ has now broken up because of a quarrel between the Vajracaryas of the two Musum Bāhās and those of the other bāhās. The gūṭhī still functions, but only the Vajracaryas of the two Musum Bāhās take part. Four of the members of the saṅghas of the two Musum Bāhās look after the affairs of the gūṭhī in rotation for a year at a time. The gūṭhī meets annually on the day of the new moon (auṇsī) in the month of Baisākh.

The overall association of the Ācārya Gūṭhī is centered on the tantric shrine below the Swayambhū Mahācaitya known as Śāntipur. All of the Vajracaryas of the eighteen bāhās make up the membership, and the governing body of this association consists of the eldest of the entire group (the thakāli or thāypā), the eldest of each of the Ācārya Gūṭhīs of the four quarters, and the Vajracarya Rāj Guru who functions as the overall administrator of the Ācārya Gūṭhī. Four members, one from each quarter, serve by rotation annually as officials to look after the affairs of the gūṭhī for a year at a time, their main function being to make arrangements for and finance the annual meeting. In addition to these Vajracaryas the Sakyas of the purely Sakya Tadhañ Bāhā [49] and its branch Cidhañ Bāhā [48] are associated with the gūṭhī as 'jajmāns'.

At the present time the functions of the Ācārya Gūṭhī are pretty well limited to the celebrations and rituals which take place at the annual meeting of the gūṭhī at Swayambhū. The gūṭhī meets on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. First the elders perform a kalasā pūjā in front of the image of Amitābha set into the western side of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. This is followed by a tantric pūjā in Śāntipur. At the conclusion of this ritual the governing body of the gūṭhī, plus the four Vajracaryas whose turn it is to sponsor and make arrangements for the festival, officially receive into the Ācārya Gūṭhī all the boys of the eighteen bāhās who have received the Ācālyeyu within the past year. Each of the boys must present betel nuts to the thakāli of the gūṭhī and to the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. After this ceremony there is a feast for all the Vajracaryas and their families, and following this they are supposed to retire to the open space below Swayambhū, called Bhuikehel, for another pūjā in honour of the eighty four si-ddhas.

On the following day a tantric pūjā is performed at one of the eighteen bāhās in the city (by rotation). The purpose of this ritual is to 'bring' Vajrasattva into the city of Kathmandu. At the conclusion of this they go to Swayambhū for another pūjā and a light repast. At the conclusion of the annual rituals, the four officials for the next year are chosen, (really only announced as it goes by strict seniority). They will serve for the coming year ending with their arrangements for and financing

of the next meeting of the Ācārya Gūṭhī.

At present this annual meeting is not much more than a social event, a common pūjā and a feast; and its importance seems to diminish with each year. I have attended this annual festival twice, as a guest of two different Vajracarya families from two different bāhās. In each case, not all the male members of the family attended. Many Vajracaryas, especially those who have businesses or are in government service, arrived after all of the rituals and the reception of the new members had been completed, just in time for the feast, which they then ate hurriedly and headed back to town. Until recently though, this was also a business meeting vital to the interests of the Vajracarya community and their dominant position in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu.

The importance of this association lay in the fact that all the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu belonged to it and accepted the regulation by its elders of their priestly functions. Formerly the Ācārya Gūṭhī protected and enforced the jajmāni rights of all of the priests and regulated all matters pertaining to the performance of ritual as well as inter-caste relationships within the Buddhist community. It tightly controlled the relationship between priest and client (jajmān). The members of the Buddhist community were not free to choose their priest but had to accept the services of the man assigned by the Ācārya Gūṭhī. The right of service was usually hereditary, and a given family of Vajracaryas would serve a given group of people from one generation to another. If a family had no priest the Ācārya Gūṭhī would assign one. If they were dissatisfied they could appeal to the Ācārya Gūṭhī, but they could not just change their priest at will. At the annual meeting of the Ācārya Gūṭhī the council of elders would review any reports it had received of its members violating the regulations and would pass judgment. If any member had abused his powers, performed unauthorised rites, encroached on somebody else's territory, failed to perform his functions as a Vajracarya when called by his jajmāns, etc. he would be called to task by the council and suitably punished. The greatest punishment was to deprive the offender of his right to act as a Vajracarya priest. This would mean that the man would lose his source of income, and that the council would not permit his sons to receive the Ācālyeyu.

Throughout the year such violations and complaints would be handled by the Vajracarya Rāj Gūru, but the entire gūṭhī would annually review the situation. The council would also pass on cases involving violations of commensality and endogamy. It is precisely this function which drew the Ācārya Gūṭhī into the protracted dispute with the Udāya over the question of commensality. The result of this dispute was to considerably weaken the effective control of the Ācārya Gūṭhī over the functions of its own members. At the time of the dispute some Vajracaryas sided with the Udāya against the Ācārya Gūṭhī which had ruled that no Vajracarya could take cooked rice from the Udāya, though they had in fact been doing so for a long time. Many Udāya abandoned their traditional priests in favour of those who supported their cause. The Ācārya Gūṭhī then expelled these Vajracaryas. In the end when the whole dispute was settled by a compromise, the Ācārya Gūṭhī had to accept the expelled members back in full standing. The result was that it became clear to all that the elders of the Ācārya Gūṭhī could no longer force their will on the Buddhist community at large nor on their own members. Though many of the Buddhist laity, Udāya and other castes, still call their traditional priest, most now feel free to call any Vajracarya if they are dissatisfied with their priest. Many Vajracaryas now have other occupations and have no time or inclination to work as priests. Hence the people have to shop around for a priest who will meet their needs.

The Ācārya Gūṭhī was also responsible for standardizing ritual and providing ritual texts for its members. For this reason there is greater uniformity in the performance of ritual in Kathmandu than in Patan, and the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu are recognized by their confreres in Patan and Bhaktapur as experts in the performance of the ritual.

The origin of this Ācārya Gūṭhī is explained by a story given to me by several informants with slight variations. All the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu claim ritual descent from one Śāntikar Ācārya. According to tradition he was the first man to receive the dikṣā (initiation) of a Vajracarya in the Valley of Nepal. He was initiated in a cave at Swayambhū and later erected five temples around the stūpa to five deities: Prithivi, Tej, Vāyu, Ākāśa, Ava, all of which remain (though often renovated). In

the shrine of Ākāśa, known as Ākāśapur, he erected a life-sized statue of Heruka-cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravārāhī, and consecrated the shrine as an āgam for the worship of tantric deities. Here he performed the tantric initiations of those wishing to become vajracaryas. Later the shrine was renamed Śāntipur in his honour. According to tradition he originally initiated anyone irrespective of caste, as long as the candidate had the inclination and was willing to undertake the study and yogic training necessary to qualify for the initiation. As time went on and caste restrictions became more rigid, those who had been initiated were classed as a higher sub-caste of the Bare, and it became the rule to initiate only the sons of Vajracaryas. Those who were so initiated all became members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī of Śāntipur. Traces of the original custom of an initiation open to any qualified candidate can be seen in the fact that we have records of certain Sakyas of Mahābaudha Bāhā (a branch of Uku Bāhā in Patan) and Sakyas of Haka Bāhā, also in Patan, who were raised to the status of Vajracarya by order of the king. Furthermore, it was a custom that Brahmans might be given the Vajracarya initiation without any permission. We have two cases of this from Kathmandu, at Gubhā Bāhā [65] and Lagan Bāhā [80], the last fairly recent and well documented.

According to informants the members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī were originally initiated (Barechuyegu) into the saṅgha of their bāhā in the city and later taken to Śāntipur where they were given the Ācālyegu. Later it became the custom to give the Ācālyegu in the āgam of the bāhā itself, but this was still an initiation into the āgam of Śāntipur, and at the annual meeting of the gūṭhī at Śāntipur those who had been so initiated had to be officially received by the elders of the gūṭhī. How much of this account is historical, and how much of it is a myth to give a traditional and religious base to the dominant position and, what Rosser calls the 'closed shop' of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, it is impossible to say at present. It is interesting to note that many Vajracaryas of Kathmandu have told me that the Vajracaryas of Patan were once connected with Śāntipur (and by implication with the Ācārya Gūṭhī) and that this is proved by the fact that there are ritual items within the shrine donated by Vajracaryas of Patan. Every Vajracarya in Patan that I have questioned about this, though, has denied that they ever had any

connection with Śāntipur or the Ācārya Gūṭhī of Kathmandu.

Another institution which has some connection with the Ācārya Gūṭhī and which also points up the traditional divisions of the city of Kathmandu is the institution of the Phu Bare or Kāyā Bare. At the time of the pañcadāna, which takes place each year during the month of Gūṭhī (and at other times if a wealthy layman decides to have one), there is always one Bare who is assigned to come last in the line. His coming is a ritual ending to the giving of gifts. He comes along ringing a bell and then he touches all of the remaining gifts with a vajra. This announces the end of the pañcadāna; no one else is allowed to touch what is left after the Phu Bare touches it with his vajra, and he gets whatever is left.

In Kathmandu there are different Phu Bare for each quarter. For Kwathu Puiñ a Vajracarya from Lagañ Bāhā [80] functions as Phu Bare. Whenever there is a pañcadāna at any place within Dathu Puiñ he functions as Phu Bare. He is always chosen from one specific lineage attached to the branch known as Ta Bāhā [83]. (See the section on Lagan Bāhā.) For Lāyaku Puiñ the Phu Bare is a Vajracarya from Sikhamu Bāhā [55]. For Dhatu Puiñ there is a very complicated arrangement. For the area north of the road running from Indra Chowk to Tha Hiti there is a group, not just one man, who function as the Phu Bare. They are the elders of each of the following bāhās: Mū Bāhā, Mahābu Bāhā, Tadhañ Bāhā, Cidhañ Bāhā (a branch of Tadhañ Bāhā), Asan Bāhā, Jamo Bāhā, Takṣe Bāhā and Dagu Bāhā (a branch of Takṣe Bāhā). These Phu Bare come as a group, but do not touch the remaining gifts with a vajra, because (according to informants) several of them are not Vajracaryas and have no right to use the vajra. At Sawal Bāhā there is a special arrangement. One man, the elder, of Mahābu Bāhā comes and takes whatever is left after having touched it with a vajra (though he is not a Vajracarya). This is a time honoured custom but for some reason it is resented by the people of Sawal Bāhā. For the area south of the road running from Indra Chowk to Tha Hiti a Vajracarya from Itum Bāhā functions as Phu Bare.

For Tathu Puiñ the Phu Bare is a Jyāpū. This custom of the Jyāpū Phu Bare is one of the strangest customs in Buddhist Kathmandu. This man is a member of a group of nine elders who,



according to informants, were once considered the city council or ward leaders of Suvarṇapra-  
nāli city. The group comprises two from Gaṁ  
Bāhā, two from Dhvākā Bāhā, one from Nhū-Jhvā  
Bāhā, one from Sigḥa Bāhā, and the Jyāpū Phu  
Bare. All of these members, except the Phu  
Bare, are Bare by caste; and the presence of  
the Jyāpū on the committee is explained by the  
fact of his hereditary right to the position of  
Phu Bare. This Jyāpū Phu Bare lives in a court-  
yard just off of Nhū Bāhā in Thāya Madu Tole,  
but the 'bāhā' to which he is attached is the  
Lokeśvara shrine across the street. He is in-  
itiated in front of that shrine and after the  
initiation has the duty of performing the nitya  
pūjā to Lokeśvara. He is the only man of his  
lineage who receives the Barechuyegu initiation  
and is hence the only member of the 'saṅgha' of  
this bāhā. He belongs to a group of Jyāpū  
lineages, known as the Walāchimi, but only the  
thakāli (the eldest) of this one lineage is  
eligible to serve as Phu Bare. When he dies he  
is succeeded by the man who becomes the thakāli  
of his lineage.

Four days before his initiation the Jyāpū  
must offer betel nuts in front of the shrine  
where he will be initiated. This is a prelimi-  
nary rite requesting the initiation. On the day  
of the initiation the eight other members of the  
council of Tathu Puiñ come with a Vajracarya  
priest and his assistant from Gaṁ Bāhā. The  
last initiation was given by Śānta Haṛṣa Vajrā-  
cārya of Gaṁ Bāhā and before him the initiation  
was given by Amoghavajra Vajrācārya also of Gaṁ  
Bāhā. After a ritual bathing the Jyāpū is given  
the Barechuyegu with the eight members of the  
council acting as the 'elders' (sthavira) of the  
saṅgha'. An elaborate homa pūjā is performed  
and a balī offering is made at the crossroads  
for peace in this quarter of the city. After  
the Barechuyegu the Jyāpū is given three tantric  
initiations: the Kalaśābhiṣeka, the Mukutābhiṣe-  
ka and the Chatrābhiṣeka. On the day before the  
initiation he must swear that he will only use  
the powers conferred by these initiations within  
the prescribed limits of his functions as Phu  
Bare and that he will not make use of these  
powers at any other time or place. To do so is  
to incur the guilt of the five great sins (pañca  
mahāpāpa). After the Jyāpū receives these three  
initiations he makes a petition for two more  
initiations saying that without these two addi-  
tional initiations his work will not be  
successful. He is made to repeat the oath he

made the previous day and is then given the  
Ghaṇṭābhiṣeka and the Vajrābhiṣeka. These five  
initiations are the main initiations of the Va-  
jracarya. However, informants add that he is  
not a Vajracarya because he is not given the  
proper mantra. (He is also a Jyāpū and Jyāpūs  
are not Vajracaryas!)

At the time of the Jyāpū Barechuyegu, musi-  
cians are called from Patan to play instruments  
throughout the ceremony. For four days the  
Jyāpū must dress as a bhikṣu and live as a  
bhikṣu observing the rules of discipline of a  
bhikṣu. On the fourth day the Jyāpū Bare is  
taken in procession round Tathu Puiñ and arriv-  
ing at the place where the shrine of Lokeśvara  
is situated he is supposed to dance. (Actually  
the dancing is done by the Vajracarya from Gaṁ  
Bāhā and the Jyāpū watches.) At the conclusion  
of these ceremonies he takes off the dress of a  
bhikṣu and is ritually welcomed back into his  
own house. With this he passes to the state of  
a householder bhikṣu and assumes the duty of  
performing the daily rituals to the image of  
Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara before which he was in-  
itiated.

In order for his sons to be eligible for  
the post of Phu Bare the man must be careful  
that he marry a clean Jyāpū girl, i.e. not a  
girl from a family of Kumhās or Malīs with whom  
Jyāpūs often marry but who are considered to be  
a lower caste. If any of the other members of  
this committee of nine dies the Phu Bare must be  
called to the installation ceremony of the new  
man. The committee as a gūṭhī has an annual  
meeting on Akṣayaṭṭitiya in the month of Bai-  
śākh. At the time of the pañcadāna and at the  
time of all other ceremonies which this commit-  
tee of nine attends the Thaku Jujū who lives  
near Dhvākā Bāhā must also be called; and he  
presides at the initiation of the Phu Bare as  
jajmān.

# 1. Sikhamu Bāhā -- Tarumūla Mahāvihāra\* [55] Basantapur

Sikhamu Bāhā is situated in a small, en-  
closed courtyard adjoining the Kumārī Bāhā and  
just off of the Darbar Square. The bāhā shrine,  
which was torn down and rebuilt in 1982, is a  
small but typical bāhā shrine of three storeys.  
The ground floor has the entrance to the shrine  
of the kwāpā-dya and two small windows. The  
doorway is surmounted by a fine wooden torana



183. Sikhamu Bāhā [55]

depicting Nāmasaṅgīti surrounded by the tantric forms of the five transcendent Buddhas and surmounted by Vajrasattva. The kāwpa-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā facing north. The first storey has a triple balcony supported by three carved struts depicting the Bhairavas. The facade of the first storey has been plastered, whitewashed and adorned with several frescoes depicting the five Buddhas, flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara plus several other Bodhisattva figures. In the courtyard are two 'Licchavi' caityas, two Malla period caityas and one of recent origin.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred thirteen Vajracaryas and three hundred twenty five Sakyas, few of whom any longer live in this area. At the present time saṅgha activity has diminished and many of the members only return to the bāhā for occasional pūjās and for the all-important initiation of their sons. The daily rituals are still performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha who serve in turn by seniority. The term of service is one month, but the dya-pālā does not reside in the bāhā during his term of service. He comes only in the morning and evening to fulfil the essentials of his duty. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed in the bāhā for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but at irregular intervals, usually about once in ten years at which time a large number of boys are initiated. In 1983 a Barechuyegu initiation was held for one hundred sixty one boys. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Svayambhū Mahācaitya and the bāhā is governed by a body of five elders. At one time the bāhā had a considerable income from agricultural land, all of which has now been lost, and it owned a number of buildings in the area between the present bāhā and the Maru Saṭṭal which also yielded a considerable income from rents. These buildings were all confiscated during the Rana period. Consequently, the bāhā as such has almost no income at the present time and so most of the usual bāhā feasts and festivals, including the annual festival, have been discontinued.

The present tiny bāhā compound and the dearth of activity of its saṅgha give little indication of the very important role that this bāhā and its saṅgha once played in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century there was a prodigious

amount of literary activity at this bāhā. Every collection of Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal has a large number of manuscripts copied during this period by the Vajracaryas of Tarumūla Mahāvihāra. Over the century and a half this activity has ceased altogether. Another indication of its importance is the many references in inscriptions all over Kathmandu to the Vajracaryas of Tarumūla Mahāvihāra who acted as priests at important rituals such as the consecration of bāhās, caityas, and images.

The third indication of the importance of this bāhā is the fact that one of its members is the 'Rāj Guru', or Rāj Gubhāju. This is an official post, similar to that of the present Rāj Guru (who is always a 'Parvate' Brahman). It was a very important post in the time of the Malla kings and perhaps before their time, but evidently declined in importance in the late Malla period and has become little more than a historical relic since the coming of the kings of Gorkha. The post existed in Kathmandu and this Kathmandu Rāj Guru seems to have performed many of the functions of the present royal guru. It also existed in Patan, but there is little information on the Patan institution, as the post lost almost all of its 'importance' once there was no longer a king in Patan. I have not been able to find any trace of the existence of this post of a Vajracarya Rāj Guru in Bhaktapur, but the post may have also existed there. The origin of this post of Rāj Guru held by a Vajracarya is obscure. However, it is clear that it goes back at least to the early Malla period. A thyāsaphu record dated N.S.551, during the reign of Yakṣa Malla notes the offering of a wax umbrella in that year by one Anantajiva Bhāro and his family. The officiating priest at the offering of the umbrella was the 'respected Rāj guru of Sikomuguḍi (sikomuguḍi rājgurū bharāra [=bhaṭṭākara]) Toyujū.<sup>10</sup> Yakṣa Malla did not rule from Kathmandu but from Bhaktapur, and given the fact that all the kings who ruled (or claimed to rule) the whole Valley had, from the 12th century on ruled from Bhaktapur<sup>11</sup>, it is probable that this institution dates back to the time of an earlier king who did rule from Kathmandu. It is also likely that this king ruled only Kathmandu, or was in fact a feudatory subordinate to the Valley King, as the rights and duties of this Rāj Guru (even in respect to his authority over other Vajracaryas) seems to have always been limited to Kathmandu and places under the authority of Kathmandu (e.g. Svayambhū



and Vajrayoginī at Sankhu). This would put the origin of this institution somewhere back in the so-called 'Thakuri' Period, many of whose kings were at least much more sympathetic to Buddhism, if not actually Buddhists themselves, than were the Malla kings especially those of the dynasty of Sthiti Malla.

Much of this is, of course, speculation on very little information, but what is certain is that this post was a recognised institution in the Malla period by royal appointment and with duties associated with the darbar. Its importance declined dramatically with the coming of the king of Gorkha. However, the post still exists, by royal appointment, and the Rāj Guru still has some functions within the Buddhist community and some residual functions at the Hanūmān Dhokā Darbar, though these are little more than historical relics. This post is hereditary and is always held by a Vajracarya of one of the lineages of Sikhamu Bāhā which has now split into four households. For centuries the entire lineage lived at Lāyaku Bahī [54], which has no bahī saṅgha of its own and has therefore become in effect a branch of Sikhamu Bāhā. The entire lineage still considers Lāyaku Bahī their branch, but many of the members no longer live there. The present Rāj Guru lives in quarters near Maru Bahī [35]. According to the present incumbent, Puṣpa Ratna Vajrācārya, the following are the duties of the Rāj Guru:

1. It is his duty to select the girl who will function as the Royal Kumārī or living goddess. (See the section below on Kumārī Bāhā.)

2. It is his duty to act as dya-pālā in Kumari Bāhā (See the section below on Kumārī Bāhā.)

3. He is the head of a group of ten Vajracaryas known as the daśa-digācārya ('the masters of the ten directions'). The group consists of the Rāj Guru, his assistant (upādhyāya) and the eight senior-most thakālīs of the ācārya gūṭhīs of each of the eighteen bāhās which make up the Ācārya Gūṭhī of Kathmandu. At the present time, however, there is no assistant to the Rāj Guru and the Rāj Guru fulfills both functions. Hence in fact there are only nine in the group. The name derives from the fact that this group was called to go to any place within the kingdom to perform rituals whenever there was some disaster

such as famine, drought, desecration of a sacred place or image, etc. They would perform a pacification ritual (śāntisvasti) to pacify the deity who was causing the disaster or who had been insulted by some sort of desecration. This group also had to perform the daily nitya pūjā of the Svayambhū Mahācaitya. This daily pūjā is still performed by these men, but not necessarily personally. They can, and usually do send a proxy with the required pūjā materials as all of these men are aged except for the Rāj Guru himself. According to tradition no one else may offer a pūjā to the Svayambhū Mahācaitya until this offering has been made each day.

4. In the time of the Malla Kings, the Rāj Guru acted as the main astrologer and paṇḍit for the entire country. (This seems to mean the kingdom of Kathmandu, as there was a Vajracarya Rāj Guru in Patan and a Brahman who performed this service in Bhaktapur.)

5. Until very recent times he functioned as the chief administrator and watchdog for the Ācārya Gūṭhī in its function as a union of priests. In Malla times the bulk of the Newar population used Vajracaryas as their household priests rather than brahmins. In Kathmandu the relationship between the priests and their clients was closely regulated by the Ācārya Gūṭhī whose members were the only ones allowed to function as priests having clients (jajmāns) from whom they received a stipend (dakṣiṇā) for their services, despite the fact that there were some others who had the requisite initiation to function as priests. Furthermore, a family could not select their own priest, but had to call the one assigned to them by the Ācārya Gūṭhī. Any complaints against the priest (e.g. failure to come when called, failure to perform the prescribed rituals properly) were made to the Rāj Guru. If the complaint was found to be justified the concerned Vajracarya was warned and fined thirty two paisa. If the same complaint was made again by the same people, the priest could be expelled from the Ācārya Gūṭhī and deprived of his right to function as a priest.<sup>12</sup>

6. If any Vajracarya encroached on the territory of another Vajracarya by performing rituals for another man's client or taking money from another man's client, the offended party could make a complaint to the Rāj Guru. The Rāj Guru would hear the case and if the complaint

was found valid he would warn the offending priest and fine him thirty two paise. If the offender committed the same offense again he could be expelled from the Ācārya Gūthī and deprived of his right to function as a priest and thereby be deprived of his clients and his source of income.

7. Many of the Buddhist images in the bāhās were originally made of clay (as may still be seen at Buddha Barī [F]). From time to time these images had to be repaired and repainted. Before this work could begin the image had to be de-consecrated, i.e. the spirit of the deity had to be removed (as is still done each year for the images of the Red and White Matsyendranātha.) It was the Rāj Guru's duty and his sole right to perform this ritual and to reconsecrate the image.

8. Whenever the Svayambhū Mahācaitya had to be repainted it was the duty of the Rāj Guru to perform a pūjā before the work began.

9. The Rāj Guru, and he alone (or his delegated proxy) is allowed to perform pūjā in the two śikhara temples to the sides of the Svayambhū Mahācaitya, i.e. Pratāpapur and Agni-pura.

10. In the days of the Malla kings the fame and the authority of the Rāj Guru extended all the way to Lhasa.

11. The Rāj Guru is also the head of another group of five Vajracaryas known as the Pañca Buddha, 'the Five Buddhas', whose function it is to assist at certain rituals representing the five transcendent Buddhas. At the present time their only function seems to be to take part in the annual Kumārī Jātrā. Originally four of these men came from Sikhamu Bāhā (the Rāj Guru plus one man each from the other three households of the Rāj Guru lineage). The fifth man has always been a Vajracarya from Sawal Bāhā [50]. Some time toward the end of the last century another Vajracarya of Sawal Bāhā was able to get himself appointed by the palace as Rāj Guru and he claimed a place among these five, thus displacing one of the four from Sikhamu Bāhā. Ever since the passing of this 'Rāj Guru' his descendants have claimed a second place among the five Buddhas.

12. If any quarrel arose among the members

of any of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī, or if someone had damaged one of the bāhās it was the duty of the Rāj Guru to summon the concerned parties and settle the matter, inflicting a fine of thirty two paise on the offender.

13. The Rāj Guru must be invited to any function held, or ritual performed, by the local Ācārya Gūthī of any of the eighteen bāhās.

It is evident that many of these functions are no longer current. However, the Rāj Guru still has some importance among the Buddhist community of Kathmandu and a few official functions such as his duties regarding the Royal Kumārī. In addition to this he still has the right to perform certain rituals in the Āgam Cheñ of the Malla Kings at Hanumān Dhokā, and on the death of a king of the present dynasty he has to go to Hanumān Dhokā for the ritual reception of the people who come to pay their respects at the time of a death in the royal family. In addition to this he must keep himself ready to respond to any request which might come from the palace for his services. Because of this, if there should be a death in the family of the Rāj Guru, he or one of his initiated male relatives must abstain from taking any part in the death rituals. Such participation would make him impure for the period of mourning and hence unable to perform any pūjās. In such a case it is permissible to send any male member of his family to act as proxy. Whenever the eighteen elders of the Ācārya Gūthī meet or are called to take part in some official function the Rāj Guru must also be summoned, and he takes his place second to the thakāli of the entire Ācārya Gūthī.

There is no firm historical data concerning the founding of Sikhamu Bāhā. There is an oral legend that it dates to the founding of the Kāṣṭhamandapa (Maru Saṭṭal); and according to the legend the bāhā was built from the wood left over from the Maru Saṭṭal. However, the same is claimed for the nearby Simha Saṭṭal. Oral tradition associates the bāhā with one Lilavajra who is claimed to be either the founder of the bāhā or one of its most famous members. Nothing is known about the date or life of Lilavajra. The present Newari name of the bāhā is Sikhamu, but the earlier form of this is variously Sikka-magudī, Sikvamagudī, Sikomagunhi, which is a Newari translation of the Sanskrit name Tarumū-

la.<sup>16</sup> The earliest references are all to Sikomaguḍi Vihāra; it is only after the beginning of the seventeenth century that one finds the Sanskrit name Tarumūla Mahāvihāra. However, this is to be expected as the earlier references come from inscriptions or notes on manuscripts referring to the performance of rituals. In such references one usually finds the Newāri name of a bāhā. The Sanskrit name is used almost exclusively in the colophons of manuscripts of Buddhist texts, and occasionally on land grant documents. That Sikkomaguḍi and Tarumūla are indeed the same is confirmed by a reference of N.S.750 in a thyāsaphu describing the donation of an umbrella to the Svayambhū Mahācaitya by one Sakyabhikṣu Hākujū of Sikkomaguḍi-Talumūla Mahāvihāra. The earliest contemporary reference to the bāhā is contained in the inscription at Svayambhū which commemorates repairs made to the caitya after the damage caused by the raid of the Moslem Śamsuddīn. The inscription is dated N.S.492 and was erected at the dedication ceremonies which were performed by Paṇḍit Vajracarya, Śrī Jñānakīrti Senapāda of Sikomaguṇhi Vihāra.<sup>17</sup> From this time on there are frequent references to the Vajracaryas of Sikkomaguḍi Vihāra in inscriptions around Kathmandu commemorating rituals at which these priests officiated and an even larger number of references to Tarumūla Mahāvihāra in the colophons of the numerous manuscripts copied here. The presence of the two 'Licchavi' caityas in the courtyard of the bāhā indicates ancient Buddhist connections to the site, but little more can be said. It is evident that both the bāhā and its property suffered from the fact that the later Malla kings built or greatly extended the palace now known as Hanumān Dhokā. As successive kings expanded the palace and built temples around its periphery, Sikhamu Bāhā lost much of its property and this very important vihāra was finally reduced to a tiny courtyard.

Sikhamu Bāhā has three functioning branches, one defunct branch and the Kumārī Bāhā which has ritual connections to Sikhamu Bāhā.

A. Jho Cheñ Bāhā -- Vasundharākīrti Vihāra [58] Jhocheñ Tole

Jho Cheñ Bāhā consists of a tiny courtyard just off the northern end of Jhocheñ. All that remains is the shrine itself which has a carved doorway surmounted by a wooden torana of Vajra-

sattva. At the present time the courtyard is a junk yard for disused motor tires. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Amitābha facing east.

The saṅgha consists only of one Vajracarya family of Sikhamu Bāhā who live here. The Vajracarya performs the daily rituals each morning. The bāhā has no income at the present time and the annual festival is no longer observed.

There is an inscription at the bāhā which states that in N.S.857 one Bhikṣu Śrī Nitya Dhana had the image of Amitābha consecrated and performed pūjā to the āgam deity. This is probably the date of the foundation of this purely private branch of Sikhamu Bāhā.

B. Chvāsapā Bāhā -- Sukhāvāti Vihāra\* [34] Maru Tole

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard just at the edge of Maru Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is of three storeys plus a sort of open cupola at the top. The ground floor entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The torana is dated N.S.793. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked to by two small, blind windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey is an open veranda with living quarters and is supported by four struts of the sālabha-njikas. All of the other buildings of the courtyard are of a later date. In the courtyard are two stone caityas.

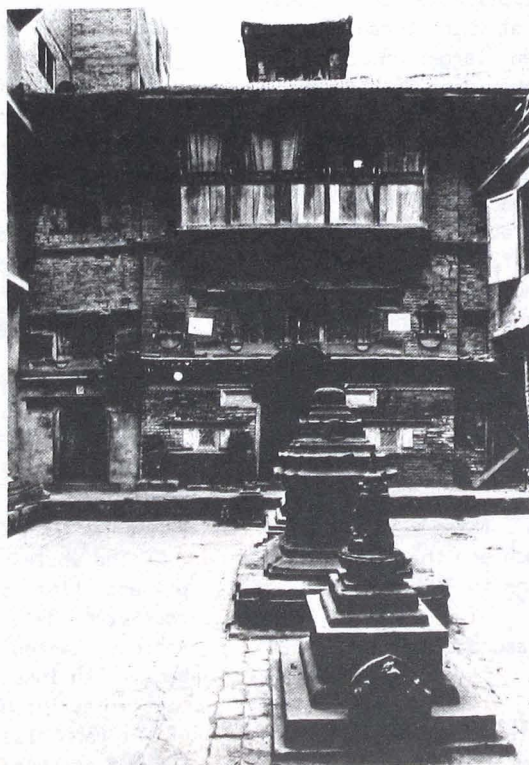
This purely private branch seems to have no saṅgha as such but is looked after by a family of Vajracaryas of Sikhamu Bāhā who live here. The regular rituals are performed each morning, but there is no income and no annual festival.

The whole complex is badly neglected at the present time and most of the quarters of the courtyard have been rented out to people of various castes who have no connection with the bāhā. An inscription on the wall of the shrine says that the bāhā was established in the time of Pratāp Malla (N.S.761-794). The king came for the consecration ceremonies and the building of the bāhā was financed by a Tamākār by the name of Jyāna Bhāro. The inscription gives the





184. Jho Cheñ Bāhā [58]



185. Chvasapā Bāhā [34]

Sanskrit name of the bāhā: Sukhāvati Mahāvihāra.  
The torāṇa is dated N.S. 793.

C. Lāyaku Bahī -- Rājākula Vihāra [54]  
Śrīnaka Vihāra Hanumān Dhokā

Lāyaku Bahī, which lies just at the western edge of the Hanumān Dhokā palace complex, retains little of the typical bahī architecture. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and an arch of lamps. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by an unusual wooden torāṇa depicting Buddha's welcome at Lumbini. Among the devotees coming to pay their respects to the Buddha are Indra, Shiva and Brahma. The kwāpā-dya is a large stone image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey is a recent restoration in cement-plastered brick with living quarters. In the courtyard are one large caitya and two smaller ones.

Though this shrine is called a bahī and probably was originally, from the viewpoint of the community attached to it, it is now a branch bāhā of Sikhamu Bāhā. At present there are thirty nine Vajracaryas attached to this branch. These are all of the lineage of the Rāj Guru, now split into four sub-lineages of several separate households. The present residents claim that this has always been their bāhā, but if this is true it raises the question of why it is called a bahī. Did the original community become Vajracaryas and finally become attached to Sikhamu Bāhā; or was there a separate community attached to this bahī originally which eventually died out as has happened at so many bahīs? If this is the case it is easy to understand how the Vajracaryas of Sikhamu Bāhā came to take over what was in effect an abandoned establishment. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by one of the Vajracaryas resident here. At present this one man always performs the pūjā, though in former times all of the Vajracaryas attached to this branch took turns serving as dya-pālās in the usual fashion. Theoretically all initiations are performed in Sikhamu Bāhā, but informants say that from time to time they do perform Barechuyegū initiations here for the sake of convenience. The Vajracaryas attached to this bāhā have certain ritual duties connected with Thām Bahī [96] in Thamel in conjunction with Vajracaryas from Kwā Bāhā,

Jhwā Bāhā [10] and Dhwākā Bāhā [6]. (See the section on Thām Bahī.)

Little is known about the history and nothing about the foundation of this establishment. Despite the claim on the sign board outside that this is the 'Oldest Buddhist Monastery,' there is nothing in the complex to verify an early foundation; and there are not even any legends about its foundation. The earliest inscriptions in the complex is dated N.S.855 and the torāṇa is dated N.S.1018. The Newār name of the bāhā obviously derives from its proximity to the palace (lāyaku). Two different Sanskrit names are given by various authors, but to my knowledge neither name has been verified by inscriptions or manuscript references.

D. Basantapur Bāhā -- Deśasumantra Vihāra [57]  
Baniyā Bāhā Basantapur

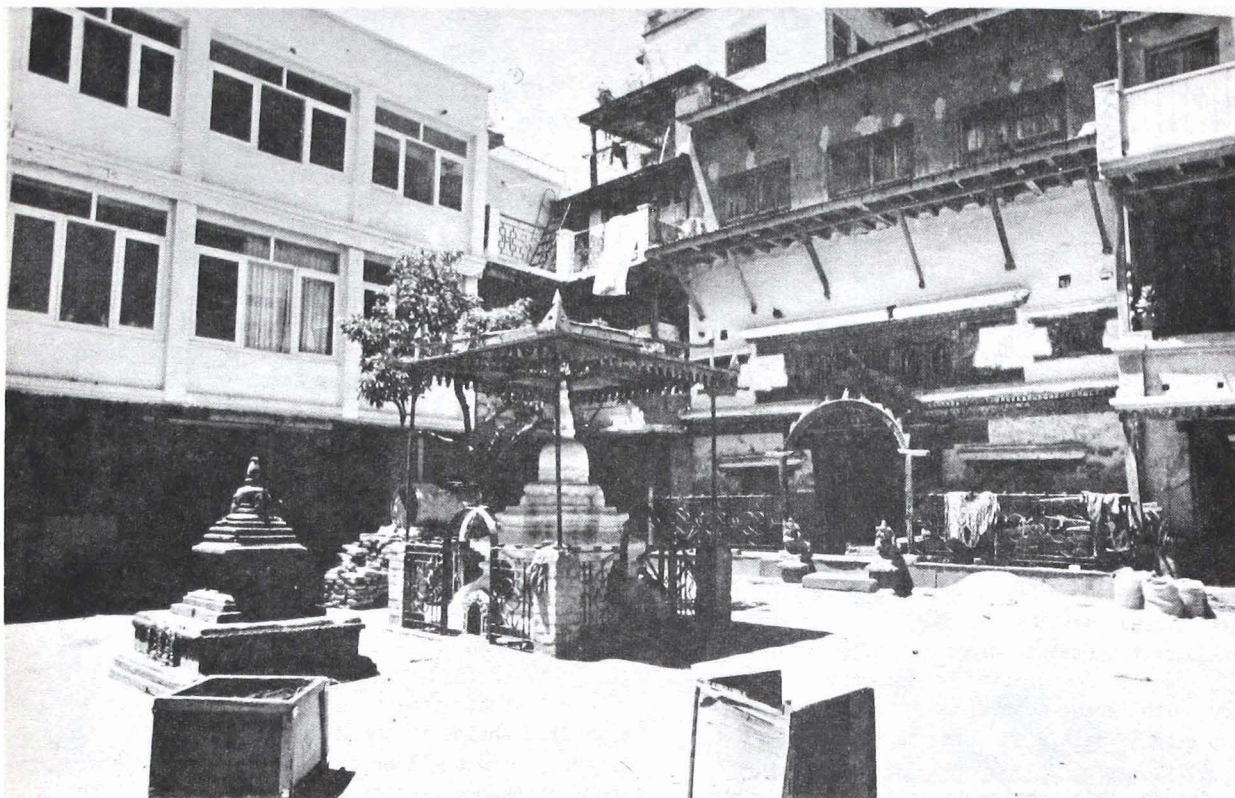
All that remains of this bāhā is a white plastered shrine in the middle of the Basantapur Square. The small brick shrine houses a stone image of Akṣobhya which was the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā complex that used to be situated on this site. Next to the shrine is a small stone caitya. At least some parts of the original building remained until the early part of this century and were inhabited by a family of Tūlādars. According to KTMV the bāhā was built by one Bhavānī Śhaṅkar in 1746. He was a member of the trading class, and hence the other Newari name of the bāhā, Baniyā Bāhā. The customary rituals are still performed by a Vajracarya of Sikhamu Bāhā, and in this sense it is a branch of Sikhamu Bāhā. Whether it ever housed members of the saṅgha Sikhamu Bāhā is now a moot point. It may have been built by traders (Udaya) for themselves with Vajracaryas from Sikhamu Bāhā simply serving as dya-pālās.

E. Kumārī Bāhā -- Rājākīrti Manorama Vihāra [56]

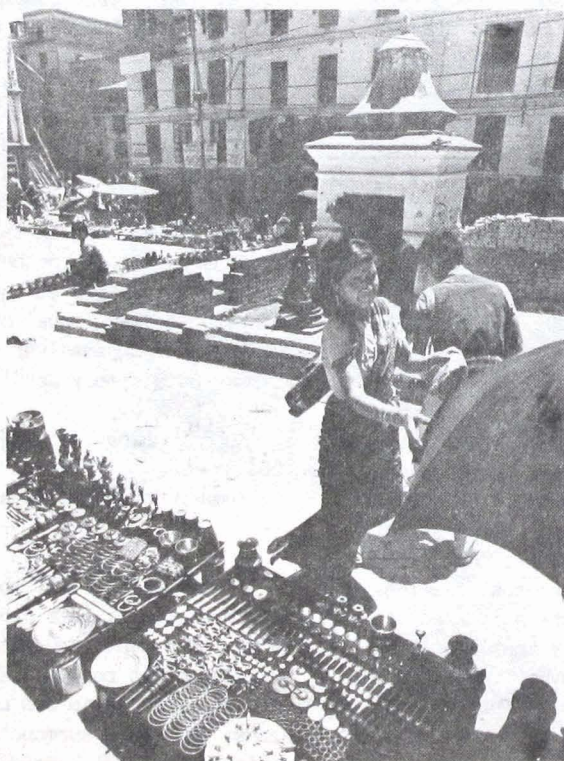
Kumārī Cheñ Rājalakṣmīkula Vihāra  
Basantapur

The structure of this shrine which houses the Royal Kumārī is a cross between a Newār town house and a bāhā, consisting of a three-storeyed building built round an enclosed courtyard. The street entrance to the complex is marked by two stone lions and surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting Mahisāsūramardinī Durgā whom the Kumārī incarnates in her function as Royal Kumārī.





186. Lāyku Bahī [54]



187. Basantapur Bāhā [57]



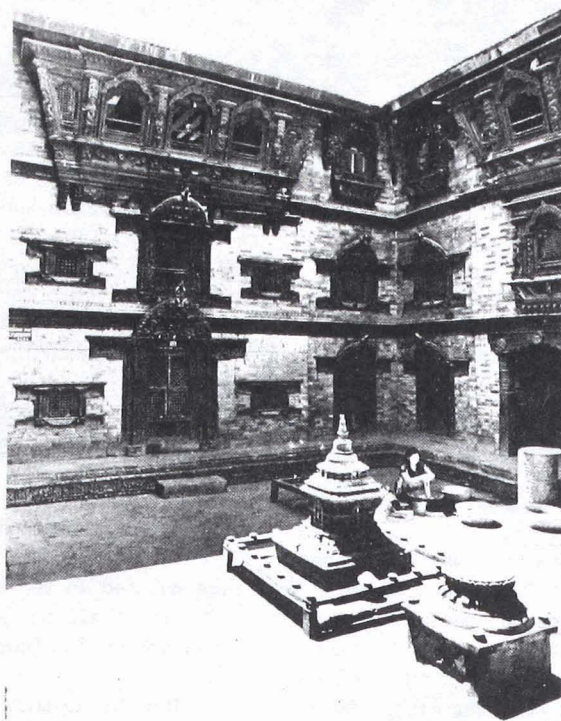
On the outer facade of the building are four large windows on the first storey and seven windows on the second storey. The four large windows of the first storey have the famous peacock design and the three central windows geometric screening. The windows of the third storey include a large triple grouping, the central window of which slants forward. Between these groups are windows in rectangular frames. The tile roof has a very gradual slope and is supported by small struts of simple deities which are directly attached to the white plastered wall. A triple gaḷūra with triple umbrellas over the spires complete the exterior. Passing into the courtyard one sees a single caitya and directly opposite this the entryway to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, which in this case is not a single Buddha but images of the five transcendent Buddhas. Over the doorway of this shrine is a wooden torāṇa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the centre and surmounted by Vajrasattva. There are four very large two-level window frames mounted on the walls of the courtyard, with three window openings on both the second and third floors. The windows of the court are also elaborately worked and each has a wooden torāṇa depicting Mahiṣāsūramardini Durgā.

This entire complex is primarily the residence and shrine of the Royal Kumārī. The tradition of worshipping young girls as 'incarnations' of a goddess in the Valley of Nepal is a Buddhist tradition. That a Buddhist girl is worshipped as an incarnation of a Hindu deity seems to have arisen because the Malla kings came to recognise one or other of these Buddhist Kumārīs as also an incarnation of Durgā, or more properly of their own special form of Durgā, Taleju Bhavānī. There is a well-known legend which attributes the custom to the last Malla king of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakāśh Malla (1735-68). Whatever the truth of this legend Jaya Prakāśh did not initiate the worship of Kumārī as Durgā, much less did he initiate the custom of worshipping a young girl as a living goddess. Chronicles speak of the worship of Kumārī in Bhaktapur during the reign of Trailokya Malla (1561-1610) and a diary account records the attendance of Kumārī at the Dasain sacrifice in Mūl Chok at Hanḍmān Dhokā in 1638, a hundred years before the time of Jaya Prakāśh. Two late thirteenth century manuscripts dated A.D. 1280 and 1285 deal with the choosing, ornamentation and worship of Kumārī.<sup>20</sup>

What Jaya Prakāśh Malla definitely did do was to construct this shrine for the Kumārī in N.S. 877. A thyāsaphu record records the events of the construction and consecration of the shrine. In Phālgun of the year N.S. 877 the foundation was laid and the rituals performed for this event by Bimalā Prabhānanda Vajracarya. By the month of Bhādra the building was finished and on the tenth day of the month Jaya Prakāśh Malla 'summoned' Svayambhū, Paśupati and other famous deities to the consecration ceremonies of the shrine. On the following day the Vajracaryas performed the rituals and recited the text known as Pañcavimsati, then the Kumārī was brought and ritually established in her shrine. On that day a feast was held at the Kumārī Bāhā for all of the Kānpaṭṭa Yogis of the country. On the following day all of the invited deities were mounted on their portable carriers and sent back to their own shrines.<sup>21</sup> The celebrations thus went on for four days.

The shrine then is a strange hybrid. In a sense it is a bāhā--architecturally, and in the fact that it has a Buddhist kwāpā-dya and a tantric Buddhist āgam deity, both tended by a Vajracarya. The Rāj Guru is the dya-pālā for the shrine of the five Buddhas on the ground floor and he also performs a daily pūjā in the shrine of the āgam deity (Herukacakrasāmvara-Vajradevī=Vajravārāhī). This āgam shrine is located directly above the shrine of the five Buddhas. However, though he performs a brief pūjā to the Kumārī as Vajradevī each day, the main pūjā to the girl is performed by one of the Ācājus from the Taleju temple, a Hindu tantric priest who worships her as Taleju Bhavānī. The Ācāju performs pūjā only to the Kumārī and is never permitted into either the kwāpā-dya shrine or the āgam above it. Kumārī Bāhā is not a bāhā in the sense of having a saṅgha nor is it properly a branch of Sikhamu Bāhā. The Rāj Guru's functions are personal. He holds this right because he is Rāj Guru not by virtue of the fact that he is a member of the Sikhamu Bāhā saṅgha.

The Rāj Guru's functions, in addition to the daily pūjās, are principally related to the selection of the Kumārī. When a Kumārī is disqualified a new one must be sought. She must be a daughter of any clean and properly initiated Sakya from any of the bāhās of Kathmandu, i.e. from any of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī or any of the Sakya bāhās. She may not be



188. Kumārī Bāhā [56]



189. Kwā Bāhā [1]

selected from a bahī saṅgha.<sup>22</sup> The Rāj Guru makes the initial selection of eligible girls and assists in the final selection. When the girl has been selected she is taken to the Royal Palace for a final approval by the King.

## 2. Kwā Bāhā -- Maitripura Mahāvihāra\* [1] Tha Hiti-Kwā Bāhā

Kwā Bāhā is situated in a partially preserved bāhā courtyard just north of Tha Hiti. Several sections of the buildings round the courtyard have been rebuilt destroying the original architectural unity of the bāhā. The shrine itself is of three storeys surmounted by a small cupola. The carved and embossed door frame of the shrine is flanked by images of Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana. The ground floor facade has been recently plastered with cement; the two upper storeys still show traces of the frescoes which illustrated several Buddhist deities. The main torāṇa over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is of repousse metal and undated. At the entryway into the bāhā compound is an identical but older wooden torāṇa dated N.S.789. Both torāṇas show the Buddha (Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left and surrounded by the four tantric Buddhas minus Vairocana. The kwāpā-dya is a standing Buddha figure with the left hand showing abhaya mudrā and the right hand showing the gesture of preaching. KTMV identifies the image as Dīpaṅkara, but local informants claim it is Maitreya.<sup>23</sup> The image certainly conforms to the standard iconography of Dīpaṅkara. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a tiled partial roof. The top storey has three ordinary latticed windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a cupola similar to those usually found on bahīs. Within the compound are an 'Aśoka Cai-tya', a small caitya on a pillar and several other images, none of great antiquity. The steps leading to the bāhā shrine are flanked by two metal lions and to the left is a bell. Within the shrine itself are about twenty images including a small wooden image identical to the kwāpā-dya image, and a small caitya which is the samyak deity of the bāhā.

The saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā comprises thirty four families with two hundred ninety three initiated Vajracaryas. This figure includes the members of Musyā Bāhā, the one branch of Kwā

Bāhā. Few of these Vajracarya families now live within the bāhā, and the daily rituals consist only of the morning pūjā and the lighting of the lamp in the evening. Though it was formerly the custom for the dya-pālā to remain in the shrine throughout his period of service. this custom has lapsed. Usually the dya-pālā comes only in the morning and evening for the prescribed rituals. All the members of the saṅgha serve in the temple for a month at a time by rotation through the roster of the initiated. The saṅgha has five elders. The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yogāmbara at Mheypī. Formerly the bāhā had a considerable income from their fields, about 50 muris of paddy a year. However, in recent years the income had fallen off and the remaining land was finally sold for Rs.40,000.00 and placed in a fixed deposit. The income from this deposit now comprises the sole income of the bāhā.

Kwā Bāhā has its own Kumārī or living goddess who is chosen from among the daughters of the members of the saṅgha. This Kumārī is entirely Buddhist in the sense that she is worshipped only as Vajradevī and never as Durgā. Though she belongs to Kwā Bāhā most of her functions are related to Thaṁ Bahī [96] where the Vajracaryas function as priests. Allen gives a brief account of the installation of a new Kumārī at Kwā Bāhā:

The ceremony of installation takes place at Kwābāhā with both the old and the new girls present. The old one, wearing all her jewels, sits on her throne with the new one on a mat in front of her. The Vajracharya purohit from Kwābāhā transfers supernatural powers from the old to the new. He places a garland of flowers around the neck of the disqualified girl who then removes her jewelry. The ex-Kumārī gets up from her throne and the father of the new one places his daughter on it. The old Kumārī is dressed in new everyday clothes while the new one is given a new set of red clothes from the funds of the Pradhān [i.e. Thaṁ Bahī] gūthī. The old one then has her formal hairstyle undone while the new one's is made up. Finally, after the old Kumārī and her parents have been feasted the new one is decorated in all



her jewelry and she is worshipped by the priest.<sup>24</sup>

Little is known about the history of Kwā Bāhā, despite the fact that it is recognised as the senior-most bāhā of Thatu Puik and often listed first on lists of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthi. There is nothing in the compound of great antiquity. The earliest dated reference to Kwā Bāhā comes from an inscription at Sigha Bāhā [8] dated N.S.672 which mentions a bhikṣu from Kwātha Bāhāra who was a member of a gūthi there.<sup>25</sup> The earlier form of the name, i.e. Kwātha Bāhāra (or Koṭha Bahārā) is attested to in several inscriptions. The earliest reference to the Sanskrit name comes from a manuscript of the Aparamitāyū Dhāraṇī Sūtra which was copied in N.S.779 by one 'Vajrācārya Jīnadeva of Maitripurī Mahāvihāra in the city of Sauvarṇapranārī'.<sup>26</sup> Later references usually give the name as Maitripura. Legend connects this bāhā with Vākvajra a famous Vajracarya, who after bringing the caitya at Sigha Bāhā from Benares is supposed to have returned to Kwā Bāhā where he went into meditation in the room to the side of the shrine where he remains to this day, or alternately, from where he vanished. This room, which still exists, is always kept locked and revered as a shrine of Vākvajra. No one ever enters the room. According to the same oral tradition Vākvajra had two sons Mañjupāla and Majindrapāla. The saṅgha at Musyā Bāhā [3] are said to be descendants of Majindrapāla and the rest of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā are said to be descendants of Mañjupāla.<sup>27</sup> The saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā has close connections with two other places: a shrine at Sigha Bāhā [8] and Thām Bahī [96]. See the accounts of these two bāhās for details.

A. Musyā Bāhā -- Karuṇāpura Vihāra [3]  
Jyāthā Tole

Musyā Bāhā is one of the few complete bāhā structures left in the city of Kathmandu, and like the similar Chusyā Bāhā [2] down the street, gives a good idea of what the bāhās formerly looked like. The entire building is of two storeys, including the shrine itself which is marked by two stone lions. Over the doorway of the shrine is a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his right. Above are four of the five transcendent Buddhas

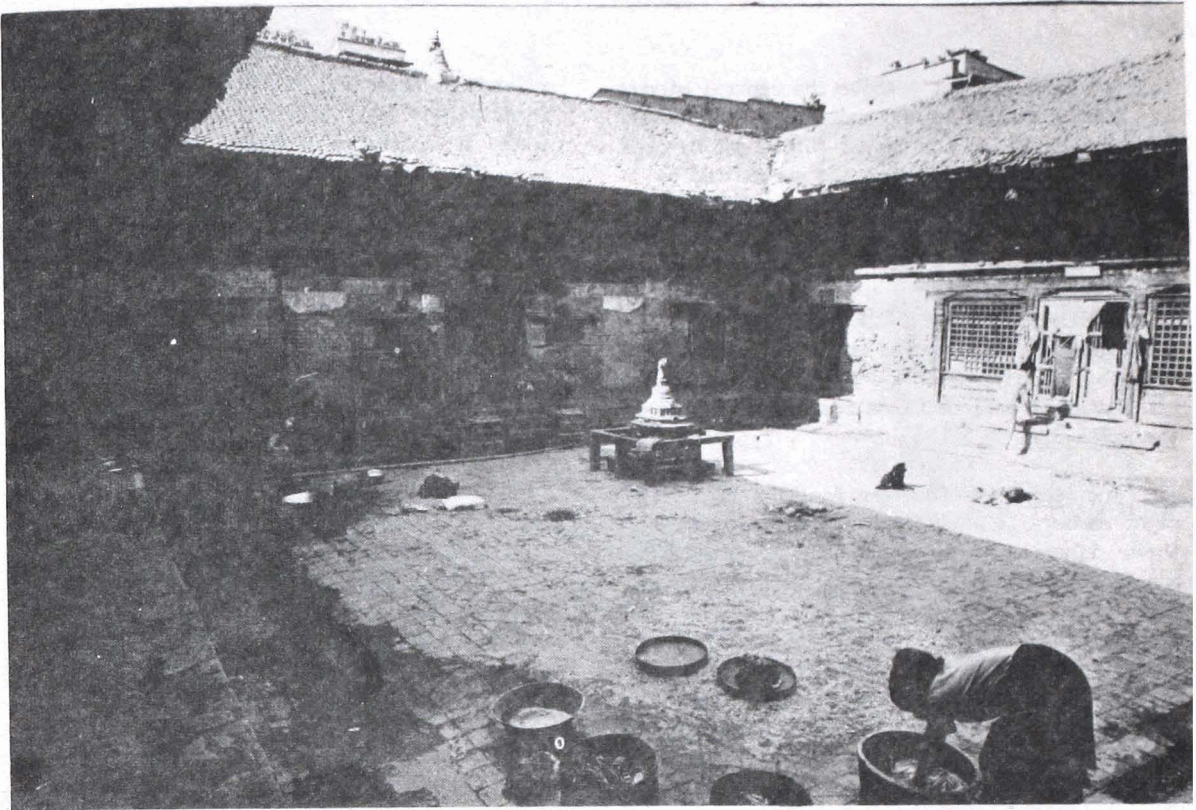
in their tantric form. Mahāvairocana is missing. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The frieze around the upper part of the ground floor shows traces of frescoes and the tile roof of the entire structure is supported by carved struts depicting various tantric Buddhist deities. Above the shrine itself is a single finial. The courtyard, which is paved in brick, has a single caitya in the centre. Just inside the entryway from the street are shrines of Ganesh and Mahākāl and over the street entrance is a torana showing Nāmasaṅgīti and dated N.S.713

The saṅgha of Musyā Bāhā comprises eighty four Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā all of whom claim descent from Majindrapāla, one of the two sons of Vākvajra. The members of the saṅgha take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service passes through the entire roster from eldest to youngest. No initiations are held here but only in Kwā Bāhā. The annual festival of this bāhā is held on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh, and the branch saṅgha has one elder.

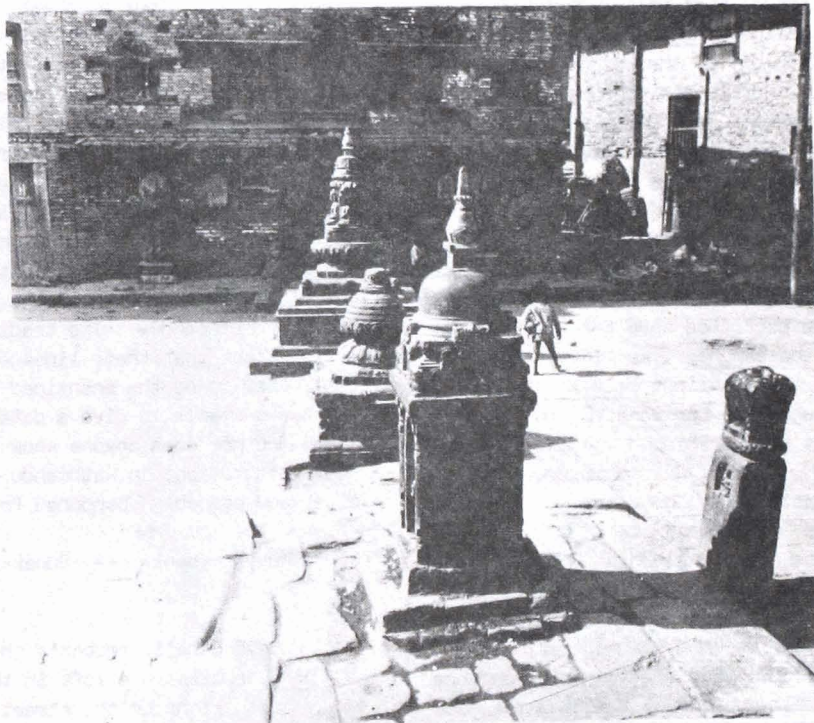
Little is known about the history of Musyā Bāhā. The main torana is dated N.S.805, but the torana over the doorway from the street is dated N.S.713. KTMV gives the date of construction as A.D.1663 (N.S.783), but gives no documentation for this date and it seems to be contradicted by the date on the older torana.<sup>28</sup> According to oral tradition Musyā Bāhā was founded by Majindrapāla, the son of Vākvajra.

3. Dhwākā Bāhā -- Henākara Mahāvihāra\* [6]  
Tyauda-Dhwākā Bāhā

Dhwākā Bāhā has a spacious courtyard with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya located in the south-east corner. Nothing is left of the original bāhā architecture, the shrine itself being a fairly recent reconstruction, perhaps after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is a simple brick building of three storeys which looks more like an ordinary house than a bāhā. The entrance at ground level is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara surrounded by six other tantric deities. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are large stone relief figures of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by



190. Musyā Bāhā [3]



191. Dhvākā Bāhā [6]

two smaller windows. Above the central window is another wooden torana showing a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā in the center surrounded by the five transcendent Buddhas and surmounted by a figure of Vajrasattva. The top storey comprises ordinary living quarters and the office of ward #2 of the Kathmandu Nagar Pancayat. The roof is of plain corrugated iron with no ornamentation. In the courtyard directly in front of the shrine are three caityas, two of which are definitely from the Licchavi period. There are also about ten images of various kinds inside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

The saṅgha of fourteen families with fifty eight members is entirely Vajracarya. There are three lineages in the saṅgha and theoretically one lineage does pūjā in Dhvākā Bāhā and Chusyā Bāhā, one lineage only at Chusyā Bāhā and one lineage at Hāku Bāhā. I say theoretically because Chusyā Bāhā has been abandoned for all practical purposes and at the present time all the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās at Dhvākā Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya morning and evening, and service is for one month passing through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Formerly service passed by turns through the lineages. The annual festival or busā dañ is no longer held, but the saṅgha does have an annual feast on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Guṇlā. During the month of Kartik the Nāmasaṅgīti is recited each day, and during the month of Śrāvan seven of the Vajracaryas recite the Prajñāpāramitā at Thām Bahī. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of the usual five elders plus two others who are sort of honorary members and are in fact the next two in line to become elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācālyugu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Sankhu which was 'brought' to Lām Bāhā [L] in Pakana-jole where it is now worshipped annually.

The earliest dated document to mention Dhvākā Bāhā is a palmleaf land grant dated N.S.701 where the name is given as Dhvākā Bāhā-<sup>30</sup>ra. However, by inference we have a much earlier date. Gam Bāhā was founded as an offshoot of Dhvākā Bāhā and we know the foundation date of that baha N.S.327 (See section below on Gam Bāhā) The earliest mention of the Sanskrit name of the bāhā is found in the document mentioned below and dated N.S.777. There are numerous

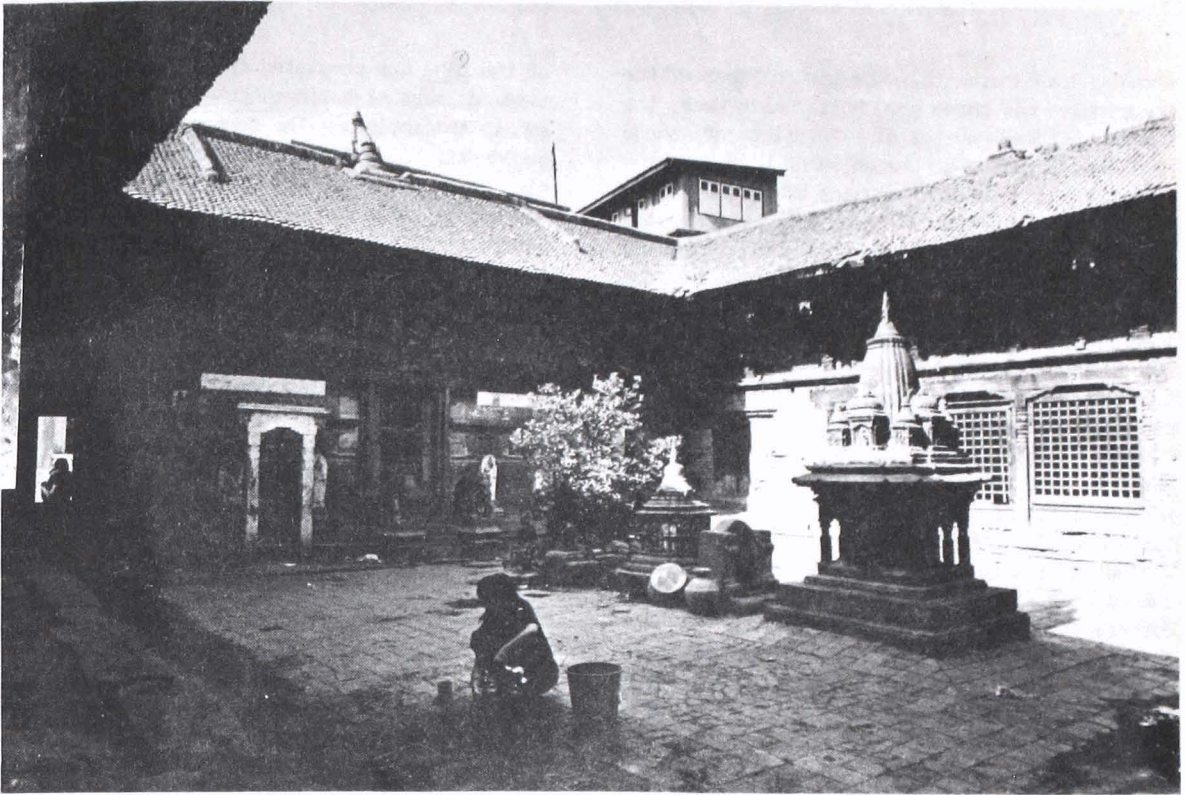
references after N.S.701 to Dhvākā Bāhā, most in inscriptions at different places in Kathmandu where a Vajracarya of Dhvākā Bāhā is cited as the officiating priest at some ritual performed at the place. Two documents attest to the holding of an elaborate Samyak ceremony in N.S.777 by a family from Henākara Mahāvihāra. Vajracarya Sri Jñānājoti, his son Guṇājoti, his grandson Dhanasimha, his great-grandson Parikhadeva and others hosted this ceremony on the day of Makara Sankranti in this year. On this occasion the King, Pratāp Malla, and a total of 7,500 Bare and gods attended the feast.<sup>31</sup> In N.S.812 this same Parikhadeva repaired the caitya and the golden finial of the shrine and set up an image of Akṣobhya.<sup>32</sup>

Though there is little evidence of an early date for the foundation of the present institution, the antiquity of the site of Dhvākā Bāhā is attested to by two pieces in the courtyard. The first is a lovely sarvatobhadra-type caitya with standing images of Sakyamuni Buddha, a second Sakyamuni showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā (often locally referred to as Maitreya), Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara. Above these four figures is another horizontal section with a seated Buddha above each of the standing figures. All four of these figures represent the Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation. This piece has been consistently dated to the seventh century A.D.<sup>33</sup> The second is a small caitya which is inscribed with the Buddhist motto (Ye Dharma etc.). The writing is from the time of the Licchavi King Narendradeva, mid-seventh century A.D.<sup>34</sup> According to the oral tradition preserved by the Vajracaryas of Dhvākā Bāhā the saṅgha originated in Sankhu from which place they moved in the dim past to the city of Kathmandu. The tradition is confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity is still considered to be the enshrined caitya at Sankhu. No one was able to give a date for this move to Kathmandu nor does anyone know if they founded a new institution in Kathmandu or took over an older and probably abandoned foundation.

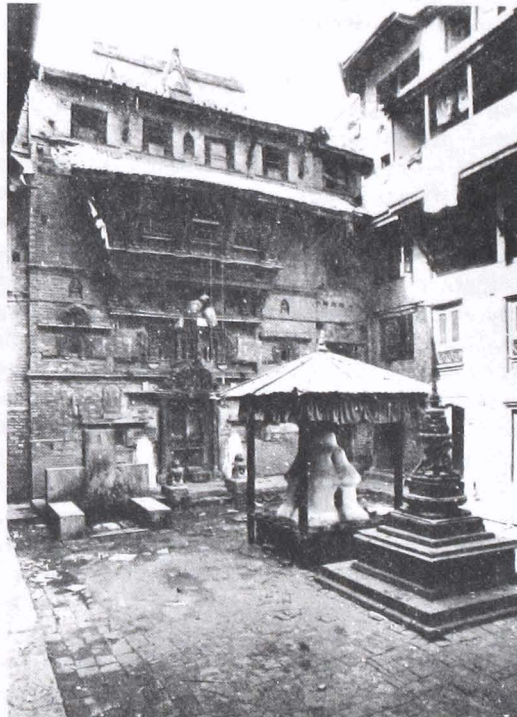
A. Chusyā Bāhā -- Guṇākara Vihāra\* [2]  
Jyatha Tole

Chusyā Bāhā is probably the finest example of bāhā architecture left in the Valley. The bāhā sits right on the street and one enters from the street doorway which is flanked by two stone lions and surmounted by a lovely torana





192. Chusyā Bāhā [21]



193. Hāku Bāhā [13]

showing Prajñāpāramitā. The ground floor of the quadrangle has three open halls which face the sunken bricked courtyard. The first of these halls is situated at the entrance with a shrine of Mahākāl to the right and one of Ganesh to the left. The other two halls are along the eastern and western wings of the quadrangle. Directly opposite the entrance is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which like the rest of the buildings is only two storeys. The entrance is marked by two elephants and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana with Mahā-akṣobhya in the central position, surrounded by ten other tantric deities. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. On the roof directly above the shrine is a single finial. At the corners of the ground floor are two smaller rooms in each corner; from each corner is a stairway leading to the first storey which has a series of three rooms off each stairway with no communicating doors making four quite separate apartments. The roof is of tile and the space under the roof is unused. One of the most striking features of the bāhā is the series of beautifully carved struts supporting the roof, each carved with the name of the deity portrayed.<sup>35</sup> In the courtyard are two caityas, an image of Tārā and a stone image of Vajrasattva flanked by the two donors of the image.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā appears to be completely inactive at the present time. Though one lineage of Dhvākā Bāhā originally lived here, there is now only one family here. The daily rituals are performed by someone who comes from Dhvākā Bāhā and the annual festival is no longer observed, though there is an annual pūjā to the caitya on the day of Śrī Pañcamī. At the present time the open halls on the ground floor are used for a small primary school. Little care is taken of the building, the brickwork is in need of urgent attention, and damage is being done by the crowd of little children who squeeze into the open spaces on the ground floor each day. If steps are not taken soon for the preservation of this gem of Malla architecture it will crumble and give way to a concrete box.

For the history of Chusyā Bāhā we would seem to be on very firm ground, but records are deceptive. There is an inscription at the bāhā dated N.S.788 which says that the construction

of the bāhā was completed in N.S.769 and at that time an image of Harihara Lokeśvara was installed in the shrine. The donors were Vajracarya Guṇajyoti, his first wife Yadumani Lakṣmī and his second wife Helmani Lakṣmī of Dhvākā Bāhā. In N.S.788 the king of Kathmandu, Pratāp Malla was invited by Guṇajyoti to the ceremony marking the official opening of the bāhā.<sup>36</sup> The torana over the outer doorway is dated N.S.793 and the one over the shrine entrance is dated N.S.796. However, the carved struts of the bāhā were first dated to the fourteenth century A.D. by S. B. Deo, and subsequent writers have concurred in his judgment.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the kwāpā-dya of the shrine is not Harihara Lokeśvara but Akṣobhya. It seems clear that the bāhā was renovated in N.S.769, and the occasion marked by the donation of an image of Harihara Lokeśvara some years later. Pratāp Malla was invited to the consecration ceremony of this image. It is impossible to say whether Chusyā Bāhā had long been a branch of Dhvākā Bāhā and was renovated at this time, or whether it was a separate foundation that had been abandoned by its original inhabitants, fallen into disrepair and then taken over and renovated by the people of Dhvākā Bāhā as a branch of their bāhā.

#### B. Hāku Bāhā -- Harṣa Caitya Vihāra [13] Asan Tole

Hāku Bāhā is an entirely closed but very small courtyard just off Asan Tole. The bāhā shrine is a characteristic shrine of three storeys to which a fourth storey has recently been added. The entrance, which is just above ground level, is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting the five Buddhas in their tantric form with Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara in the centre, surrounded by four other tantric Buddhas and surmounted by Vajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, usually identified as Maitreya. He faces north. The first storey of the facade has a triple window flanked by two smaller, ornate windows. The second storey has a finely carved projecting bay window, and the top storey is used for living quarters but has a number of carved roof struts which must have been taken from an earlier structure. On the roof is a single gaṇjūra in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is an Aśoka Caitya<sup>1</sup> and several images including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Padmapāṇi.

At present the saṅgha of this branch, which theoretically consists of one lineage of Dhvākā Bāhā, is not very active. No one of the saṅgha lives here any more, and the daily rituals are performed by someone from Dhvākā Bāhā. The annual festival is no longer observed and there is no income. The only annual observance is a feast at the time of the disi pūjā in the month of Paus. The saṅgha still has one elder.

No information is available about the foundation of this bāhā beyond the oral tradition that the Sanskrit name derives from the name of one Harśa who built the monastery and donated it to the original saṅgha. The earliest date available in the complex is that on the torāṇa, N.S.771.

#### 4. Gaṁ Bāhā -- Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra\* [7] Nagha Tole

At present Gaṁ Bāhā consists simply of a plain brick structure of three storeys in an enclosed courtyard. On the ground floor is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya with a very plain door surmounted by a torāṇa showing Nāmasaṅgīti and dated N.S.1088. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Above the shrine are three tiny windows flanked by two small openings. At the level of the second storey is a single large opening; the rest of the facade is a plain blank wall. Directly in front of the shrine doorway in the paved courtyard is a single votive caitya and in front of that a much larger, enshrined caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eight families of Vajracaryas with a total of only sixteen initiated members. The regular rituals are performed each morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes by seniority through the roster of members. The annual festival is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is at Lām Bāhā [L] in Pakanajole, but said by the members of the saṅgha to be Yogāmbara.<sup>38</sup> The saṅgha has a board of five elders. The bāhā now has no income though it used to have an annual income of

thirteen murīs of paddy.

There is nothing of great antiquity within this courtyard itself. One inscription mentions that in N.S.796 a golden banner was donated to the caitya in the courtyard and in N.S.821 the shrine of Akṣobhya was repaired.<sup>39</sup> The inscription gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra. There is however a separate document, a land deed, which gives a much earlier date and evidently the date of the foundation of this bāhā. In the year N.S.327 two donors by the name of Śrī Vajracārya Ratnadeva and Śrī Pātra Brahma Jhakura gave a gift of a bāhā and land for a garden. This bāhā was known as Gaṁthi Bāhā and on the tenth day of the month of Jyestha of this year the image of Akṣobhya, the caitya and the āgam deity were consecrated and the gift handed over to Śrī Vajracārya Amṛtapāra and Vajracārya Amṛtacandra and their families. The document is in the possession of the present members of the saṅgha of Gaṁ Bāhā and indicates that the present saṅgha or community dates to this time.<sup>40</sup> Whether or not Gaṁthi Bāhā was an already existing foundation which had been abandoned or no longer needed by the original inhabitants or by the donors, or whether this was an entirely new foundation is not clear from the document. The document does not say that a bāhā was constructed, but that it was gifted and the above mentioned rituals performed. No mention is made of the bāhā to which the donor Vajracarya belonged nor that to which the two recipient Vajracaryas belonged, but there is an oral tradition that they came from Dhvākā Bāhā. This tradition is confirmed by the fact that both bāhās still have the same lineage deity and the fact that marriages between the saṅghas of Dhvākā Bāhā and Gaṁ Bāhā are still forbidden on the grounds of consanguinity.

#### 5. Nhū (Jhwā) Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra\* [10] Thaya Madu Tole

Nhu Bāhā is a very unpretentious building just off the road at the corner of Thaya Madu Tole. It looks like an ordinary dwelling except for the carved doorway with its torāṇa on the ground floor and the two small stone lions in front of it. The torāṇa, which is undated but appears to be of fairly recent origin, shows Vajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya, which faces north, is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, often identified by the local inhabitants as Ratnasambhava. The image





194. Gañ Bāhā [7]



195. Nhū (Jhwā) Bāhā [10]

faces north. Above the shrine is a low storey with two small windows and one larger triple window with plain lattice work instead of the usual bāhā style windows. The two upper storeys are living apartments surmounted by an ordinary corrugated iron roof. Directly in front of the shrine are a small caitya and a stone maṇḍalā. In the centre of the courtyard are a large, plastered caitya and two smaller caityas. At the southern edge of the courtyard is an open rest house.

The present saṅgha of Vajracaryas, which is still very active, comprises one hundred eighty three members, none of whom live at this site. They are divided into two main groups: the Nuwākoṭ Gurujūs and the Phusikhya Gurujūs. The first group is so called because they have the traditional right and duty to serve in the temple of Bhairava-Bhairavī in Nuwākoṭ.<sup>41</sup> This custom is still active, and at the present time there are seventeen Vajracaryas who perform this service by turn. The term of service is an entire year, and one must spend the entire time at Nuwākoṭ. According to the oral tradition of the saṅgha both groups are descended from a common ancestor, the founder of Jhwā Bāhā. He had two sons who eventually quarrelled and subsequently divided the wealth and duties of the saṅgha between them and their descendants. Kusum Deva was one of these sons and the progenitor of the Nuwākoṭ Gurujūs. He and his family inherited the right of service at Nuwākoṭ. At the present time this lineage is sub-divided into two sub-lineages. These two sub-lineages serve at Nuwākoṭ on alternate years. The second group, known as the Phusikhya Gurujūs are so called because they have obligations of worship at Phusikhya and at the Manakāmana shrine near Gorkha. Phusikhya is a village about two hours walk from Amrit Science Campus by a small dirt road which goes across the ring road toward Tokha above Bālāju. This is an entirely Jyāpū village, and these Vajracaryas act as the priests of the families resident there. There is a house there where one Vajracarya used to live to be at the service of the people. At the present time no one lives there, but the Vajracaryas come when they are called by the people, and they must be present for a special jatrā held in the village once every twelve years. In addition to this one Vajracarya used to stay at the shrine of Manakāmana near Gorkha to act as the dya-pālā in that temple. Now, however, no one stays there but someone goes only for the

the two annual festivals of the shrine, one in Baiśākḥ and one in Kārtik. This group, which according to oral tradition, are all descendants of the brother of Kusum Deva has four sub-divisions.

All of the members of the saṅgha those of both groups, also perform the daily rituals at Nhū Bāhā morning and evening, though none of them live at the bāhā now and they do not stay there for the duration of their service. Service passes through the households of the saṅgha in turn; and when the service of a household comes round, anyone who has been initiated may perform the service which lasts for one week. It need not even be the same man each day of the week.

The annual festival of the saṅgha used to be held here at Nhū Bāhā on a fixed date in the fall, but at the present time there is no fixed date. It is held whenever is convenient, some time around Dasain. Everything has been considerably simplified. After the prescribed rituals there is a feast for one man each from the twenty eight households attached to the saṅgha.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Ugra Tārā = Vajrayoginī at Sankhu.<sup>42</sup> Informants say that the deity was 'brought' from Sankhu and transferred to an image which is now kept in the home of the head of the saṅgha. At the time of the annual worship this image is taken in procession to the defunct Lām Bāhā [L] in Pakana-jol. All members of the saṅgha are invited for the annual worship, but at the present time only six households contribute to the expenses, so only the members of these six households are entitled to participate in the feast which follows. The saṅgha is governed by a group of five elders. Whatever income the bāhā had from farm land has been lost and the only regular income they now have is Rs. 300 per year which they get from the family which lives in the upper storeys of Nhū Bāhā.

This bāhā and its saṅgha have a curious history. The original bāhā of this saṅgha was Jhwā Bāhā [4], and all lists of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī still list Jhwā Bāhā instead of Nhū Bāhā. According to the oral tradition of the saṅgha, at some time in the distant past the image of the kuāpā-dya was stolen from Jhwā Bāhā. After some time the

image was discovered in a wooded area near the edge of the city called Thāya Madu (so called because it was heavily wooded and there was 'no place' [thāya madu] there to build a building. When the image was discovered, rituals were performed to pacify the deity, and lots were cast to determine whether the deity wanted to return to his former residence in Jhwā Bāhā or remain in Thāya Madu. The deity 'chose' to stay in Thāya Madu and hence a new bāhā was constructed at that site. It is unclear whether any members of the saṅgha ever lived in Thāya Madu or not. In any case this became the official bāhā with the same Sanskrit name as Jhwā Bāhā (Ratnakeṭu) but called Nhū Bāhā (the New Bāhā) in Newari. All rituals and ceremonies concerning the kwāpā-dya and initiations into the saṅgha were transferred to the new site. Hence Barechuyegu initiations are performed for the entire saṅgha at Nhū Bāhā. However, the āgam dya, the secret tantric deity of the saṅgha, was not transferred but remained in the āgam at Jhwā Bāhā. Hence worship of the āgam dya is still carried out at Jhwā Bāhā and all Vajracarya initiations (Ācāluwegu) are still performed at Jwā Bāhā.

There is no documentary or inscriptional evidence to confirm this story, but the Sanskrit name of this bāhā and the still prevalent customs mentioned above confirm the fact that the kwāpā-dya was indeed moved from Jhwā Bāhā to this site some time in the past, whatever the reason. The etymology given by the story is clearly a bit of folklore. K. P. Malla has pointed out to me that the word actually comes from thane-mandu=the upper town/market. There is one illegible Malla inscription at this site, one inscription from the time of King Rāṇa Bahādur Shah and a third dated N.S.1023. There are references to Ratnakeṭu Mahāvihāra in Suvarṇa-praṇālī Mahānagara from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it is impossible to tell whether the references are to Jhwā or Nhū Bāhā as both have the same Sanskrit name and both are in Suvarṇapraṇālī.

This bāhā has two official branches (Cā Bāhā [11] and Dhālisikwa Bāhā [12]) and two private branches (Jhwā Bāhā [10] and Jyotiya Bāhā [5]).

#### A. Cā Bāhā -- Karnaketu Vihāra [11] Nhayakañtalā Tole

The bāhā shrine in this small, enclosed courtyard has been recently renovated and now consists of a three storied, cement plastered building. On the ground floor is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya who is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara surrounded by four other tantric deities. In the courtyard are an 'Asoka caitya', and three votive caityas, plus images of Sarasvatī, Ārya Tārā, Ganesh and Mahākāl.

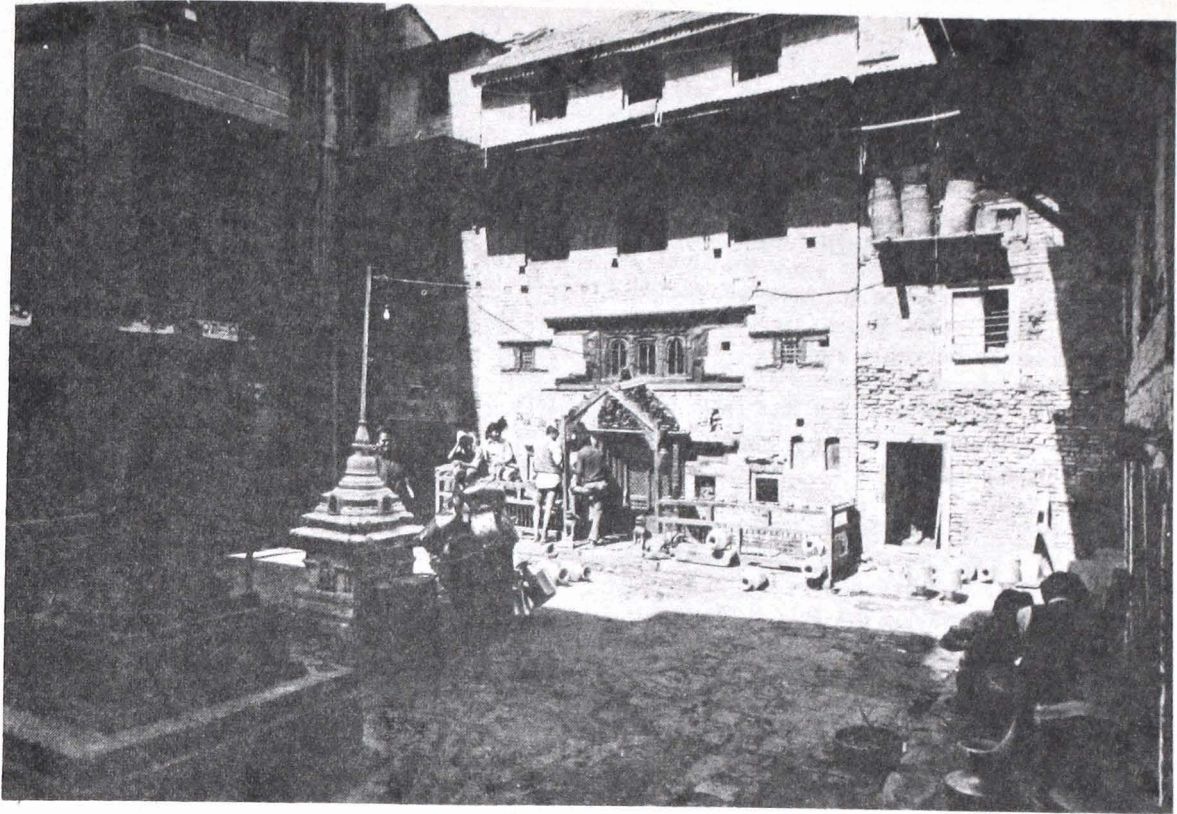
The saṅgha of this branch is unique in Kathmandu in that it is composed of several houses of Vajracaryas from Nhū-Jhwā Bāhā and two households of Vajracaryas from Gaṃ Bāhā.<sup>43</sup> There are many examples of Bare from one bāhā now living in the quarters of another bāhā which they have rented or bought from the original inhabitants. But in such cases they have no ritual part to play in the life of the saṅgha attached to the bāhā where they live. (If they are the only ones living in the bāhā and have taken up the task of performing the nitya pūjā, it automatically becomes a branch of their main bāhā.) In this case the two households of Gaṃ Bāhā are members of this branch saṅgha and take their turn as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The daily rituals are performed each morning by the members of this composite saṅgha in turn for a month at a time. Service passes through the roster of households. The annual festival is no longer observed, the only annual observance being the disi pūjā in Paṣ. The saṅgha does not have any internal structure, and no elders. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

There are two Malla inscriptions within the courtyard, one of which says that the bāhā was commissioned to be used by one Sakyabhikṣu Rāmacandra.<sup>44</sup> On the basis of these two inscriptions KTMV gives the date of construction as about A.D.1650.<sup>45</sup>

#### B. Dhālisikwa Bāhā -- Gautama Śrī Vihāra [12] Asan-Dhālisikwa

This branch is situated in a very small, enclosed courtyard just north of Asan. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has retained its traditional form and appears very old. The area in





196. Cā Bāhā [11]



197. Dhālisikwa Bāhā [12]

front of the shrine is enclosed by a railing into which are set oil lamps and at the entrance are two small, stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara surrounded by four other tantric figures and with smaller figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha just above the lintel. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has a carved, triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an elaborately carved and overhanging balcony. In the courtyard are four tall caityas, none of a very great age, a maṇḍalā and a recess for the sacred fire.

The saṅgha of this branch comprises four households of Vajracaryas all Phusikhya Gurujūs of Nhu-Jhwā Bāhā. Members of this branch saṅgha perform the usual rituals but only in the morning. Service lasts for one month at a time and is determined by a very complex schedule of household service comprising a series of thirty nine terms of service. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Maṅsir, but at the present time consists only of a pūjā; there is no feast following the rituals, because the bāhā no longer has any income. The branch saṅgha has one elder.

KTMV gives the time of construction of this bāhā as seventeenth century, but cites no evidence for this date.<sup>46</sup> There is a Malla period copper-plate inscription attached to the building; it conveys an invitation to a Samyak festival, but the date is illegible.

C. Jhwā Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Vihāra\* [4]  
Tha Hiti Tole

Jhwā Bāhā consists of a series of three enclosed courtyards running east and west, plus another small courtyard just to the north of the eastern courtyard. The central courtyard is the site of the original Jhwā Bāhā. Along the northern side of the courtyard was the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and along the southern side is the original shrine of the āgam-dya where Ācālyegu initiations are still performed. However, the āgam-dya is now kept in a small room in the western courtyard adjoining the present Jhwā Bāhā. There are two votive caityas in the centre of the middle courtyard.

The western courtyard is the site of the

present Jhwā Bāhā, a private branch of Nhu-Jhwā Bāhā. The entrance to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya along the southern side, is marked by two stone lions and an archway with oil lamps set into it. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The facade is painted with frescoes depicting the five Buddhas and other Buddhist deities. Above this is an overhanging veranda faced in rough, unpainted wood and supported by carved struts depicting the pūjā-devis. This section is clearly a recent addition or renovation and comprises living quarters. In the courtyard is a single caitya.

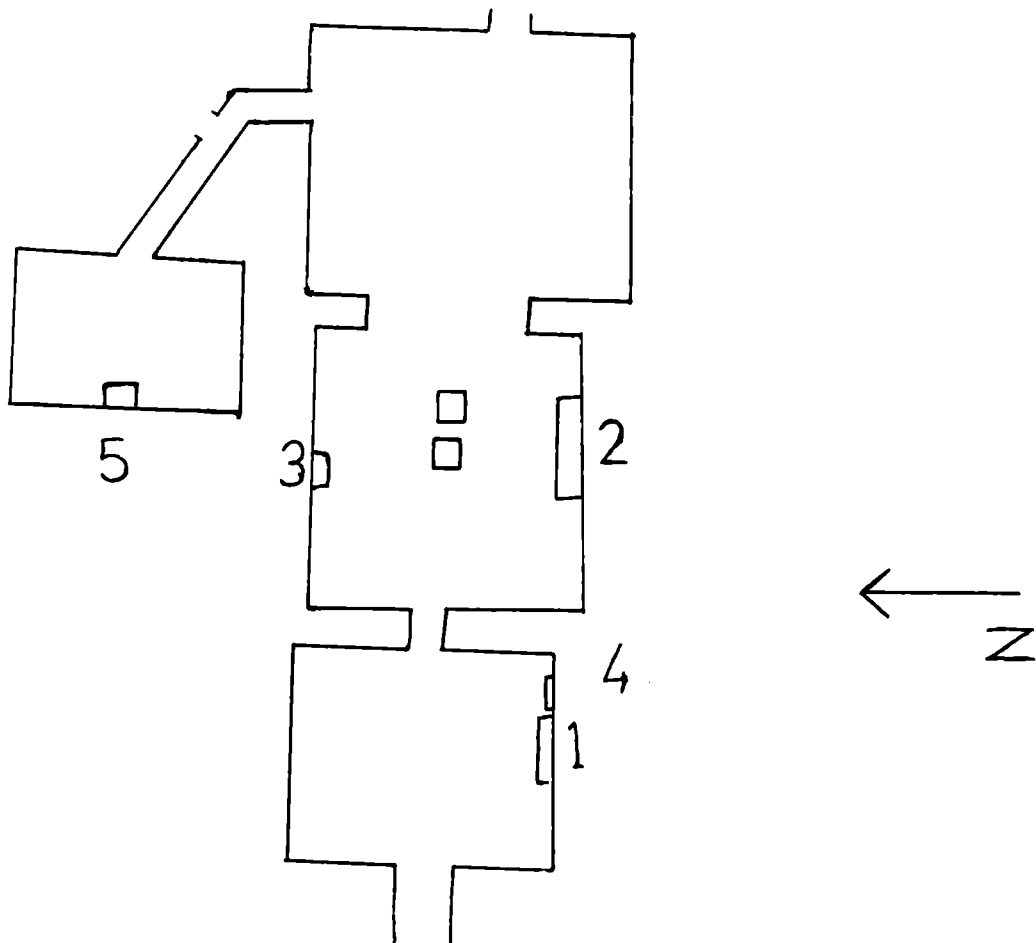
This private branch is supposed to have been built by Kusum Deva, and most of his descendants still live within this compound and constitute the 'saṅgha' of this private foundation. This saṅgha still performs the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Service is by households and the term of service is an entire year. At the present time there is no annual festival, which informants say is because it is not an official branch. The branch saṅgha has one elder. The bāhā has no income at the present time. Little is known about the early history of Jhwā Bāhā other than the oral tradition, and there are no inscription or images of great antiquity in the complex. The earliest reference to the bāhā comes from two manuscripts whose colophons speak of Jhwāra Bahārā in Suvarṇapraṇālī. They are dated N.S.773 and 776.<sup>47</sup> The earliest reference to the Sanskrit name comes from a manuscript dated N.S.888 which was written by one Sakyamuni who lived in Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra in Suvarṇapraṇālī (sic) Mahānagara.<sup>48</sup> Oral tradition says that one Lalita Vajra, the preceptor of founder of this bāhā, grew a tree here which bore gems, but when his descendants failed to observe the precepts of the Buddha the gems all fell to the ground. Others say that he caused gems to rain down from the sky. The legend is connected with the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, ratnaketu = jewel banner.

D. Jotiya Bāhā -- Tiriratnaketu Vihāra [5]  
(Jhwā Bāhā Dune) Jhwā Bāhā

This is a small, modern shrine of brick and

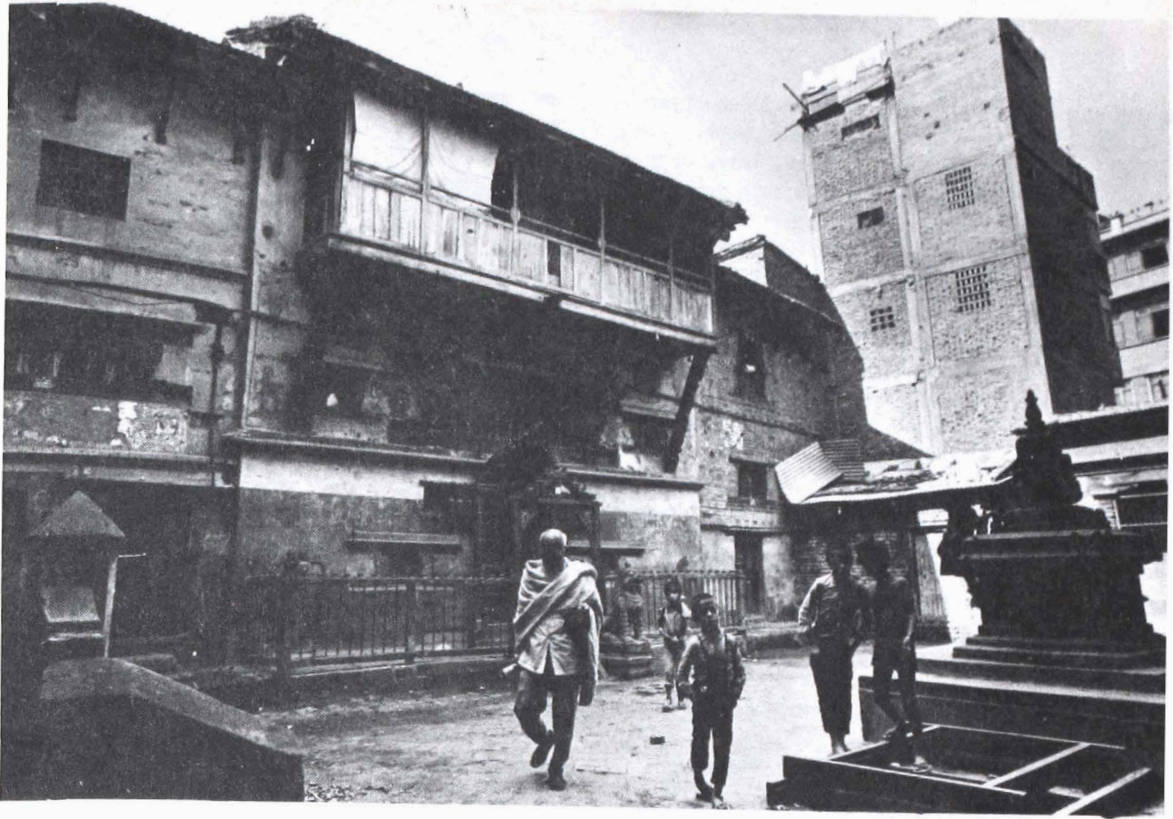
# Diagram of Jhwa Baha Complex

1. The present private kwapa-dya shrine of the Nuwakot Gurujus
2. Site of the original kwapa-dyashrine which housed the image now enshrined at Nhu Baha [10]
3. Site of the original Agam shrine where Acaluyegu initiations are still held for the entire sangha
5. Jyotiya Baha, a small private branch









198. Jhwā Bāhā [4]



199. Jotiya Bāhā [5]

cement standing at the edge of a small courtyard just off the eastern section of Jhwā Bāhā. It was built in the nineteenth century, three generations ago, by one Jyoti Ratna Vajracarya whose descendents now comprise five households. The shrine contains three images, Akṣobhya, Mañjusri (worshipped regularly by nearby Hindus as Sarasvatī), and Ratnasambhava. Several other small images are set into the wall to the side of the shrine and there is a caitya in the centre of the courtyard. The members of these five households perform the usual rituals morning and evening by turn. The image of Akṣobhya, facing east, is considered to be the kwāpā-dya. There is no annual festival. Though the present shrine was built in the last century, informants say that the caitya and the images themselves are much older, perhaps the remains of an earlier foundation. The bāhā has no income.

6. Makhañ Bāhā -- Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra\*  
[42] Makhañ Tole :

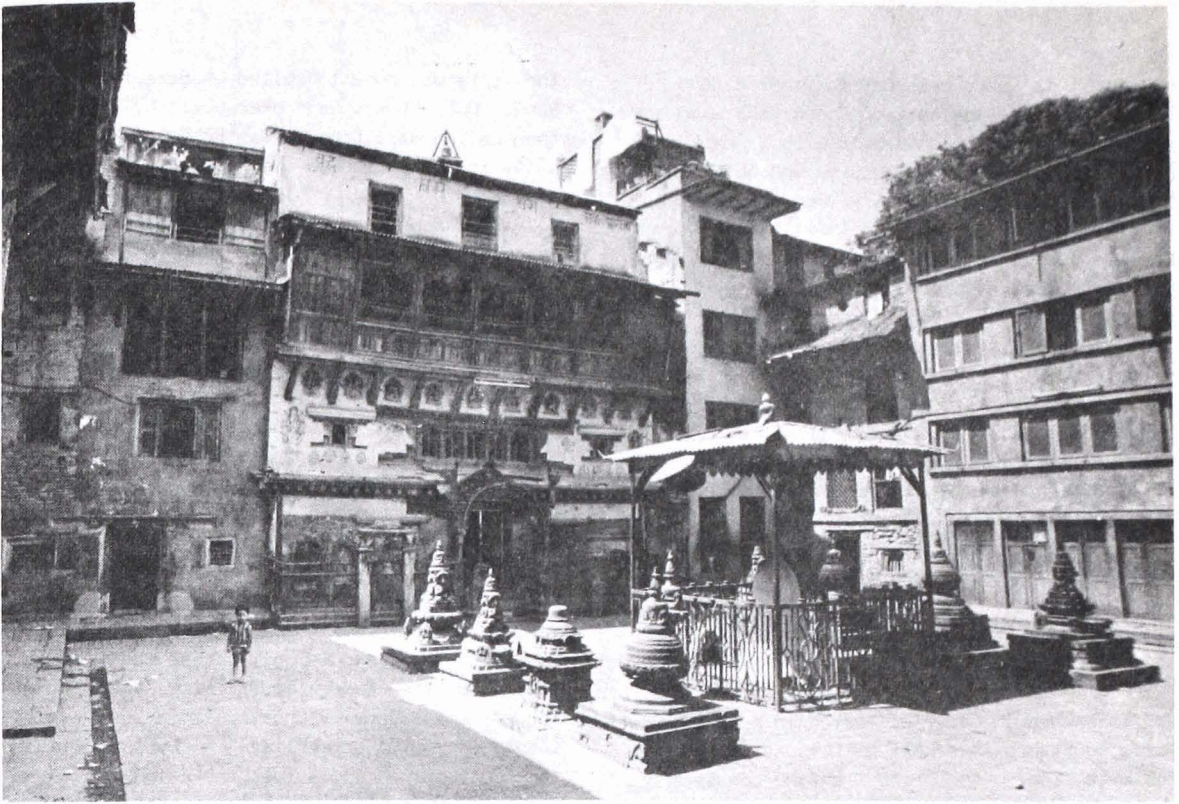
Makhan Baha is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the Makhañ Tole road. All the buildings in the courtyard, except the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, appear rather recent. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and an archway with oil lamps set into it. The shrine on the ground floor has a carved doorway flanked by images of Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana and surmounted by a torana showing only the figure of Dharmadhātū Vāgīśvara flanked by two devotees with yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The facade has been plastered and has frescoes of the five transcendent Buddhas and Avalokiteśvara plus other Buddhist deities. Above this are two more storeys of ordinary living quarters, evidently of fairly recent origin. The first of these storeys has an overhanging balcony surrounded by plain lattice windows. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a single gajūra. In the courtyard are one 'Asoka' caitya and nine other votive caityas, none of any great antiquity.

The saṅgha of Makhañ Bāhā consists of forty three households of Vajracaryas and two of Sakyas with a total membership of one hundred twenty five Vajracaryas and seven Sakyas. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha in turn. The term

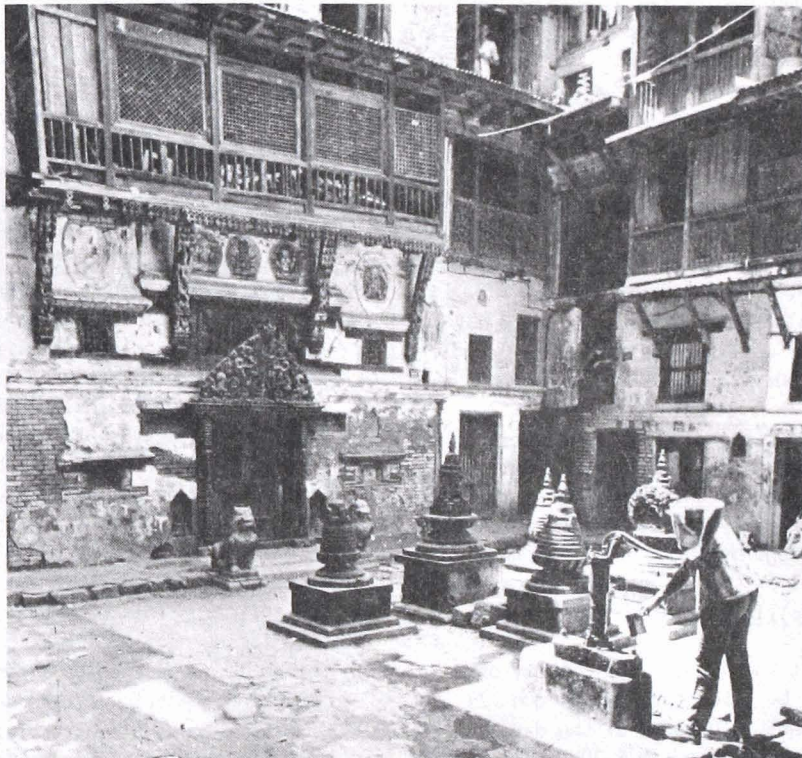
of service is one month and passes through the households in turn. Within each household, however, service passes from eldest to youngest. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayoginī' at Sankhu. The saṅgha is governed by a group of five elders. Though the annual festival, which used to be held on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Magh, is no longer held, the saṅgha has several other gūthīs which are still functioning. Seventeen of the households belong to a Nāsā Gūthī. There is another gūthī known as the Eighty Four Gūthī, so called because at the annual meeting of this gūthī it is the custom for the one whose turn it is to conduct the festival to feed the entire saṅgha, and for this feast he has to prepare eighty four different dishes of food. There is also a gūthī whose duty it is to perform pūjās at the following places: Palānchok Bhagavati, Kāl Bhairava (at Hanūmān Dhokā), Sobhā Bhagavatī, Ākāś Bhairava, and the shrine of Śāntipur at Swayambhū.

The earliest reference to this bāhā is found in an inscription at Swayambhū commemorating the setting up of a caitya in the year N.S.694. The priest who performed the consecration ceremonies was 'Vajracarya Bhikṣu Sri Dakasimha of Makhañ Bahārā'.<sup>49</sup> The oldest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.792 and commemorates the setting up of the stone lions in that year.<sup>50</sup> The Sanskrit name of the bāhā is confirmed by a reference to the monastery in a manuscript dated N.S.819.<sup>51</sup> Ratna Kaji Vajracarya refers to an oral tradition preserved by the saṅgha that the bāhā was founded by the great preceptor Śāntikar Ācārya.<sup>52</sup> However, this bit of folklore is based on a misunderstanding. The Vajracaryas of Makhañ Bāhā have the right and duty to enter the sacred shrine of Śāntipur once a month to perform the monthly rituals there and to go into the shrine to perform special rituals especially in times of drought. They also have in their possession a book containing the rituals for this nāga sādhanā. This book has been handed down from generation to generation, supposedly from the time of Śāntikar Ācārya himself. Some at Makhañ Bāhā say that since they have this book and since they alone have the right to perform these rituals in Śāntipur, their bāhā must have been founded by Śāntikar Ācārya himself. However, informants at Musum Bāhā [89] say that the book and the rights which





200. Makhañ Bāhā [42]



201. Tuñ Cheñ Bāhā [53]

accompany it once belonged to the saṅgha of Musum Bāhā. It was lost to Musum Bāhā when the book and all the rights went with a daughter, the sole heir of the Vajracarya who held those rights, as part of her dowry when she married a man from Makhañ Bāhā. The Thakālī of Makhañ Bāhā has confirmed that indeed the book did come from Musum Bāhā and he says that this took place in the time of King Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Malla (c.N.S.737-761). Lakṣmīnarasiṃha was the father of Pratāp Malla. It certainly seems that by the time of Pratāp Malla it was the Vajracaryas of Makhañ Bāhā who had the right to enter the shrine. A painting of Pratāp Malla's entrance to bring rain notes in the accompanying explanation that he took with him one Bare from Swayambhū and one Vajracarya (qutubhārā) from Makhañ Bāhā.

A. Tuñ Cheñ Bāhā -- Tutakṣam Vihāra [53]  
Makhañ Gallī

This branch bāhā is located in an entirely closed courtyard in Makhañ Gallī just off of New Road Extension. The present shrine consists of four storeys, the upper two of which are ordinary living quarters and probably of fairly recent origin. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Vajrasattva flanked by two attendants with yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya is a standing Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The facade has been plastered and there are fading frescoes of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and other deities. The balcony of the second story is supported by four seventeenth century struts. In the courtyard are five caityas, an image of Ganesh, one of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, and a well (hence the Newari name Tun Cheñ = 'Well House').

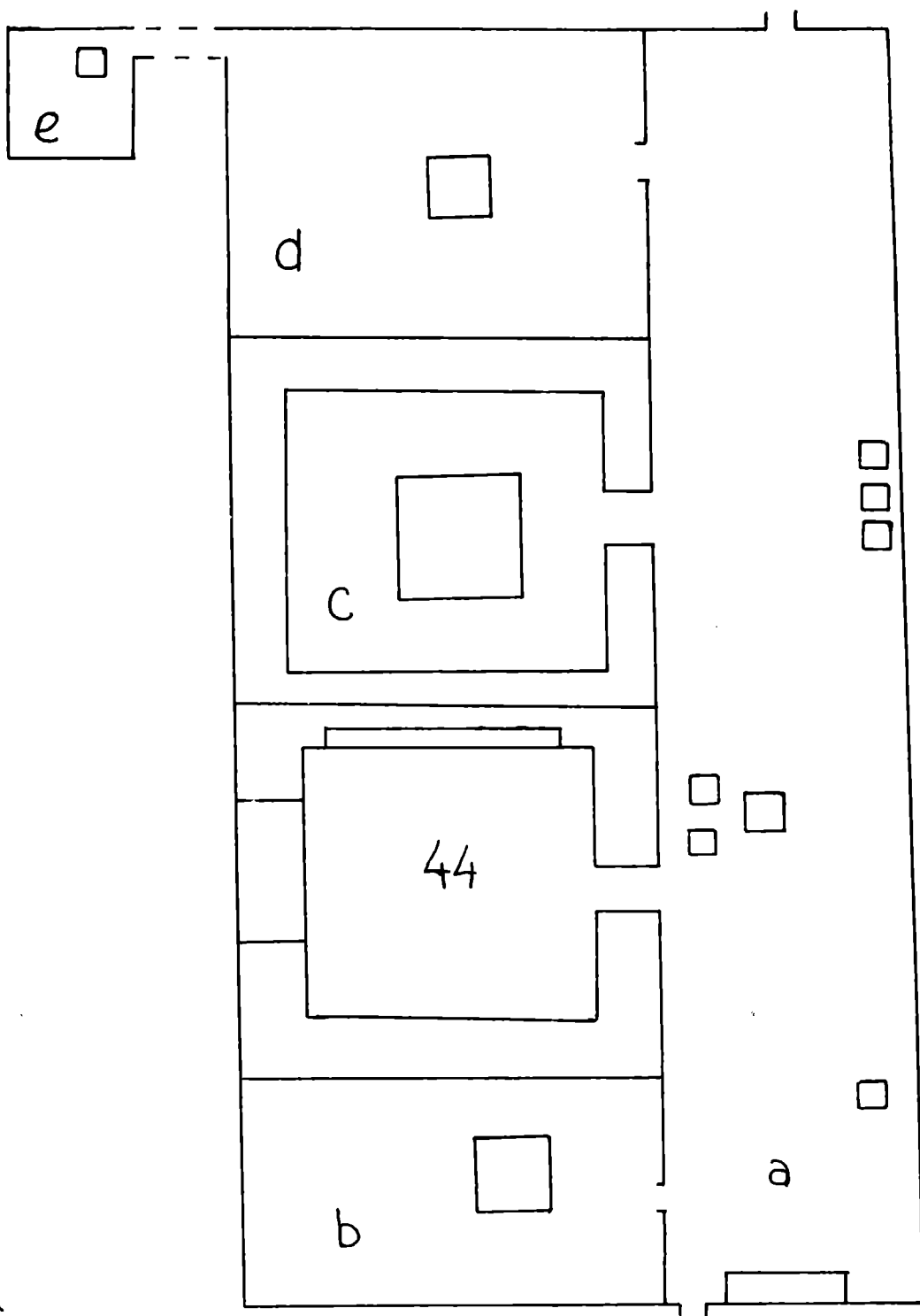
Though this is considered to be a branch of Makhañ Bāhā there are at present no Bare living within the compound. All the present residents are Udāya. The daily rituals are performed each day by the current dya-pālā of Makhañ Bāhā. The annual festival of this branch, which used to be held on akṣaya tṛitīya, is no longer held.

Nothing is known about the history of this branch bāhā, but the terminus a quo is the seventeenth century because of the dated struts and one inscription dated N.S.795. Presumably

the site was once inhabited by Bare from Makhañ Bāhā, but it may have been built by Udāya who then called Bare from Makhañ Bāhā to act as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

7. Itum Bāhā -- Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārita Śrī Keśavacandra Kṛta Pārāvata Mahāvihāra\* [44]  
Itum Bāhā Tole

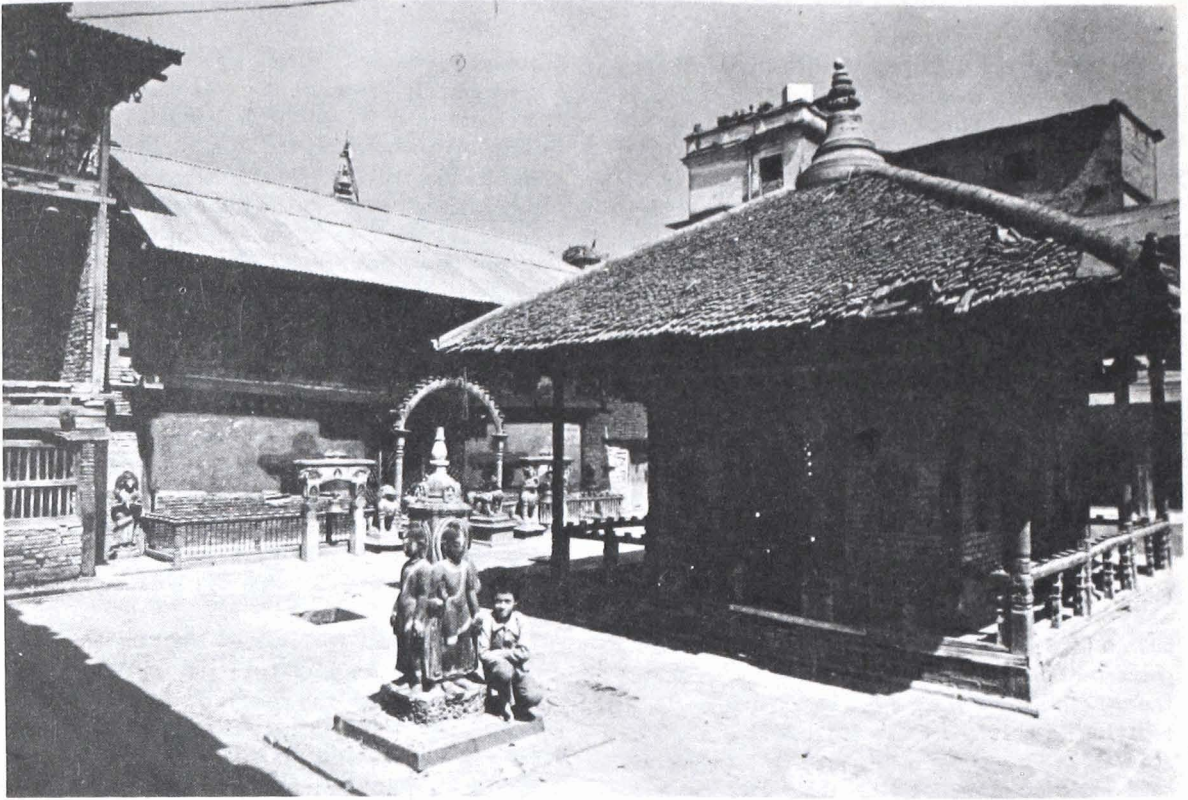
Itum Bāhā is one of the largest and oldest of the bāhā complexes in the city of Kathmandu. A little west of Kilagal Tole one enters a narrow passageway which comes out into the southern end of a large, rectangular courtyard running north-south and surrounded on three sides by residential buildings. Off the western part of the courtyard are three subsidiary bāhā courtyards. The entire complex makes up Itum Bāhā, but Itum Bāhā proper is the second subsidiary courtyard. Over the entryway to this courtyard is an exquisitely carved wooden torana depicting the Buddha overcoming the Māras. Though the torana is undated it is surely sixteenth century or earlier.<sup>54</sup> Passing through the doorway one comes into the main bāhā complex. Though the buildings are in a sad state of disrepair the bāhā has retained the original architecture of a continuous two storeyed building with open halls on the ground floor and carved windows above. The bāhā shrine is opposite the entrance and is marked by a pair of metal lions and a pair of stone lions flanked by large temple bells. Over the step leading into the shrine is an arch of oil lamps. The doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torana depicting a four-faced, six-armed tantric deity. The two main hands hold the bell and the vajra in the vajra hūṃkāra mudrā. The other two right hands hold the sword and the wheel. The upper left hand symbol is damaged and unidentifiable; the lower hand holds the mirror. A four-faced, six-handed deity with these hand postures does not fit any of the descriptions of the Sādhana Mālā or Nispanṇayoḡāvalī. Local informants have identified the figure as Māhapratīsarā, one of the five Pañcarakṣā deities. However these deities are all female and this figure is clearly male. On either side of the shrine doorway three prayer wheels are set into the facade of the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The simple tile roof of the shrine is supported by elaborate carved struts depicting tantric deities and adorned with five gajūra. In the centre of the courtyard is an enshrined caitya and to the east of this a



Itum Baha







202. Itūm Bāhā [44]



203. Kayagu Nani [44a]

stylised caitya with four large Buddha figures which may well be eleventh or twelfth century. The most exquisite pieces in the courtyard are three carved wooden struts supporting the roof of the main entryway. These are similar to the yakṣiṇi struts which can be seen at the small Nārāyaṇa temple at Thāya Madu Tole, at Yatkhā Bāhā, at Uku Bāhā in Patan and at the great temple complex in Panauti. They can probably be dated to the thirteenth century or earlier.<sup>55</sup>

Itum Bāhā has a large saṅgha comprising about one hundred Vajracaryas and four hundred Sakyas. There are nine lineages of Sakyas and two of Vajracaryas. According to the oral tradition of the saṅgha all the Sakyas are descended from a common ancestor (some say Keśavacandra himself). This common ancestor had two sons. One of these sons had few descendants and all of his descendants now make up one lineage called the wā saṅgha. The other son had many descendants who now make up another group called the dakṣiṇ saṅgha which has eight lineages. In addition to this there are two lineages of Vajracaryas. (It would seem that the Vajracaryas have another origin, though their lineage deity is the same as that of the Sakyas.) The governing board of eleven who supervise the life of the saṅgha is composed of the elder of the wā saṅgha lineage, the eight elders of the eight lineages making up the dakṣiṇ saṅgha and the two eldest of each of the two lineages of Vajracaryas. The post of head of each of the Sakya lineages passes down the line of brothers, and after the death of the last brother through the next generation of sons of these brothers, from the sons of the eldest brother through those of the youngest brother. (This is the same system which Jang Bahadur Rana used for the succession of the Rana prime ministers.) The post of head of the two Vajracarya lineages, however, passes directly to the eldest son of the deceased incumbent. In an arrangement unique to these saṅghas which are a mixed group of Sakyas and Vajracaryas, the two posts of chief elder (Thāyapā) and Cakreśvara are always held by the elders of the two lineages of Vajracaryas. In all other bāhās with a mixed saṅgha the post of chief elder (Thāyapā) is held by the eldest initiated member irrespective of whether he is a Sakya or Vajracarya. The post of Cakreśvara is always held by a Vajracarya.

The daily rituals performed at Itum Bāhā are fuller than those performed at most bāhās

today. However, even here things have been considerably simplified. At dawn the ceremony of awakening the deity is performed, at about nine in the morning the usual nitya pūjā, at about two thirty in the afternoon a standard pañcopacāra pūjā and in the evening the ārati. Formerly the term of service in the shrine was eight days, and terms of service alternated between the Sakya and Vajracarya lineages. However, at the present time the daily rituals are always performed by the Cakreśvara who acts in the name of the man who is supposed to be performing the service. For this service he is paid a stipend by those whose place he is taking. He performs rituals only in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in the main complex, but once each day must circumambulate the entire complex ringing the bell (to summon worshippers) and carrying the key of the kwāpā-dya shrine.

The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated from the eighth to the twelfth days of the dark half of the month of Caitra. On the tenth day of the fortnight, all the members of the saṅgha who wish to enter the shrine of the āgam deity must begin a fast. On the eleventh day the eleven elders of the saṅgha perform an elaborate homa sacrifice. Another annual festival is kept on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun when the founder of the bāhā, Kesavacandra, is commemorated. At the time of Guṇlā the Prajñāpāramitā is recited and for this all the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu are invited. After the recitation there is a feast for all those invited. During this same month the treasures of the saṅgha are put on display on the seventh day of the dark half of the month. Itum Bāhā certainly had one of the most impressive collections of Buddhist treasures: books, images, and a long painted banner portraying the history of the bāhā. However, fewer and fewer items are put up for display each year. Informants say that this is because of the fear of theft, but it is clear that many items have disappeared. In fact, in 1983 the image of the āgam deity was stolen from the āgam shrine.

Tradition also says that there is some connection between this bāhā and the annual festival of Buṅga Dya in Patan-Buṅgamati. According to informants at Itum Bāhā the pāñjūs of Buṅgamati must come to Itum Bāhā before the Bathing Ceremony of Buṅga-dya in order to draw water from the well at Itum Bāhā which they must then



use for the bathing ceremonies.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. However initiations are usually held only every twelve years, the last having been held in 1973 when about one hundred boys were initiated. Customs regarding initiations at Itum Bāhā show two curious aspects. According to custom a child must be at least nine months old when he receives the Barechuyegu, but a child who is only seven months old may be initiated because it is permitted to count the last two months in the womb. Secondly if one marries a girl from within the saṅgha, no matter how distantly related, the marriage is considered to be irregular and the sons of such a union cannot be given the Barechuyegu. (This is true in the case of almost all bāhā saṅghas.) If a Sakya member of the saṅgha marries a girl from a bahī, his son may be initiated but cannot serve as head of the lineage or as an elder of the saṅgha. However, if this son in turn marries a girl from a bāhā, his son (the grandson of the man who married a bahī girl) regains the full rights of the saṅgha. This curious custom confirms the general impression that members of a bahī saṅgha are considered (at least by the Ācārya Gūṭhī) to be inferior to members of a bāhā. In the case of Itum Bāhā the special regulation allowing the descendants of such a marriage to regain their rights seems to have been necessary because of the close relationship between Syaṅgu Bahī [94] at Swayambhū (quod vide) and Itum Bāhā which resulted in frequent cases of marriage exchanges between these two saṅghas.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Vajrayoginī, Sankhu. At the present time the annual pūjā to this deity is performed in Kāyagu Nanī, the large quadrangle outside the shrine proper. Many have forgotten who the lineage deity is and say it has always been at Kāyagu Nanī, but some members of the saṅgha have kept the memory of the identity alive by going to Sankhu at least occasionally to perform the annual pūjā. Again, some identified the deity as Vajrayoginī herself, but others say it is the caitya, and the dya-pālās at Vajrayoginī say that all lineage deity pūjās are done to the caitya, never to Vajrayoginī. At one time this bāhā had a considerable income from over three hundred sixty ropanīs of land, but most of this has been lost, leaving only

about twelve ropanīs at the present time.

For the history of Itum Bāhā we have perhaps more historical evidence than for any of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, but even this data gives us only a few tantalizing glimpses with no possibility of filling out the picture. This is the only bāhā of the Ācārya Gūṭhī whose Sanskrit name has preserved the name of the founder. The name indicates that the Pārāvata Mahāvihāra was built by one Keśavacandra and consecrated (or founded) by one Bhāskara Deva. Wright's chronicle gives a legend recounting the foundation of this bāhā. In the reign of one Harideva there was in Kāntipur a Thakuri by the name of Bhāskara Malla who had a son called 'Kesachandra'. This young man was a minor when his father died, and with no firm hand to guide him, he took to evil ways, spending much of his time gambling. Having lost everything because of his gambling, he went to Paṣupati and begged food from the 'Kritamuka Bhairava' there. He was given a meal but the rice was rotten and full of maggots. Begging some more rice he mixed this with the rotten rice and spread it all out to dry in the sun. While he was sleeping pigeons came and ate the rice. They were told by the Bhairava to leave something in return for this, and they left behind golden dung. As a result of this 'Kesachandra' became a rich man and married the daughter of King Harideva. His own son died in his youth, and after performing the son's funeral rites Kesachandra decided to build a vihāra in which he then placed an image of the Buddha and left an endowment to feed pigeons. He named this Pārāvata (Pigeon) Mahāvihāra, because all of his wealth had been derived from the pigeons. Later he retired to this vihāra and lived as a devotee of the Buddha.<sup>56</sup> It is very difficult to ascertain what elements of historical truth this legend gives us. Starting from the date of N.S.111 which the chronicle gives for the great-grandfather of Harideva and adding to this the years of reign attributed to Harideva's father and grand-father, we come to the conclusion that Harideva would have been ruling about A.D.1088. There was no king by that name at this time as far as we know, and this whole line of kings is clearly misplaced in the chronicle or a fabrication. It is very tempting to identify this man with the Bhāskaradeva who we know was ruling at least from A.D.1045 to 1047, but there is no evidence to support this identification; and the chronicle does not even make this Bhāskaradeva a

king.

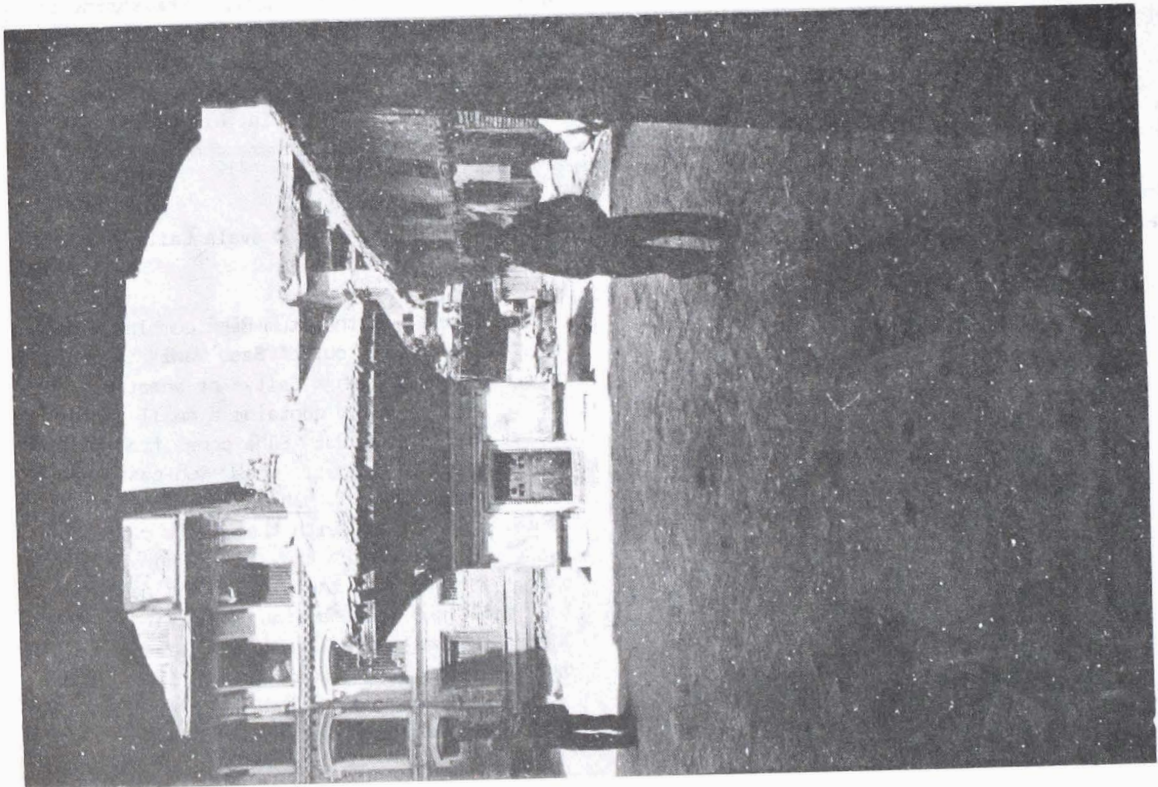
There is a reference in the Gopālarāja-va-mśāvalī to Itūṃ Bāhā under the date of N.S.361, where it is referred to as the 'fort of Yatum Bahāra' in Yambu [the southern part of Kathmandu].<sup>57</sup> The first contemporary dated reference to Itūṃ Bāhā comes from the colophon of a manuscript dated N.S.478 which gives the full Sanskrit title for the bāhā when referring to one 'Śākyabhikṣu Buddhācārya Śrī Rājābrahma' who lives in 'Śrī Bhāṣkaradeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Keśavacandra Kṛita Mahāvihāra in Koligrāma'.<sup>58</sup> In N.S.502 the wife of the powerful feudatory Madanarama of Banēpa, Jaitralakṣmī, donated an image of Āryatārā and had it installed in 'Pārāvata Mahāvihāra'. The image of Tārā and the inscription are still in place in Tārā Nanī. The inscription further mentions that Madanarāma himself donated an image of Dīpaṅkara to the bāhā; this image is also still at the bāhā.<sup>59</sup> A palmleaf land deed of N.S.612 was executed by one 'Bhikṣu Śrī Hākuju of Śrī Śrī Bhāṣkaradeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Keśavacandrakṛita Pārāvata Mahāvihāra'.<sup>60</sup> A document dated N.S.682 and issued from Ko Bāhā in Patan invites the deity and the saṅgha of Śrī Bhāṣkaradeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Pārāvata Mahāvihāra to a samyak ceremony and feast in Ko Bāhā. The invitation is extended to Saḥyamuni Buddha and his followers: the head of the saṅgha (sthavira) and the entire saṅgha including upāsakas, Vajrācāryas, Bhikṣus, Sramaneras and Cailakas.<sup>61</sup>

In N.S.714 one Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Gudocandra set up a gūthī for the regular observance of the samyak ceremony at Itūṃ Bāhā. He had a new image of Dīpaṅkara made. He had copies of the Prajñāpāramitā and the Guṇakaraṇḍavyūha made in golden letters to be recited at the time of the samyak. He donated a golden Dharmadhātu Caitya and all the vessels needed for the pūjās performed at the time of the samyak. He made arrangements for a park area where the ceremony would be held in perpetuity. He donated a large amount of agricultural land to ensure the perpetual observance of this samyak ('as long as the sun and moon shall shine'). The king of Kathmandu, Sivasimha Malla, was present at the inaugural ceremonies of the gūthī when the first samyak was held.<sup>62</sup> The sun, however, set with the coming of the king of Gorkha. As a result of the blockade which Prithwīnārāyan Shah inflicted on the Valley and the economic hardships following on his conquest, the samyak was discontinued.

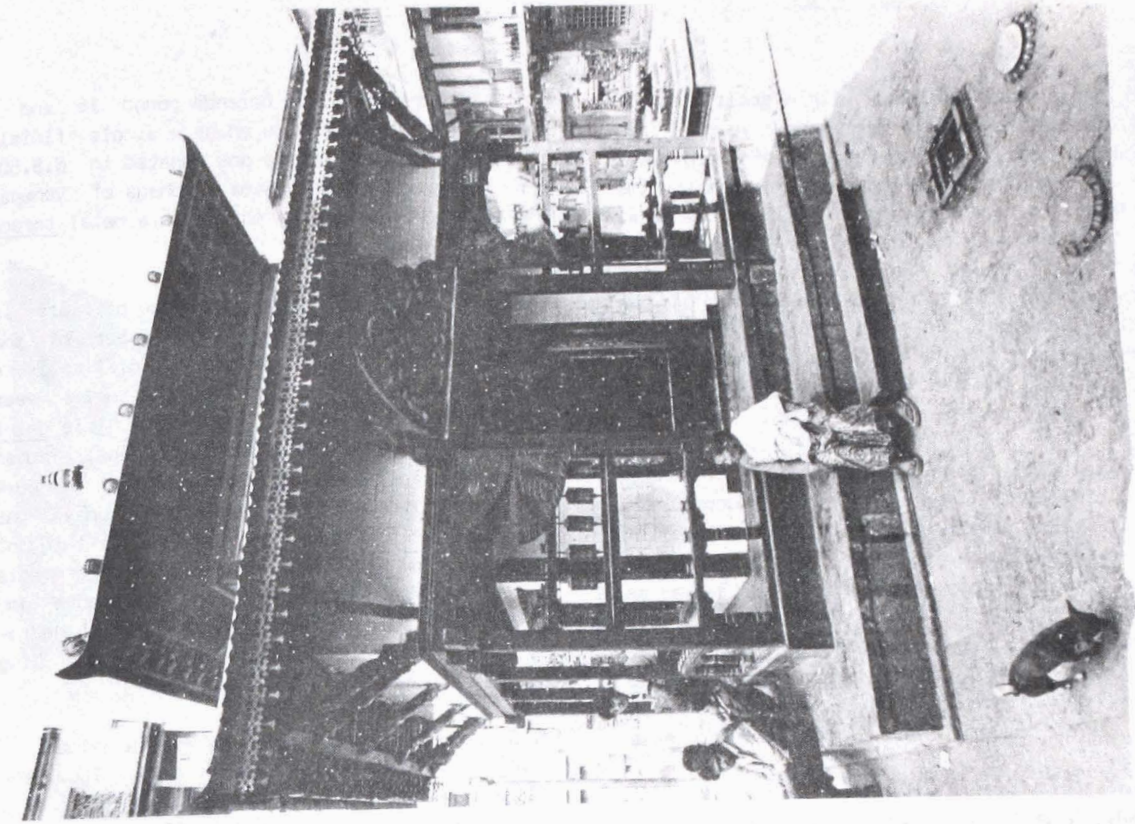
Finally, when the king inquired why the ceremony was no longer held it was decided to hold a joint samyak every twelve years at Bhuikhel using the funds from the gūthīs of three such ceremonies that had been regularly held in Kathmandu.

It is well known that Pratāp Malla had a famous Vajracarya guru by the name of Jāmana Gubhājū who initiated him into the Buddhist tantras. According to Wright's chronicle Jāmana Gubhājū advised his disciple the king to repair the famous Itūṃ Bāhā built by 'Keśachandra'.<sup>63</sup> That there was a renovation of Itūṃ Bāhā at this time is confirmed by two inscriptions. The first states that in the year N.S.783 a great ceremony was held on the occasion of donations. (What was donated is not clear from the inscription.) The officiating priest at this ceremony was one Vajrācārya Śrī Vyākhasimha Deva of Tarumūla Mahāvihāra.<sup>64</sup> The second inscription is dated N.S.788 and records repairs made to the Vajradhātu Caitya in front of the shrine of Aksobhya. Both inscriptions mention the current head of the 'saṅgha (thabira)' Vajrācārya Śrī Buddha.<sup>65</sup> In N.S. 832 a number of Śākyabhikṣus donated money to set up an image of 'Ratnamuni Aksobhya'. The image was consecrated by a Vajracarya from Makhan Bāhā and one from Sikamu Bāhā.<sup>66</sup> KTMV reports that Itūṃ Bāhā was last renovated in A.D.1862.<sup>67</sup>

There is another very curious legend attached to this bāhā and its foundation, the legend of Guru Māpā. When Keśavacandra awoke from his sleep and found the golden dung left by the pigeons he also found there a demon by the name of Guru Māpā. At first he was afraid of the demon but won him over by calling him 'uncle' and enlisted his help to carry the gold home. As a reward he gave the demon the right to consume the bodies of dead children. When it became generally known that Guru Māpā devoured the bodies of dead children, parents began to threaten their children when they were exasperated with them by saying, 'Let Guru Māpā take you.' The demon took them at their word and began to devour live children. The people appealed to Keśavacandra to do something about this, and he made a deal with the demon. Keśavacandra banished the demon to a large open field he had recently bought called the Tuṅḍikhel and promised that the field would forever remain his and no buildings would be built on it. He further promised that he would set up a



204. Bāku Nanī [44b]



205. Tārā Nanī [44c]



gūthī to provide Guru Māpā with a great feast of boiled rice and buffalo meat once a year. This feast is still kept in February of each year when the meal of rice and meat is taken to the Tundikhel to feed Guru Māpā. Inside Itum Bāhā, in the northeast corner of the shrine is a wooden mask of Guru Māpā. At the time of the annual showing of the bāhā treasures in the month of Sravan, the main attraction is a long banner painting which portrays the history of the bāhā. Much of the banner is taken up with the portrayal of this legend.

Itum Bāhā has no official branches in other parts of the city, but there are five complexes at Itum Bāhā itself which house the members of the saṅgha and are often referred to as branch bāhās, though none of these have kwāpā-dyas as such and none of them really have separate branch saṅghas. In addition to these there is one small private branch nearby and another large bāhā which retains a connection to Itum Bāhā, i.e. Yatkā Bāhā. I treat all of these here.

a. Kāyagu Nanī -- Aśoka Maṇḍapa Vihāra [44a]  
Itum Bāhā

This is the large rectangular courtyard off of which all the other complexes open. There is no kwāpā-dya as such here, but at the southern end of the area is a bāhā shrine which houses the āgam deity of the bāhā in an upper room. The ground floor room is empty. Over the doorway is a wooden torana depicting Mahāvairocana.

b. Baku Nanī -- Kutum Vihāra [44b]  
Itum Bāhā

If one enters the Itum Bāhā complex from the south this is the first compound off to the left. This consists of an enclosed courtyard with an enshrined caitya in the centre. This shrine was renovated in A.D.1853. Nearly all of the original buildings of this complex have given way to more modern structure.

c. Tārā Nanī -- Dharmacakra Vihāra [44c]  
Itum Bāhā

This is the third complex off to the left. None of the original buildings of this courtyard remain, but in the centre of the courtyard is the shrine of Ārya Tārā. The shrine consists of

a small galla with a veranda round it and a double metal roof crowned by a single finial. The image of Tara is the one donated in N.S.502 by the wife of Madana Rāma Vardhana of Banepa. Over the doorway of the shrine is a metal torana depicting Tārā.

The nitya pūjā of this image of Tārā is always performed by the eldest member of the Sakyā lineages. This man is automatically a member of the samyak gūthī for the twelve year samyak festival held at Swayambhū. This gūthī is made of one man each from Itum Bāhā, Tadhañ Bāhā [49] and Lagañ [80] Bāhā, though the work of preparation is actually done by an Udāya. At the time of the last samyak it was the turn of the man from Itum Bāhā to make the arrangements and finance the festival, but all rights and duties were handed over to one Jogratna Sindurakār who was subsequently decorated by the King for his services.

d. Sasu Nanī -- Sarasvatī Mahāmañju Vihāra  
[44d] Itum Bāhā

This is the last complex off to the left and it houses, right in the centre of the open space, a shrine of Mañjuśrī. The shrine is a brick structure with a domed top which was renovated in A.D.1979. The image here is clearly Mañjuśrī but, as so often happens, it is confused with Sarasvatī; in this case both the Newari and the Sanskrit name continue the confusion.

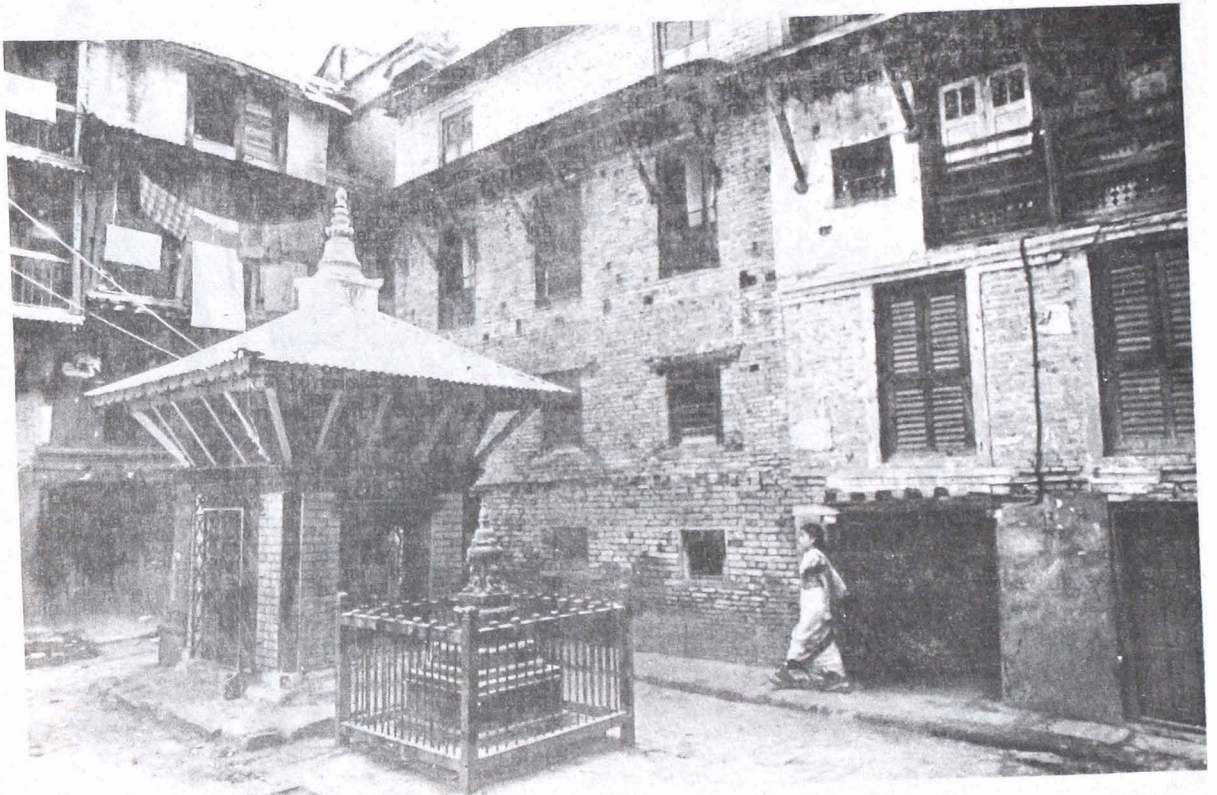
e. Dhananju Caitya -- Dhavala Caitya Vihāra  
[44e] Itum Bāhā

Just west of the Itum Bāhā complex along a small passageway out of Sasu Nanī is another nani called Dhananju Caitya or sometimes Duiñ Bāhā. The compound contains a small enshrined caitya. The name Duiñ Bāhā comes from the fact that a group of Jyāpūs, whose sub-caste name is Duiñ, come to this bāhā at the time of Indra Jātrā. They bring with them their own image of Ākāśa Bhairava which they set up here and worship, staying for the time of the festival in the buildings around the courtyard. Though there are some Sakyas who live here, most of the people living in the compound are also Jyāpūs.

A. Tamuga Bāhā -- Dharmacitta Vihāra [40]  
Tamuga Gallī

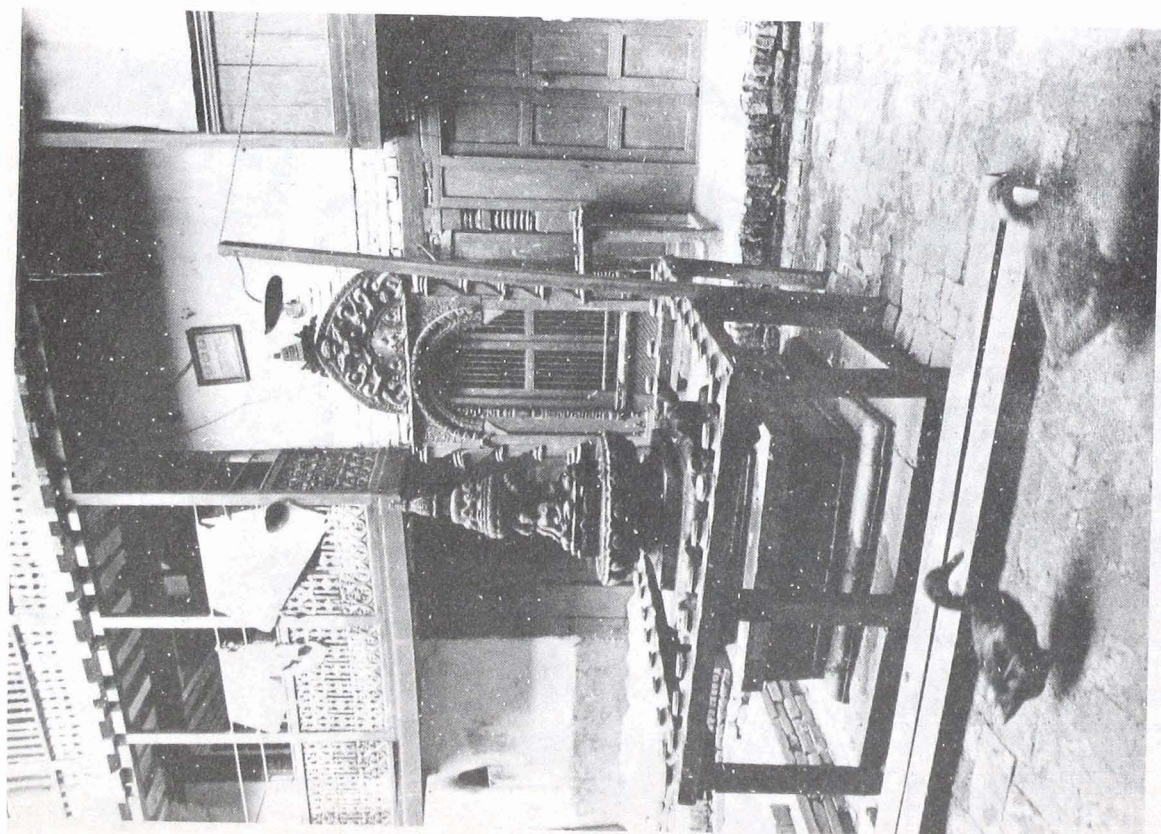


206. Sasu Nani [44d]

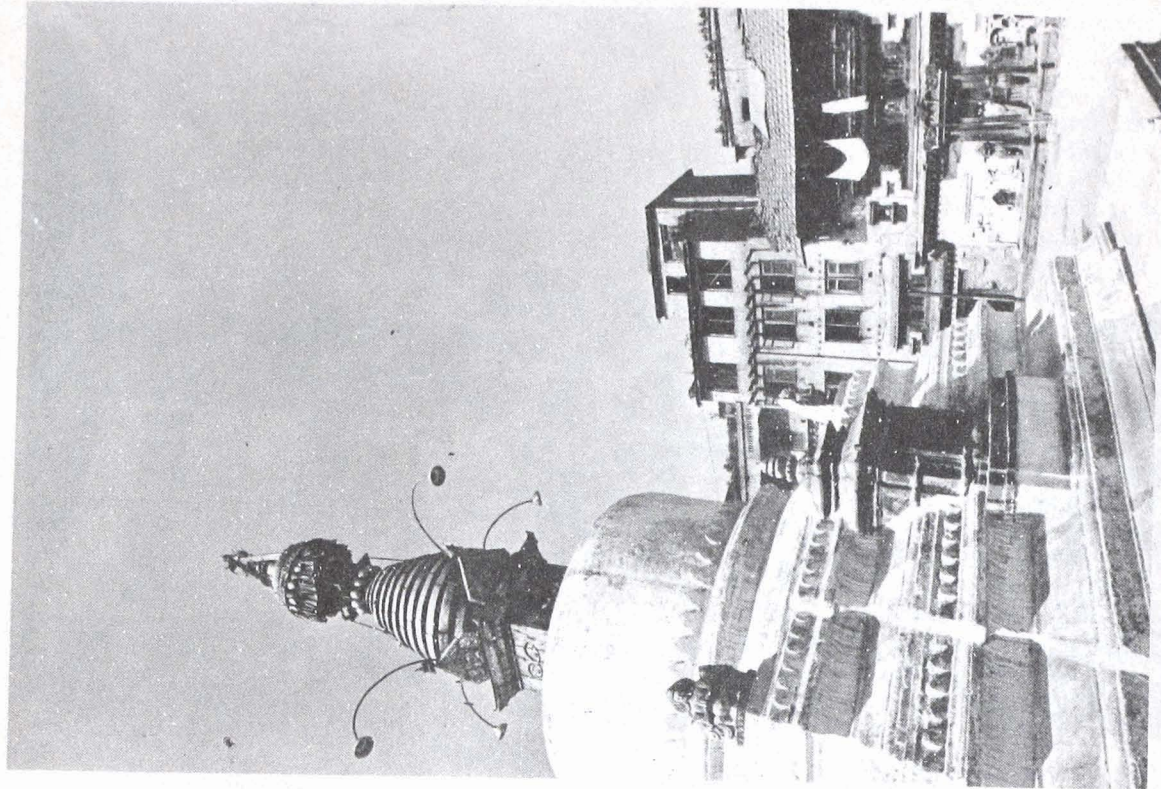


207. Dhananju Caitya [44e]





208. Tamuga Bāhā [40]



209. Yatkha Bāhā [38]



Tamuga Bāhā consists of a small plastered shrine of the Buddha set against a building in a narrow courtyard. Over the doorway to the shrine is a metal repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Vajrasattva, flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍa-kṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are also a caitya, an image of the goddess Kumari and a well.

This is a purely private branch of Itum Bāhā. It has no proper saṅgha as such, but is looked after by the family which founded it and who perform the usual rituals each morning. There is no annual festival and no income. Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but there are two inscriptions on the caitya one dated N.S.835 and one dated N.S.865. KTMV indicates that the bāhā itself was founded only in A.D.1936, which may well be correct.

B. Yatkā Bāhā -- Bhāṣkarakīrti Vihāra [38]  
Yatkā Tole

This bāhā consists of a very large courtyard surrounded by residential houses with a large stupa, reminiscent of the Swayambhū Mahā-caitya, in the centre. The bāhā shrine itself, which is of recent construction is simply the ground floor room of a building opposite the entrance. However, the wooden torāṇa over the doorway is one of the most unusual of all the torāṇas found in the bāhās and probably dates to the twelfth century. It consists of a frieze of seven figures with the Buddha sitting in the centre and preaching, with his right hand in the abhaya mudrā and his left in the meditation pose. Behind the seated figures are what appears to be a series of rocks, a device often used in early iconography to symbolise the Himalayas. The seven figures are surmounted by a large Kirtimukha with two makaras in the corners below. The makaras face inward, the only example of this on a torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya in the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The storey above the shrine has a finely carved five-fold window and the top storey, which has living quarters, is covered with a tile roof supported by four of the yakṣiṇi struts similar to those at Itum Bāhā.

At the present time this bāhā has no saṅgha of initiated Bare and is inhabited entirely by Udāya, except for one Vajracarya, from Itum

Bāhā, who resides at the shrine and acts as the dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. It seems that the annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā, but the twelfth century torāṇa and the yakṣiṇi struts, plus the enormous stūpa in the center indicate an ancient foundation. Popular legends associate the foundation of this bāhā with the Malla king Bhāṣkara Malla (A.D.1700-1719), but this is entirely too late and the attribution seems to come merely from the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. Hem Raj Sakya relates the foundation of the bāhā to the Thakuri King Bhāṣkara Deva and says that according to oral legends the wife of Bhāṣkara Deva founded this bāhā with the stipulation that the name of this monastery commemorate her husband. Furthermore, the image of the Buddha in the kwāpā-dya shrine is a nineteenth century image, and there is a tradition among the people that the original image, wood covered with silver, was stolen by the soldiers of Mukunda Sen at the time of his invasion of the Valley and taken to Palpa. An inscription inside of the kwāpā-dya shrine says that in N.S.826 a gūthī was formed for the worship of Sakyamuni Buddha. There is an inscription near the main doorway which states that the doorway was repaired in N.S.830 by one Trailokya. In N.S.859 the main caitya was repaired. In N.S.890 the seat of the Buddha image was also repaired. Though informants at Itum Bāhā told me that this bāhā once belonged to Itum Bāhā and was presumably a branch of that main bāhā, the Udāya who live here and who now own the property insist that it has always been theirs.

i. Dhanasīmha Bāhā -- Samantabhadra Vihāra  
[37] Yatkā Bāhā

This is a purely private shrine located in the south east corner of the Yatakā Bāhā complex. It is a foundation of the Udāya who live here. A latticed doorway on the ground floor indicates the entrance to the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which contains an image of the Buddha in dhyāna mudrā holding in his hands three jewels. The image faces north. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the Udāya family who founded this shrine. One Dhanasīmha Tāmākār whose family lived in the Yatakā Bāhā complex built this bāhā in the middle of the last century. In



210. Dhanasimha Bāhā [37]



211. Sawal Bāhā [50]

N.S.983, when he returned from Tibet he donated money for a gūthī at Swayambhūnath, helped to repair the large clay image at Buddha Bārī [F], and set up this bāhā. At his expense repairs were begun to the Swayambhū Caitya in N.S.983. Before the repairs were completed he died and his son Harṣa Ratna Tamrākār completed the work and the consecration ceremonies were performed in N.S.987. Though this shrine is counted among the bāhās of Kathmandu, it has never had a saṅgha of initiated Bare, but is simply the private shrine of the Udāya family who founded it.

8. Sawal Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra [50]  
Guccā Tole

Sawal Bāhā lies down a small lane off of Guccā Tole. The bāhā complex has retained little of the architecture of a bāhā, being a residential courtyard with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya on the ground floor of a simple, unadorned residential building of four storeys. The only indications that this is a shrine are a pair of small, stone lions in front of the ground level entrance to the shrine and a torana over the doorway. The torana is of wood and shows the five Buddhas with Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara in the centre. This is the only tantric figure, the other four Buddhas are represented in their ordinary, non-tantric form. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In front of the kwāpā-dya shrine are two, small plastered caityas. The most curious aspect of this complex is a shrine on the south side of the courtyard. This is the āgam cheñ of the Karmācāryas, the Hindu tantric priests of the Taleju temple. The temple contains an image of Durga and over the doorway is a wooden torana of Mahīśasuramardini-durga donated in N.S.800. No one has been able to explain this curious arrangement of a Hindu āgam cheñ within a bāhā. There is an oral tradition which says that Prātāp Malla, as a favour to his tantric Hindu priests, erected this shrine for them.

At the present time the saṅgha of Sawal Bāhā consists of two lineages, now broken down to thirty five households comprising one hundred thirty five Vajracaryas. The distinction between the two lineages is important as one lineage constitutes a gūthī whose task is the worship of Bhadrakālī and the other constitutes a gūthī whose duty is the worship of the Mahānkāl situated on the edge of the Tuṇḍikhel opposite

the Military Hospital. Most of the members of the saṅgha no longer live within the bāhā complex but are scattered around Kathmandu. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving in the shrine of the bāhā performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service is for a period of eight days only and passes in turn through the thirty five households. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but at irregular intervals usually about once in eleven years. The saṅgha has two annual feasts one in Kārtik which is the official festival of the saṅgha. The other is at the time of Ghōḍā Jātrā when the members of the saṅgha cook a meal of buffalo meat and take it to the Bhadrakālī temple where the feast takes place. Neither of these festivals, however, are the busā dañ. This has been discontinued. However, they do occasionally observe the busā dañ festival of the main caitya in the courtyard. The saṅgha has only two elders, the eldest initiated member of each of the two lineages. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Āju-Ajīmā at Khusi Bahī [92]. At the time of the annual pūjā of the lineage deity, all the members of the saṅgha gather for the rituals, but they have two separate feasts one for each lineage.

There is a surprising lack of historical data on this bāhā, despite the fact that the Vajracaryas of this bāhā play a very prominent role in the worship of many of the principal deities of Kathmandu: Mahānkāl, Bhadrakālī, Seto Matsyendranāth (Jana Bāhā Dya), etc. and serve as priests for a very large number of Kathmandu families. (One man alone has over three hundred Udāya families as his Jajmāns.) There are no inscriptions within the bāhā, no 'Licchavi' caityas (unless the modern, plastered caityas conceal older ones); there are no references to this bāhā in manuscript collections or in inscriptions listing various Vajracaryas who performed rituals in various parts of the Valley. There is one reference to this bāhā in a palmleaf document dated N.S.761 which speaks of the Ācārya of Khusi Bāhā and the Thakālī of Sawal Bāhā, one Guruju Hākudeva. The torana over the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is dated N.S.805 at which time it was repaired. These two references constitute the sum of evidence for the existence of this bāhā in the Malla period to date. About a hundred years ago, one Vajracarya Samantabhadrā undertook a renovation of this bāhā. At that time he put up an in-



scription which states that the bāhā was (at that time) thirteen hundred years old, but there is no corroborating evidence for this date.<sup>78</sup> At that time the old image of the kwāpā-dya, which was made of clay and badly decayed, was replaced with the present image and an image of Lokeśvara was added.

There is a tradition that this bāhā was moved from an original site in the eastern part of the city of Kathmandu. This tradition may well be true as there is a caitya in that place to this day which is said to mark the original site of the bāhā, and the area is still known as Sawal Bāhā Tole. The caitya as it stands is a modern renovation, the original parts of which are impossible to date. Oral tradition, on the other hand, gives a great antiquity to the present site. One Sāsvatavajra, a famous tantric preceptor who is credited with the establishment of both the Bhadrakālī temple and the Mahānkāl temple, is said to have been a member of this bāhā. This tradition places him in the Licchavi period, though he may well belong to the late Malla period.<sup>79</sup> A few years ago when a new building was being constructed within the bāhā, it was discovered that there is a brick pavement about two feet below the present level of the courtyard. Nothing, however, is known about the date of this earlier pavement.<sup>80</sup>

Two current customs indicate that there is some connection between this bāhā and Jana Bāhā [45]. First, both saṅghas have the same lineage deity at Khusī Bahī, the only two saṅghas to have this lineage deity. Secondly, one of the Vajracaryas from Sawal Bāhā always acts as the priest at Jana Bāhā for bāhā functions such as the Barechuyegu initiations and for all rituals associated with the White Matsyendranāth (Jana Bāhā Dya), despite the fact that there are Vajracaryas in the saṅgha of Jana Bāhā.

A. Āju Bāhā -- Dasabala Vihāra [51]  
Guccā Tole

Āju Bāhā stands right on the street in the middle of Guccā Tole. Until recently the shrine was a brick structure of three storeys surmounted by a cupola. Except for the carved doorway and torāṇa of the shrine plus four carved struts supporting the roof it had the appearance of an ordinary house. The wooden torāṇa depicted Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara. The first storey of the shrine had one large lattice window flanked by

two smaller windows. The top storey had three openings and the roof was tile. Evidently the struts and the torāṇa had been salvaged from an earlier structure. This was the state of the bāhā at the time of the survey published in KTMV and a photo of this shrine can be seen there.<sup>81</sup> However, since that time the old building has been torn down and the present even plainer building has no torāṇa and no cupola. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya are two plastered caityas.

According to tradition this branch was built by the daughter of a man from Sawal Bāhā and it became a branch of Sawal Bāhā. Later the last surviving Vajracarya of this branch died without a son and left the property to a cousin (son of his maternal uncle) who was a member of Takṣe Bāhā [15]. Hence it automatically became a branch of Takṣe Bāhā. More recently it has been given (or sold) back to people belonging to Sawal Bāhā, so it has again become a branch of Sawal Bāhā. This is a good example of the way these branch bāhās can pass from one bāhā to another, or as the people themselves say, be 'captured' by another bāhā. The daily rituals are now performed by the man from Sawal Bāhā who lives here, but there is no organised saṅgha as such. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income. Nothing else is known about the history or founding of this bāhā, and there are no dated inscriptions left.

B. Jogmuni Bāhā -- Jagatoddhāra Vihāra\* [104]  
Bhuikhel, Swayambhū

This is a modern foundation, consecrated in 1951 by Jogmuni Vajracarya of Sawal Bāhā. It sits in a small courtyard in Bhuikhel at the foot of the Swayambhu hill. The buildings are simple residential style buildings, but there is a caitya in the centre of the courtyard, a simple, unadorned kwāpā-dya shrine and an āgam. The kwāpā-dya is a seated Maitreya Bodhisattva. This bāhā was established by Jogmuni Vajracarya to promote the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was envisaged as a school with place for students to live. It was established in 1951, immediately after the overthrow of the Rana government, and King Tribhuvan graced the inauguration ceremonies. The hope was to establish a centre of Buddhist studies teaching Sanskrit, Pali, and English up to the middle classes. In addition to this the curriculum was to include



212. Āju Bāhā [51]



213. Jogmuni Bāhā [104]

the study of the ancient scripts of Nepal and Buddhist philosophy; and it was hoped that it would become a centre for the revival and development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Unfortunately, the hopes were not realized and after two years regular classes ceased. However, it has remained a centre of study, as many interested in Mahāyāna Buddhism continue to consult Jogmuni Vajracarya, and several Mahāyāna texts translated into Newari have been published from the bāhā.<sup>82</sup>

I treat this foundation here in connection with Sawal Bāhā, but the only connection to Sawal Bāhā is the fact that it was founded by a member of that saṅgha. It is purely a private foundation over which the other members of the saṅgha have no rights and in turn have no duties toward it. Hence there is no saṅgha as such and no initiations take place here. The foundation has no fixed income.

9. Takṣe Bāhā — Surataśrī Mahāvihāra\* [15]  
Asan-Takṣe Bāhā

Takṣe Bāhā is situated in a small enclosed courtyard just off of Asan Tole. The shrine of four storeys is all that is left of the original buildings and the brickwork is still in fair shape. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions each flanked by large temple bells. Over the doorway is a metal torana depicting Mahāvairocana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a finely carved, five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows and surmounted by a wooden torana also depicting Mahāvairocana. The projecting balcony of the second storey is supported by carved struts. Above the corrugated roof over this balcony is another storey with three squat windows. The corrugated roof is surmounted by three small gajūra. In the courtyard are an 'Aśoka' caitya covered by a metal canopy, and three other votive caityas. Inside the shrine are several images of Lokeśvara and one of Prajñāpāramitā.

The saṅgha at the present time consists of twenty two families of Vajracaryas comprising one hundred twenty eight members. The daily rituals are performed by the members of the saṅgha by turn. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. They used to perform rituals three times during the day, but

now perform only the morning nitya pūjā and the evening ārati. The annual festival of the bāhā used to be an elaborate celebration lasting for thirteen days during which each household used to perform an elaborate pūjā. At the present time the festival is observed very modestly on Aksaya Tīrti in the month of Baisākh. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of five elders; and both Barechuyegu and Ācālyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity is Guhyesvari at Pasupatinath.<sup>83</sup> At the present time the bāhā has no income.

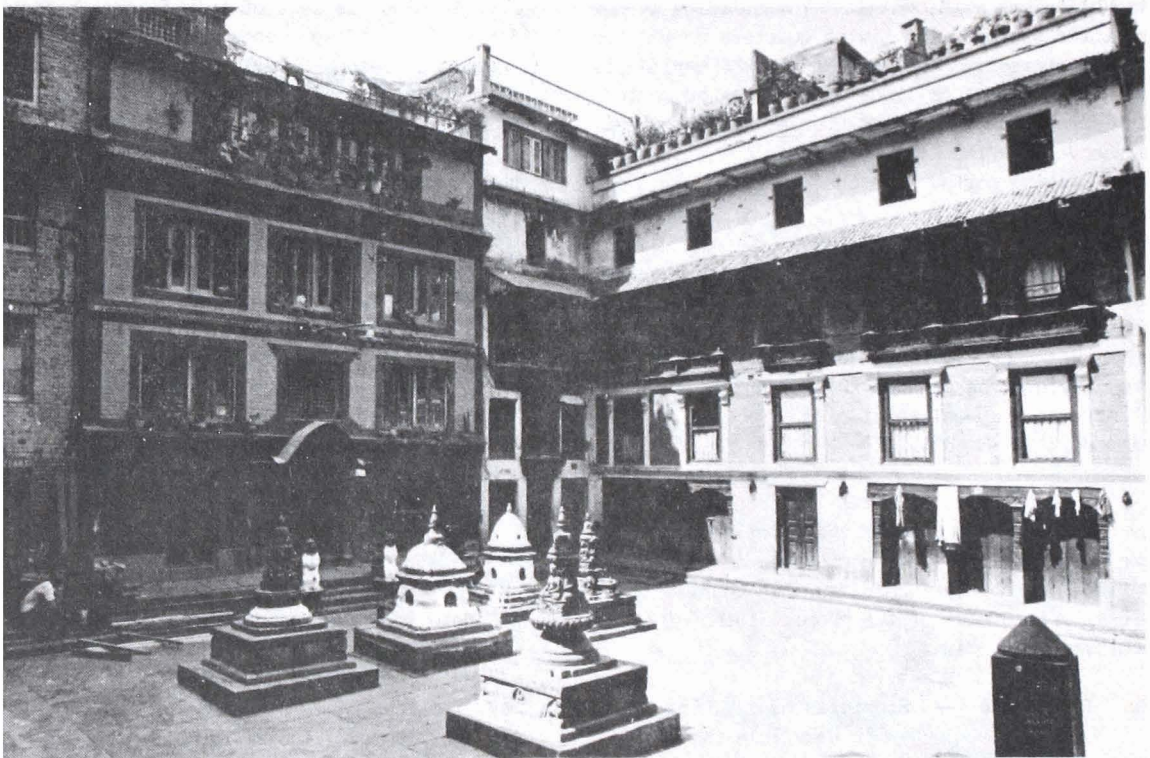
There is a very close connection between this bāhā and Mū Bāhā [46] affirmed by their common lineage deity Guhyesvari and their joint responsibility for the continuance of the worship of the Mū Bāhā Kumārī.

The most famous member of this saṅgha was one Suratavajra, a famous tantric who it is said spent a part of his life in Tibet where he defeated the Dalai Lama in debate and practised the sādhana of Nairātmā in a cave near Lhasa. Traders to Lhasa confirm that the cave still exists, and informants say that until recently many Tibetans used to visit Takṣe Bāhā where they came to worship their guru.<sup>84</sup> This Suratavajra lived in the time of Yakṣa Malla, a fact confirmed by a manuscript in Bhaktapur which records that his son Jīvavajra was called to Bhaktapur in N.S.611 where he settled down in a bāhā near the darbar square.<sup>85</sup> Some claim that Suratavajra was the founder of Takṣe Bāhā. This would of course give a very late date for its foundation, and informants say that the founder of the bāhā was much earlier. Some say that the bāhā was founded by another man and originally had another Sanskrit name. The name was changed after Suratavajra to commemorate him because he renovated the bāhā and renewed the spiritual life of the community. Others say that the founder was an earlier Suratavajra. A hint of this earlier Suratavajra is found in the traditions of the bāhā and in one manuscript reference. The āgam deity of this monastery is Hevajra-Nairātmā, and the Vajracaryas of this bāhā have always been known as adepts and teachers of the Hevajra Tantra. The founder of the bāhā is said to have written a commentary on the Hevajra Tantra. There is in the National Archives a copy of a commentary on the Hevajra Sādhana of Saroruhā-pāda written by one Paṇḍit Ācārya Suratapāda.<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately this manuscript is not





214. Takse Bāhā [15]



215. Dagu Bāhā [18]

dated. It is written in Newāri characters on Nepali paper and hence this copy of the text is not earlier than the Malla period. Furthermore there is no information on when this commentary was written and who this Suratapāda was. One wonders whether he was ever in Nepal at all or was an Indian pandit.

Therefore the earliest dated reference we have to Takṣe Bāhā is the manuscript reference of N.S.611. An inscription at Takṣe Bāhā records the donation of a gajūra in N.S.760. A Manuscript of the Śrī Rudrayamalatantra from Dolakha dated N.S.775 was copied in that year by one Vajrācārya Munindra of Surata Śrī Mahāvihāra in Asan Tole in Kantipur.<sup>87</sup> Another inscription records that in N.S.840 land and a house for the āgam deity were donated.

A. Dagu Bāhā -- Raṅgabhūvana Vihāra [18]  
Bhoṭāhiti

Dagu Bāhā is a small courtyard just off Bhoṭāhiti and all that remains is the shrine on the ground floor of an ordinary dwelling. Even this has been recently renovated by plastering the brickwork with cement. The building is now of three storeys with living quarters on the two upper storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Mahā-akṣobhya. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are six votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā now consists of only one Vajracarya family of Takṣe Bāhā, a father and his son who are the only members and have all the rights and duties of the saṅgha. They perform the usual rituals each morning and observe the annual festival of the bāhā at the time of Sithi Nakha.

The earliest date available for this bāhā is N.S.804, the date of the erection of one of the votive caityas in the courtyard. The foundation is probably much older than this. At the present time most of the people living in the courtyard are Udāya.

B. Tekāñ Bāhā -- Bodhiprasthāna Vihāra [19]  
Ko Nāya Tole (Kamalākṣi)

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard behind the row of houses off the main street in

Kamalākṣi. The entire complex is in a sad state of disrepair with the bāhā shrine wedged in the south west corner. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara. The kwāpā-dya was an image of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara but has now disappeared. The first storey has a finely carved triple window and above that is a carved, overhanging balcony with living quarters. In front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

According to informants this was originally a branch of Takṣe Bāhā, later taken over by Udaya. Finally the Udāya had only daughters, and after the last of the original families died it was abandoned. The image of the kwāpā-dya has disappeared and the daily rituals are no longer performed. KTMV gives the date 1851 (N.S.771) as the date of the construction of this bāhā, but gives no basis for the date.<sup>88</sup> At the present time there are no inscriptions in the courtyard.

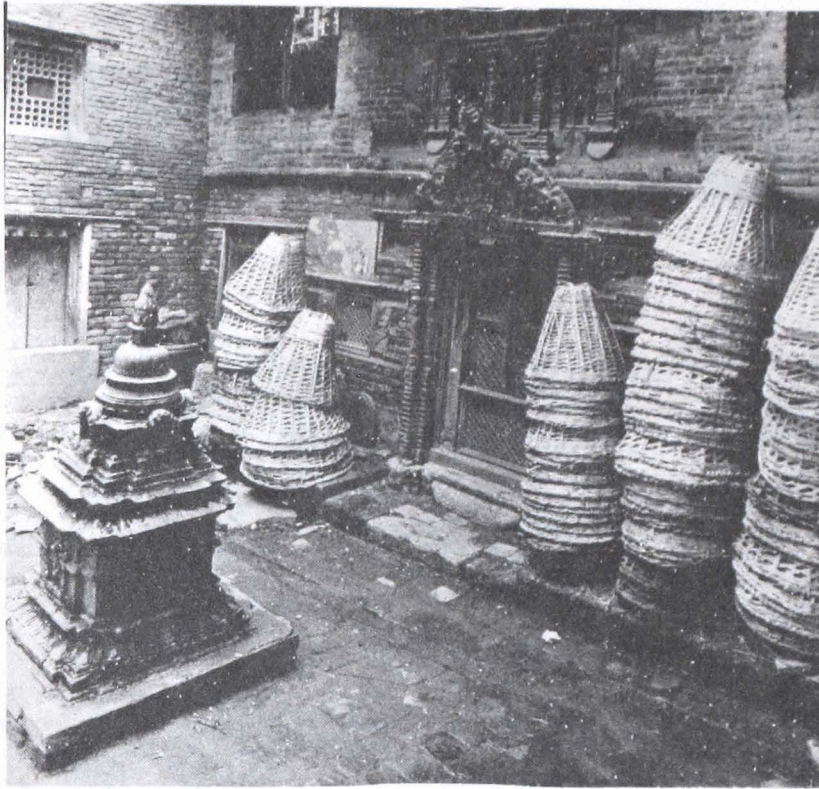
C. Kwathu Bāhā -- Aśokavṛkṣa Vihāra [14]  
Asan Tole

Nothing is left of this former branch of Takṣe Bāhā but two images and a caitya inside of a small storeroom, full of baskets, behind the shops facing the main road. Evidently the buildings of the bāhā fell into complete ruin, perhaps as a result of the 1934 earthquake, and the resident Vajracaryas abandoned the place. The two images remaining are of Amitābha (evidently the kwāpā-dya salvaged from the ruins of the shrine) and an image of Lokeśvara. No regular rituals are performed now by anyone, and the site is abandoned for all practical purposes. KTMV gives the time of foundation of this branch as sixteenth century, but gives no basis for this; at the present time there are no inscriptions left at the site.<sup>89</sup>

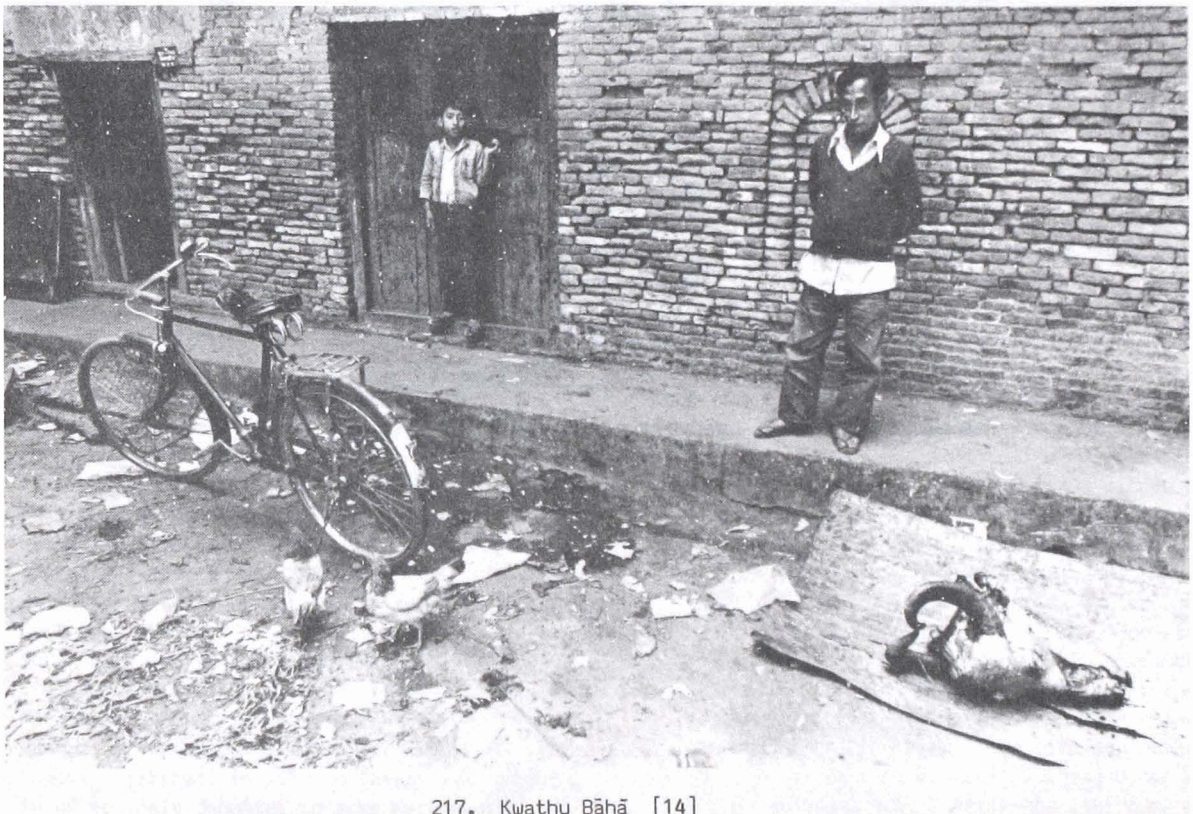
10. Mū Bāhā -- Mūlāsī Mahāvihāra\* [46]  
Wotu Tole

Mū Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard in Wotu Tole surrounded by residential buildings. The present shrine is a fairly recent reconstruction using old materials: the doorway, torana, the five-fold window and small single windows. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing Nāma-saṅgīti. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya



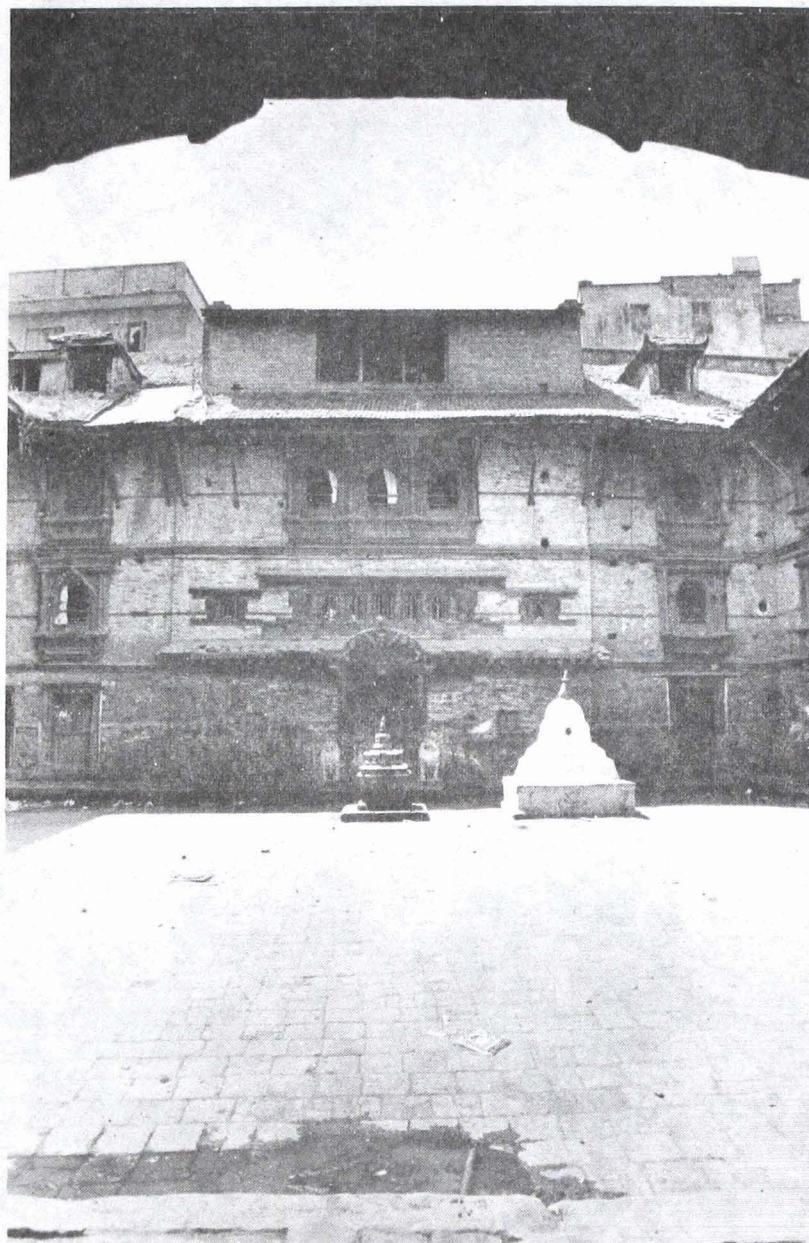


216. Tekāñ Bāhā [19]



217. Kwathu Bāhā [14]





218. Mū Bāhā [46]

facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows, the second storey has three large, finely carved windows and above this is an overhanging half-roof. The top storey has three large openings and the whole is covered by a corrugated iron roof. This top storey is evidently a later addition. In the courtyard are an 'Aśoka' caitya and one small, votive caitya.

The saṅgha, consisting of four lineages, now has a total of fifteen families with one hundred twenty initiated Vajracaryas. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha in turn. The term of service is seven days and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Unlike most bāhās today one may not get a substitute but must take his turn when it comes round. The annual festival is no longer held because of a lack of resources. There is a feast for the entire saṅgha only after initiation ceremonies or when someone undertakes to finance the feast. The only time a homa ritual is performed any more is when the shrine has been desecrated by a dog, some other unclean animal or someone who has not received the Barechuyegu. The governing body of the bāhā consists of five elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācālyuegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members, but only every four or five years, when there are enough candidates to share the expenses. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyeśvarī at Paṣupatināth. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

One of the most important features of the life of the saṅgha of this bāhā is the institution of the Mū Bāhā Kumārī. For the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu the worship of this Kumārī is far more important than that of the Royal Kumārī. She provides the most perfect representation of the female tantric deity Vajradevī. They say that her superior status is confirmed by the fact that should the Royal Kumārī fall sick, her priests must send offerings to the Mū Bāhā Kumārī instead of the Royal Kumārī. Her importance to the Vajracarya community is evident from the fact that for whoever wishes to perform a Vajrayana ceremony which includes the worship of the living goddess, the first choice is always the Mū Bāhā Kumārī. However, the custom is in danger of dying out altogether. When the last Kumārī 'retired' in 1972 no family was willing to offer their daughter to take her place. By

1984 a replacement still had not been found. The reason for this appears to be twofold. If one's daughter takes up this office irksome restrictions are placed on her whole family. Secondly, the financial rewards today are slim; in fact the whole business may well cost the girl's family considerable money. Fewer people are performing rituals which include the worship of the Kumārī, and offerings in these days of inflation remain what they have been for centuries.

The oral tradition at Mū Bāhā says that this foundation was first located near Paṣupatināth at a place called Piṃ Bāhā. The institution of the Kumārī is associated with the legend of their move to the city of Kathmandu. They say that the members of the saṅgha were instructed by their lineage deity (Gūhyeśvarī) to move the bāhā to Kathmandu and to introduce there the worship of the Buddhist female principle incarnate in a living goddess.

The customs associated with the selection and worship of this Kumārī reveal a close connection between the saṅghas of Mū Bāhā and Takṣe Bāhā [45]. Both of these saṅghas have Gūhyeśvarī as their lineage deity, indicating a common origin, and both of them have the unique custom of performing the khadga jātrā on the eleventh rather than the tenth day of Dasain. Furthermore when a new Kumārī is selected the candidate is usually taken from the daughters of the saṅgha of Mū Bāhā. If there is no suitable girl there, she may be taken from the daughters of the members of Tadhā Bāhā [49] or Asan Bāhā [17] (both Sakya bāhās), and if there is no suitable girl there then from the daughters of Takṣe Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha of Takṣe Bāhā have a paramount role to play:

Though the living Kumari resides at Mūbāhā and is often selected from its membership, the chakreswor . . . and five other elders of Tashibāhā [Takṣe Bāhā] act as the selection committee. The candidates, after initial pre-selection by Mūbāhā members in accordance with the usual physical criteria, are brought to the official Kumārī āgama located on the first floor directly over the bāhā entrance. The Chakreswor puts small rolls of paper in a ritual bowl (pātra) and his wife then gives one to each candidate. The girl who takes the piece with a thunderbolt (vajra) drawn on it becomes the next Kumārī--the living mani-

festation of Vajradevī. The girl selected is then placed beside the old Kumārī on her throne or seat (āsana) and the Chakreśvar transfers the various items of jewelry and other insignia from one to another. He makes offerings of nuts to the old Kumārī, then after she has left the seat he does likewise to the new one. Though associated rituals are performed, the girl is believed to have become Kumārī at the moment the lottery result is made known.

As mentioned above the oral tradition of this saṅgha states that this foundation first existed near Paṣupatināth at a place called Piṁ Bāhā or Sarvasiddhi Mahāvihāra. That there was such a foundation somewhere near Paṣupatināth is a common tradition in the legends of the Valley.<sup>91</sup> This saṅgha can be traced to that foundation is, according to informants, confirmed by two bits of evidence. First is the fact that their lineage deity is Guhyeśvarī. Secondly there are a number of old manuscripts which refer to the members of this saṅgha as the 'Piṁ-bāhā ācāryas of Mūlaśrī Mahāvihāra in Wotu Tole.' Unfortunately there are no early confirmed dates for this bāhā or its saṅgha. The earliest date to come to light so far is that on an inscription dated N.S.764 which refers to a Tulāchar from the area of 'Mūra Vihāra'.<sup>92</sup>

11. Te Bāhā -- Rāja Kīrti Mahāvihāra\* [23]  
 Śivadeva Saṁskārīta Śrī Tēdo  
 Mahāvihāra\*  
 Bandhudatta Bāhā -- Bandhudatta Vihāra  
 [24] Te Bāhāl

Te Bāhā is a large open space just west of the RNAC building off of New Road. It is surrounded by residential buildings and contains several shrines. Several published lists of the ahas give the Sanskrit name of this foundation as Pracandavīra Mahāvihār, but the inscriptional evidence and references in manuscripts speak only of Śrī Tēdo Vihāra (the older Newari name) and Rāja Kīrti Mahāvihāra. There are actually two bāhā shrines within this complex. The main one, and the one which houses the kwāpā-dya of the saṅgha is situated among the buildings along the western side of the large open area. It is a simple, white-washed and plastered structure of three storeys. On either side of the plain doorway are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over the door is a wooden torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana surrounded by the other four Bu-

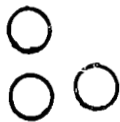
ddhas in their non-tantric form. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya, facing east. The first storey has three carved windows and above that a partial tile roof. The top storey has a triple opening surmounted by a tile roof and three finials.

In the centre of the large compound and facing the main shrine is the second bāhā shrine. This is known as Bandhudatta Mahāvihāra and according to legend was built by King Narendradeva for his ācārya, Bandhudatta, after they successfully brought Matsyendranāth (Buṅgadya) to the Valley of Nepal. Perhaps there was a second bāhā complex here at one time, but all that is left now is a squat one-storied building of brick with a tile roof. The building is just big enough to serve as a one-roomed shrine. The level of the plinth is about three feet above the ground level and in front of the plain, solid door of the shrine is a veranda. The kwāpā-dya here is also Akṣobhya, facing west. There is no torāṇa and no decoration of any kind on the building.

In the south-west corner of the complex is another shrine in a very good state of repair. At the present time this is the most important shrine within the complex and houses a deity popularly called Śaṅkaṭā. The shrine is a two-storied, house-type structure which has been recently entirely renovated and painted. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by five finials. The torāṇa over the doorway portrays Śaṅkaṭā and the struts supporting the roof portray the Pañcarakṣā deities. The whole shrine is a curious addition to the bāhā. The image on the ground floor is a large and very ancient image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. However, this is not Śaṅkaṭā. Śaṅkaṭā is housed in a shrine upstairs and is actually the tantric Buddhist deity Candamahāroṣaṇa. For popular devotion this is the most important shrine in the complex; and a steady stream of people, both Hindu and Buddhist, frequent the shrine. This deity forms a sort of pair with the Mahānkāl image on the Tuṇḍikhel as both are said to have been set up by the same Vajracarya from Sawal Bāhā, and their annual festival is celebrated on the same day. Śaṅkaṭā is worshipped especially on Saturday and on one's birthday to ward off ill luck. Some say the famous Vajracarya who founded this shrine was Jāmu Gubhājū, the guru of King Pratāp Malla, but this seems entirely too late. Some accounts attribute the founding of this



Te Baha Complex



3 images of  
Surya



Bandudatta  
Vihara



Bhadra-  
kali  
Dya Chen



Caitya



Te Baha



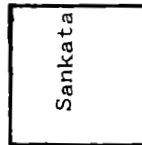
Sarasvati



Caitya



Image of  
Aksobhya



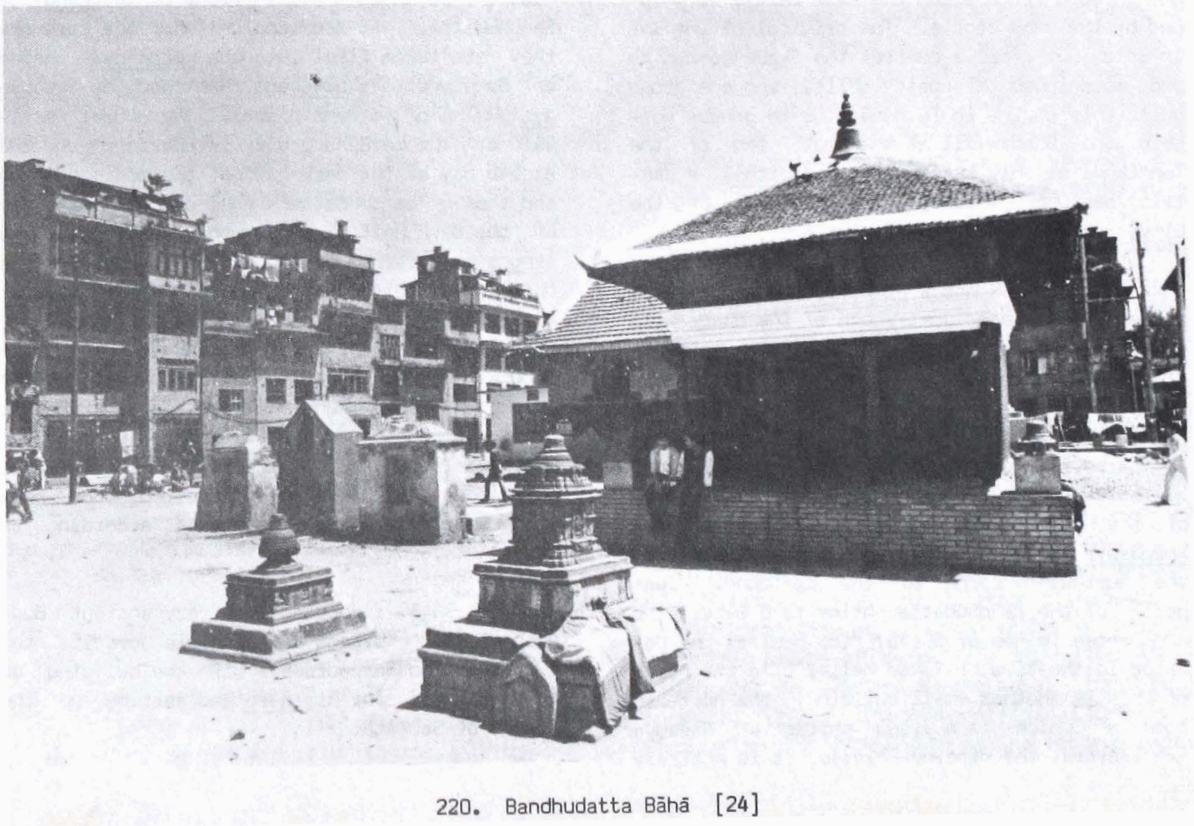
Sankata







219. Te Bāhā [23]



220. Bandhudatta Bāhā [24]



shrine and the Tuṇḍikhel Mahānkāl to Sāsvatva-jra. One account of the origin of this shrine, written in Nepali, says that the deity is female and called Śaṅkaṭā Devī. This account attributes the founding to a Jyāpū and the legend recounted is identical to the legend of the bhoto of Matsyendranāth. The Jyāpū cured the wife of Karkoṭaka Nāgarāja of an eye disease and as a boon asked for the iṣṭa devatā of the Nāgarāja. Śaṅkaṭā Devī was given to the Jyāpū and he erected a shrine here and called the place Tīrtha Bāhā (a name that is <sup>93</sup>still occasionally heard for the whole bāhā.) The image of Lokeśvara in this shrine is said to have been established by Bandhudatta Ācārya. The dya-pālā for the image of Lokeśvara on the ground floor and the image of Śaṅkaṭā is the current dya-pālā of Te Bāhā, i.e. the Thakālī of the saṅgha.

On the eastern side of the compound is another shrine known as Bhadrakālī Dya Cheñ, a two-storied shrine similar to all such dya-cheñ shrines. The deity in this shrine is actually Cāmūṇḍā and the priest of the temple is a Jyāpū. The main festival of this shrine takes place at the time of Ghoḍā Jātrā. This Bhadrakālī, the one at the south end of the Tuṇḍikhel and the one in Wotu are one and the same deity, worshipped by the same people. The original shrine was in Wotu, but after a quarrel the Jyāpū community who worshipped this deity split, and one group built this shrine in Te Bāhā. Both groups worship the Bhadrakālī at the south end of the Tuṇḍikhel as this is considered a pīṭha, a tantric seat of a deity located outside of the city.

The complex has a number of other images and small shrines. Just south of the Bhadrakālī shrine is a large stūpa with four small 'Licchavi' caityas set into the base. Just east of the Śaṅkaṭā temple are two more 'Licchavi' caityas. North of these is an image of Sarasvatī (actually Sarasvatī in this case and not Mañjuśrī called Sarasvatī). There is a caitya in front of the Śaṅkaṭā shrine, three in front of the kwāpā-dya shrine of Te Bāhā and three more in the northwest corner of the compound. Just north of the Bandhudatta shrine is a water tap and three images of Sūrya, the central one donated in the time of Yakṣa Malla. To the north of this is another small building, the northern room of which is a Jyāpū shrine of Nāsadya (=Nṛteśvara, the dancing Śhiva). It is entirely

in the care of the Jyāpūs and blood sacrifices are performed here. Outside the Te Bāhā complex proper and just to the east is a large stūpa with the four transcendent Buddhas, a smaller votive caitya, a Licchavi caitya, and an image of Akṣobhya set up in a small plastered shrine. This image is said to have been the kwāpā-dya of a bāhā which stood on the Tuṇḍikhel and was later demolished. It was known as Vandaḥṛta Triratna Mahāvihāra [C].

Though this complex actually consists of two bāhās there is at the present time one saṅgha consisting of only twenty nine initiated Vajracaryas. Which of these two bāhās should be considered the main one and which the subsidiary one is not at all clear. Many local informants say that Te Bāhā is the original and main bāhā and the other was either built later by the king for his guru Bandhudatta or by the members of the saṅgha in honour of their famous preceptor. At the present time the daily rituals are performed morning and evening in Te Bāhā proper only by the Thāyṇā of the saṅgha. The other members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of Bandhudatta Bāhā. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here, and for the Barechuyegu ceremonies the candidates sit in front of the bāhā of Bandhudatta. At the conclusion of the ceremony they are taken first into the kwāpā-dya shrine of Bandhudatta's bāhā and then into the kwāpā-dya shrine of Te Bāhā proper. The annual festival of the Te Bāhā proper is observed on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Paus and that of Bandhudatta's bāhā on the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. The saṅgha is governed by a board of five elders and the lineage deity is Vasundharā. This image is kept at the house of the current Thāyṇā and worshipped once a year at Te Bāhā itself. The saṅgha has no tradition of its deity being 'brought' from somewhere else. The bāhā used to have between fifty and sixty ropanīs of land which yielded a fair income, but no income comes any longer. The lands and their produce have been appropriated by the tenants according to informants.

Te Bāhā is obviously a very ancient Buddhist site. Wright's chronicle credits the Licchavi king Narendradeva with the building of a bāhā here for his guru and setting up the shrine of Śaṅkaṭā.

This Rājā [Narendra-deva] built a bihār near Lomrī-devī, whom Bandhudatta Āchārya had brought and placed there for the protection of the country. After naming it Tirtha, because the Āchārya came from Tirtha, he gave it to the spiritual guide of his father. . . .He had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Padma-deva, the second Ratna-deva, and the youngest Bar-deva. The Rājā sent the eldest to become a bandya in the Piṅgala Bāhāl, where there were at one time six hundred bandyas. The second he put under the guidance of Bandhudatta in the Tirtha Bihār. The third was appointed as Rājā.

Bandhudatta placed Padmāntaka (Śankatā) in the Tirtha-bāhāl, and then brought ten Krodha-devatas, or avenging deities, from Kamuni, and also placed them there, along with Asta-pithas and Asta-smashāns. At the north-east corner of the Tirtha-bāhāl he placed Mahākāl, whom he brought from Bhot (Tibet). Having thus placed gods on all the ten sides, the Rājā and Āchārya lived happily.<sup>94</sup>

This attribution of the foundation to Narendra-deva may refer only to the Bandhudatta Bāhā. If it intends to indicate the foundation of Te Bāhā itself, it does not correspond to the evidence we have.

Coming to datable evidence, there are seven 'Licchavi' caityas within the compound of Te Bāhā and one outside. There are two Licchavi inscriptions at Te Bāhā. The first is near the main entrance. At the present time it serves as a pedestal for an image of Mahākāl, but was originally a pedestal for an image of Sūrya. The inscription dated in the year 402 (=Saka Saṃbat=A.D.480-81), says that one Gūha Mitra, a leader of a trading caravan, set up an image of Sūrya in this year.<sup>95</sup> The second inscription located on the southern wall of the compound on the remains of a water spout is undated but on the basis of the epigraphy has been dated to the period between the two kings Amśuvarma and Narendra-deva, i.e. A.D.640-642. The inscription says that one Sakya by the name of Priyapāla, invoking the Three Jewels, set up this water tap for the use of all living beings in order to obtain blessings for his parents.<sup>96</sup> Neither of these inscriptions give us any information about the present institution of Te Bāhā, but the second gives an indication of definite Buddhist connections by the middle of the seventh century

A.D.

There is, however, an early medieval reference to this bāhā. There is a Vajracarya crown inscribed with the following verse:

On Friday, the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada, Nepal Saṃbat 265 [i.e. A.D. 1145], [during the reign of] King Śrī Narendra-deva, [this] crown, beautified by the five Buddhas and decorated with gems was consecrated by (or for?) Bhikṣu Abhaya Gupta, the wise Vajrācārya of Śrīmat Teda Vihāra, founded by Śrīmat Śivadeva.<sup>97</sup> The craftsman was Bhikṣu Bhāṣkara Gupta.

The authenticity of this reference is confirmed by the fact that the reign of a king by the name of Narendra-deva from at least A.D.1134-45 is confirmed by other sources, and the name Teda Vihāra is confirmed by other later references, some of them within the bāhā complex. Besides giving us an early medieval date for this bāhā, the inscription has a number of interesting points. The Sanskrit name of the bāhā is usually given now as Rājākṛti, which would indicate that it was founded by or in honour of a king--'to the glory of the king.'<sup>98</sup> Local oral tradition usually says that the king in question is Guṇakāmadeva. Ratna Kāñi Vajrācārya speculates<sup>99</sup> that it was either Dharmadeva or Amśuvarma, but it is clear from this inscription that a much earlier tradition attributed its foundation to Śivadeva. This is also one of the earliest dated references to a Vajracarya in connection with a still existing foundation.

The next historical record is the inscription on the Sūrya image in the centre of the complex. It was erected in the year N.S.582 and gives the name of the place as Teda Vihāra and the reigning king as Yakṣa Malla.<sup>100</sup> There is a palm-leaf land deed recording the gift of a field or garden by Hṛdaya Rāja Bhāro to Teja Thakālī of Teda Vihāra in the year N.S.583.<sup>101</sup> In the year N.S.640, during the reign of Ratna Malla another image of Sūrya was donated and this inscription gives the first reference to the current Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Śrī Rājākṛti Mahāvihāra.<sup>102</sup> An inscription of N.S.665 records the setting up of an image of Mahākāl. The main donor was Vajrācārya Bhikṣu Śrī Abhaya-siṃha of Teda Vihāra in the royal area (rāja-kṣetra) of the Mahā Vyavahāra[sic].<sup>103</sup> An inscription at the Śankatā shrine records repairs

made in the year N.S.836 during the reign of Mahindra (=Bhāṣkara) Malla. The bāhā is referred to as Śrī Rājakīrti Mahāvihāra.<sup>104</sup> Two manuscripts, one a copy of the Kalpasaṅgraha, and the second a copy of the Jñānasiddhi were copied in the year N.S.946 by one Vajracārya Siddhapāṇḍa of Rājakīrti Mahāvihāra in Kāntipur.<sup>105</sup>

In summary then the Vajracarya crown gives a terminus a quo for the existence of Te Bāhā. We know that it existed in A.D.1145 and that the tradition at that time was that it was founded by a king called Śivadeva. But which Śivadeva? There are three to choose from. There was a Śivadeva in the so-called Thakuri Period who ruled from c A.D.1101 to 1103. There are two Licchavi kings by the name of Śivadeva, the first ruling c A.D.590-604 and the second c 693-704. It is the first Licchavi Śivadeva who is credited in inscriptions and chronicles with the foundation of monasteries and who according to later chronicles retired to a monastery himself. Of the three he is the most likely contender for the honour of founder of Teda Vihāra. The Thakuri Śivadeva, who would have been recently deceased when the crown was made, seems entirely too late in view of the large number of Licchavi remains at the site.

12. Jana Bāhā -- Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra\*  
[45] Kel Tole

Jana Bāhā is located in Kel Tole about half way between Asan and Indra Chowk. It is most well known as the home of the White Matsyendra-nāth or Jana Bāhā Dya, the white Avalokitesvara who is to Kathmandu what Buṅga Dya is to Patan. The temple of Jana Bāhā Dya is situated in an enclosed courtyard which one enters through a doorway facing on to the open area of Kel Tole. In front of the doorway opening on to the compound is a pillar surmounted by an image of Amitābha and one of Akṣobhya back to back. Set into the pavement near the pillar is a stone maṇḍaḷa.

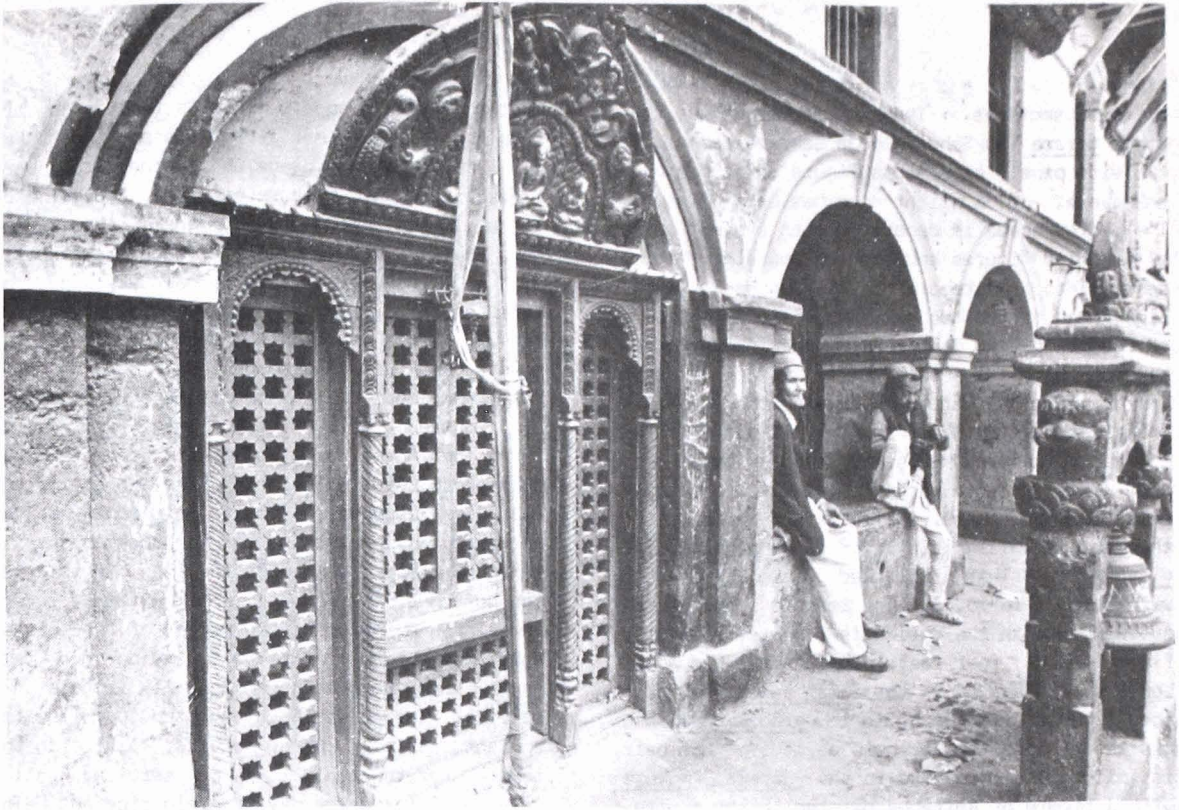
The facade of the present entryway bears an inscription telling of repairs made in the year 1974 B.S. (A.D.1918-19). In A.D.1917 there had been a fire which destroyed the old entryway and most of the buildings on the south side of the inner compound. The new facade was built in an incongruous white plaster style, known locally

as 'Rana Style' which clashes with the entire surroundings. The old Newar facade had a beautifully carved triple window over the doorway and an exquisite wooden torana.<sup>106</sup> At present there is a brass repousse torana over the entryway put up in the year N.S.1049 (1929). This portrays the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). Passing through the doorway one comes into a long vestibule which leads into the inner courtyard. On the right side of the vestibule is a platform where devotees come to sing bhajans each morning and evening.

The courtyard of Jana Bāhā does not have any of the architectural unity common in the older bāhās. Even the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a modern reconstruction after the fire of 1917. This shrine is located just to the right of the entryway as one comes into the compound. It is simply a room on the ground floor of a three storied, white, plastered building. The shrine is unmarked and has a doorway of large, open lattice work. Over the door is a copper repousse torana again showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha as above. Inside is a large brass figure of Akṣobhya facing west, the kwāpā-dya of Jana Bāhā. This should be the principal non-tantric deity of the bāhā before whose shrine all the principal rites proper to the saṅgha are performed. However, at Jana Bāhā the place of the kwāpā-dya has been completely usurped by Avalokitesvara before whose shrine all the rites and feasts of the saṅgha are held. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is opened once each day for a brief pūjā by the current dya-pālā, who serves in the shrine of Lokeśvara. Beyond this the kwāpā-dya is ignored. The present brass image of Akṣobhya dates to the time of the restoration after the fire. The previous image, which was stone was lost in the fire. The rest of the buildings around the courtyard are all residential buildings of different sizes and styles, many of which have shops on the ground floor. Informants say that originally all of these buildings were occupied by the members of the saṅgha of Jana Bāhā, but partly because of the fire and partly because of the growth of their families, the saṅgha have sold off or rented their property to others, mostly Udaya.

The shrine of Jana Bāhā Dya is a squat, free-standing temple of two roofs which is elaborately decorated. The main entrance is a triple doorway surmounted by an elaborate torana





221. Jana Bāhā [45]



222. Shrine of Jana Bāhā Dyā

of three sections. The main figure in the central torana is Sahasrabhūja Lokeśvara and the two side panels each had a figure of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. (The right one has been stolen). The whole facade is decorated with a great array of Buddhist figures and each of the other three doors into the temple has a repousse torana. From each of the two gilt copper roofs hangs a series of gilded copper repousse banners called halampo which give this shrine its distinctive appearance. The struts supporting the two roofs are all carved with different multi-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara. The top roof is crowned by two small and one large finial with a triple umbrella above these. Immediately in front of the main finial is a large darpana with the viśvavajra. This is flanked by two kalasā each with a lotus in it.<sup>107</sup> The image of Avalokiteśvara housed in the shrine is a white, plastered figure about four feet in height of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara standing in the samabhaṅga pose on a lotus. His right hand is in varada mudrā and his left in position to hold a lotus. His hair is piled up on his head in the jātaka mukūṭa with a figure of Amitābha painted in the centre. He wears the bodhisattva ornaments and crown, the sacred thread, a golden ṭikā in the forehead, the śrī vatsa ('endless knot') on his chest and the swastika on his navel. The only garment painted on the image is a blue dhōṭī. To his right and left are two small images of the two Tārās, one green and one white. Ordinarily all one can see of the image is the face, as the image is entirely covered with garments and ornaments.

Directly in front of the main door of the shrine is a small, plastered caitya, the kanaka caitya from which the bāhā takes its name. Since this caitya is periodically replastered it appears to be nothing but a white, shapeless mound. Under this may well be a 'Licchavi' caitya. The rest of the courtyard round the temple is filled with an array of images and thirty one votive caityas.

The saṅgha of Jana Bāhā is a mixed saṅgha of Sakyas and Vajracaryas comprising one hundred twenty two Vajracaryas and twelve Sakyas. According to informants there were originally two Sakya lineages and two Vajracarya lineages in the saṅgha with the Sakyas and Vajracaryas having separate lineage deities. Over the years the members of the Vajracarya lineages have increased considerably faster than the members

of the Sakya lineages. This is further complicated by the fact that at the present time there is a third Sakya lineage whose progenitors were Vajracaryas but because of some irregularity either in initiations or marriage alliances are now Sakyas. These have the same lineage deity as the Vajracaryas. The original Sakyas are now referred to as 'suddha' Sakyas, i.e. pure Sakyas. There are twenty households within the saṅgha and service in the temple of Jana Bāhā Dya (and therefore in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya) passes through these twenty families in turn, but these terms of service are determined by a complicated calculation based on the original four lineages so that the 'suddha' Sakyas serve for six months and the Vajracaryas for six months, despite the fact that the Vajracaryas far outnumber the Sakyas. When a family's turn comes round any initiated member of the household may serve. At present many do not take their turn so that a few actually rotate the service. The dya-pālā is expected to follow the ancient strict rules of service, living in the temple for the whole time of service, eating only one full meal a day of plain rice and being careful not to associate himself with anything impure. The period of service is one lunar month. A much more elaborate service is still in vogue here for the worship of Jana Bāhā Dya. (The kwāpā-dya is worshipped only twice a day.) Early in the morning the temple is opened and the deity awakened and ritually bathed. About ten in the morning the official nitya pūjā is performed, followed by a pūjā to the Kanaka Caitya and a circumambulation of all the shrines in the compound including the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. At midday the deity is ritually fed and another pañcopacāra pūjā performed. In the middle of the afternoon another pañcopacāra pūjā is performed and in the evening the āratī. Finally there is a ceremony for putting the deity to bed. At each of the 'hours' a special stotra (hymn) is recited.<sup>108</sup>

The main annual events at Jana Bāhā are the bathing ceremony of Jana Bāhā Dya and the annual ratha jātrā. The bathing takes place on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. Before the bathing, the spirit of the deity is removed from the image; after the bathing the image is placed to the side in the courtyard and over the next few days is repainted. The image is reconsecrated in an elaborate all-night ceremony on the full moon day of Paus.<sup>109</sup> The ratha jātrā begins on the eighth

day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The procession begins in Jamal (where the image is said to have been found) and proceeds by stages to Asan Tole, Hanūmāndhokā and Lagan Tole. By the full moon day of the month the procession must be completed, a sāntisvasti pūjā is performed (to pacify the deity if he has been offended during the procession), and the image is then carried back on a portable carrier to Jana Bāhā. At the conclusion of the ratha jātrā there is a feast for the entire saṅgha. This is the annual festival of the saṅgha; there is no būsā dañ as such.

Jana Bāhā is one of the favorite places for people to perform the monthly observance of Aṣṭamī Vrata in honour of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. On the eighth day of the bright half of any month one can see large groups of people in Jana Bāhā for this observance.

The governing body of Jana Bāhā consists of a board of twenty elders, one from each of the households. The Thakālī is the eldest member of the saṅgha, whether Sakya or Vajracarya. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha at irregular intervals. At the last such initiation in 1975 a total of twenty five boys were initiated. Ācāluyegu initiations are always performed four days after the Barechuyegu. The officiating priest for these initiations is always the priest from Sawal Bāhā [50] who is the official priest for all the rituals concerned with Jana Bāhā Dya.

This bāhā, because of the importance of Jana Bāhā Dya, has a number of gūthīs. The members of the saṅgha constitute a gūthī whose function it is to look after the bāhā and to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of Jana Bāhā Dya. There is a gūthī fund, registered with the government Gūthī Samsthān, the income from which is used to pay the priest currently on duty in the shrine. All of the permanent ornaments of the deity are registered with the government gūthī office, though the ornaments themselves have been donated by private individuals and families. It is the duty of the priest serving in the temple to safeguard these treasures. The saṅgha as a gūthī has an annual meeting which includes a pūjā and a feast. This takes place at the end of the annual ratha jātrā. In addition to this official government registered gūthī there are several private gūthīs pertain-

ing to the life of the saṅgha. There are gūthīs for the various rituals and tasks that have to be performed throughout the year by the saṅgha. For example, there is a gūthī composed of some of the members of the saṅgha whose responsibility it is to store the fixtures of the ratha. At the time of the annual ratha jātrā, it is their duty to get these out of storage and see that they are in shape to be put on the ratha. At the conclusion of the jātrā, they must see that these things are removed from the ratha in Lagan Tole, returned to Jana Bāhā, and put into storage for the next year. When their job is finished they have a feast. There is another gūthī whose responsibility it is to see to the lighting and care of a large oil lamp known as the mahādīpa. This lamp is lit during the annual bathing ceremony and on a few other important occasions. There is also a disi pūjā gūthī for the bi-annual celebration of the solstice.

There are two different lineage deities at Jana Bāhā. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas and of those Sakyas who are descendants of Vajracaryas is Āju-Ajimā located at Khusi Bahī [92]. The lineage deity of the 'suddha' Sakyas is 'Āju-Ajimā' at Tadhañ Bāhā [49]. The lineage deity of Tadhañ Bāhā, now worshipped at the bāhā, is in fact Heruka located at Gūhyeśvarī. This curious arrangement probably indicates that this group originally came from Tadhañ Bāhā. There are several bāhās which have their lineage deity at Gūhyeśvarī, but only the Tadhañ Bāhā people worship this deity at Tadhañ Bāhā.

As mentioned above this bāhā has a fair amount of income which comes to it because of the worship here of the White Matsyendranāth or Jana Bāhā Dya. There seems to be little other income left, though members of the saṅgha say that at one time the saṅgha had a considerable amount of agricultural land which yielded a further income.

There is little evidence to indicate an early foundation for this bāhā. The chronicles state that the image of Avalokiteśvara was brought to the Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra from Jamal. Oral tradition, still current at Jana Bāhā, states that the bāhā existed prior to this, but there is little at Jana Bāhā to confirm this. According to informants at Jana Bāhā, before the image was brought there, the entrance to the bāhā compound was from the west which would put the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and



the āgam shrine of the saṅgha directly opposite the entrance as usual. This entryway from the west still exists though little used. According to the tradition, when the image was brought to the bāhā and a temple constructed for it, it was decided that the deity should face east and a new entrance was then made into the compound so that one entered facing the temple. The strongest argument in favour of this tradition is the existence of the shrine of Akṣobhya who is still recognised as the kwāpā-dya of the saṅgha. If the image of Avalokiteśvara had been at the bāhā from the beginning, or if the bāhā had been set up in order to house this image, Avalokiteśvara would have been the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā as he is at all of the other bāhās where he resides: Patan-Buṅgamatī, Cobhār, Nālā, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Taṅga Bāhā in Patan.

There are no dated monuments or inscriptions within the Jana Bāhā compound which enable us to date the complex earlier than the late Malla period except possibly the Kanaka Caitya from which the bāhā gets its name. However, like the image, this caitya is given a lime whitewash from time to time, so that it is now completely covered and shapeless except for the very tip. The size of the caitya and what can be seen of the tip would seem to indicate that it is similar to the 'Licchavi' caityas, but this is about all that can be said. The earliest date found at Jana Bāhā is on a painting of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort found in the āgam and dated N.S.521, which falls within the joint reign of the three sons of Jayasthiti Malla. This gives some indication of the existence of the bāhā at that time.

All of the other verifiable historical evidence dates from the time of Yakṣa Malla onward, and most of it gives evidence of the presence of Avalokiteśvara and the connection with Jamal. There is a manuscript copy of the Pañcarakṣā in the government library dated N.S.590 and copied by one Vajrācārya Mānikarāja Candra of Śrī Jamalaganthī in Koligrāma. This falls within the reign of Yakṣa Malla. Koligrāma refers to the area of Kathmandu around Kel Tole, and gūthī records of the saṅgha of Jana Bāhā do use the name 'Jamalaganthī' for the bāhā. This would indicate that by the time of Yakṣa Malla the connection with Jamal had been established.<sup>112</sup>

The gūthī of the saṅgha has a number of old

records which refer mostly to the internal running of the gūthī--donations to the saṅgha or the shrine, loans taken by members of the saṅgha from the gūthī funds, etc. In Baisākh N.S.639 a loan was given to a member of the saṅgha. This was during the reign of Ratna Malla, son of Yakṣa Malla. An entry of the year N.S.679 speaks of vessels made for the saṅgha by a Kamsākār. This falls within the reign of Narendra (Amar) Malla. In the year N.S.770 repairs were made to the rest house below the āgam. These records give evidence of the existence and functioning of the saṅgha at this time. They make no mention of Avalokiteśvara.

All of the references after this time do mention Avalokiteśvara. There is a sort of bracelet which the image of Avalokiteśvara wears that was donated during the reign of Lakṣmīnara-simha (A.D.1619-c1641). This is the oldest dateable evidence in the compound which definitely refers to the presence of Avalokiteśvara. There are two old wooden toranas, one now inside the temple and the other hanging over the door to the entryway, which were donated during the time of Kings Lakṣmīnarasimha and Pratāp Malla, i.e. about 1641. The earliest stone inscription in the courtyard dates to the time of Pratāp Malla. An inscription on the step below a caitya on the east side of the shrine commemorates the donation of a bell in the year N.S.779. The bell is dedicated to 'Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara at the temple of Jamaleśvara in Kanakacaitya Mahāvihara in the city of Kāntipur and donated by Candra Simha Bhāro from Kel Tole.' Another inscription on the north side of the temple dated N.S.784 commemorates a donation by a Tulādhār from Asan Tole at the shrine of 'Jabbareśvara' (i.e. Jamaleśvara). On the eastern side of the temple is another inscription at the base of a caitya stating that the caitya was put up as a memorial caitya by one Dharmarāja Kamsākār Bhāro at the 'temple of Jamaleśvara in the Kanakacaitya Mahāvihara in the year N.S.796 during the reign of Nṛpendra Malla.' At the base of another caitya on the north side of the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.800 and put up by a Kamsākār at the temple of Śrī Jamaleśvara. This is also in the reign of Nṛpendra Malla. Another caitya was erected to the north of the temple of 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Yamaleśvara in the year N.S.830 during the reign of Bhāṣkara (=Mahendra Simha) Malla. Other inscriptions on images and caityas in the compound are all of a much later date.<sup>113</sup>

There is no reliable historical evidence concerning the inauguration or revival of the ratha jātrā of Avalokiteśvara at Jana Bāhā. (Some chronicles claim that there was a ratha jātrā in ancient times, but it lapsed and was revived at a later time.) However, there is enough evidence to show that it was not started by Pratāp Malla as claimed by the chronicles. A thyāsaphu reference of the year N.S.747 in the time of Lakṣmīnaraśimha states that in that year the ratha of Jamala-deva fell over at Jya Bāhā as it was being pulled to Lagan.<sup>114</sup> Another reference of the year N.S.750 states that in that year Lakṣmīnaraśimha lengthened the ratha jātrā of Jamala by adding a stop at Swakambu (in the Hanūmān Dhokā area).<sup>115</sup> Hence the latest king who can possibly be credited with the inauguration of the jātrā is Lakṣmīnaraśimha, the father of Pratāp Malla.

In conclusion, we have the tradition of an ancient foundation of Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra, prior to the bringing of the image of Avalokiteśvara, confirmed by the existence of a separate kwāpā-dya shrine and the old entryway to the bāhā. The earliest hint we have of the presence of Avalokiteśvara and the connection to Jamal dates to the time of Yakṣa Malla. The earliest definite evidence at Jana Bāhā itself of the cult of Avalokiteśvara dates to the year A.D.1641, the date on the ornament donated in the time of Lakṣmīnaraśimha. From that time onward we have a continuous record of the cult, and all of the inscriptions give Avalokiteśvara the name Jamaleśvara (the Lord of Jamal). This confirms the tradition that the image was brought from Jamal. There seems to be no other possible reason for the name Jamaleśvara. We know that the annual ratha jātrā was already an established custom in A.D.1627. From that time to the present time the custom has been maintained. The earliest reference to the bāhā itself is N.S.521.

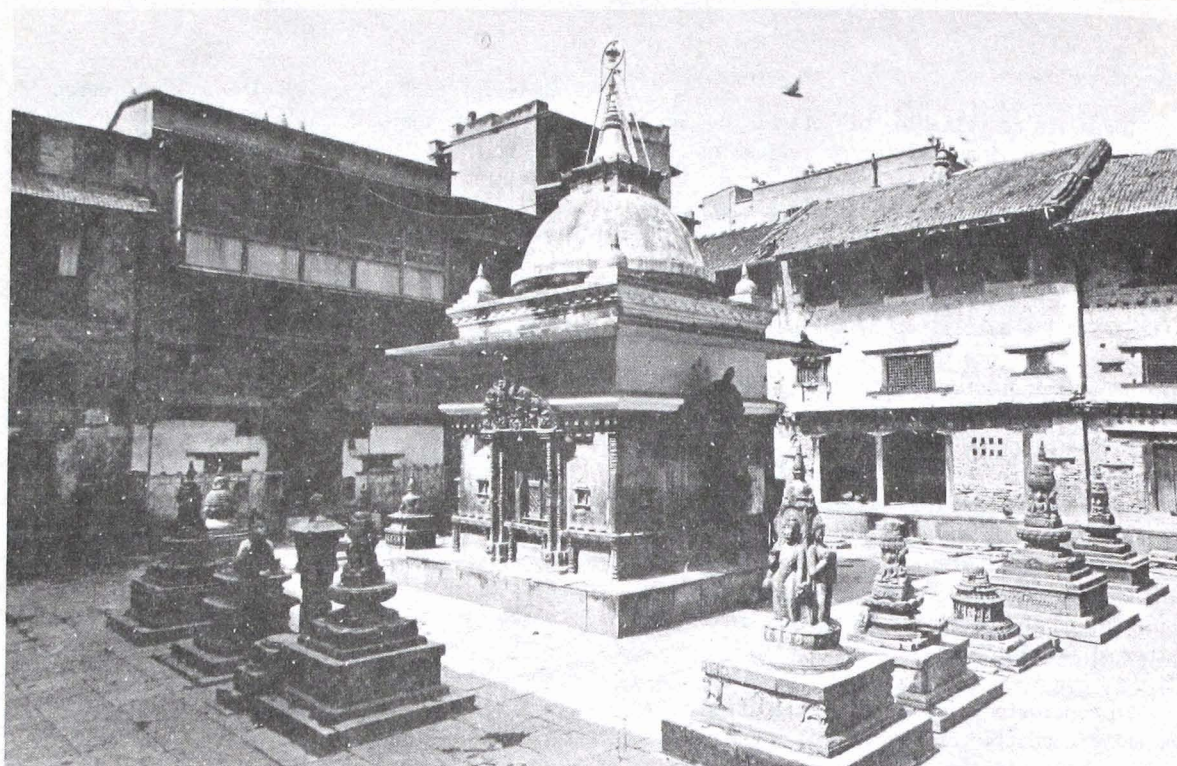
### 13. Lagañ Bāhā — Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra\* [80] Lagañ Tole

This bāhā is situated in a rather richly decorated enclosed courtyard just off the main square of Lagan Tole. Connected to this courtyard are two branch bāhās and a nani. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has lost much of its original architectural style to a rather recent renovation. The top storey is now enclosed by a

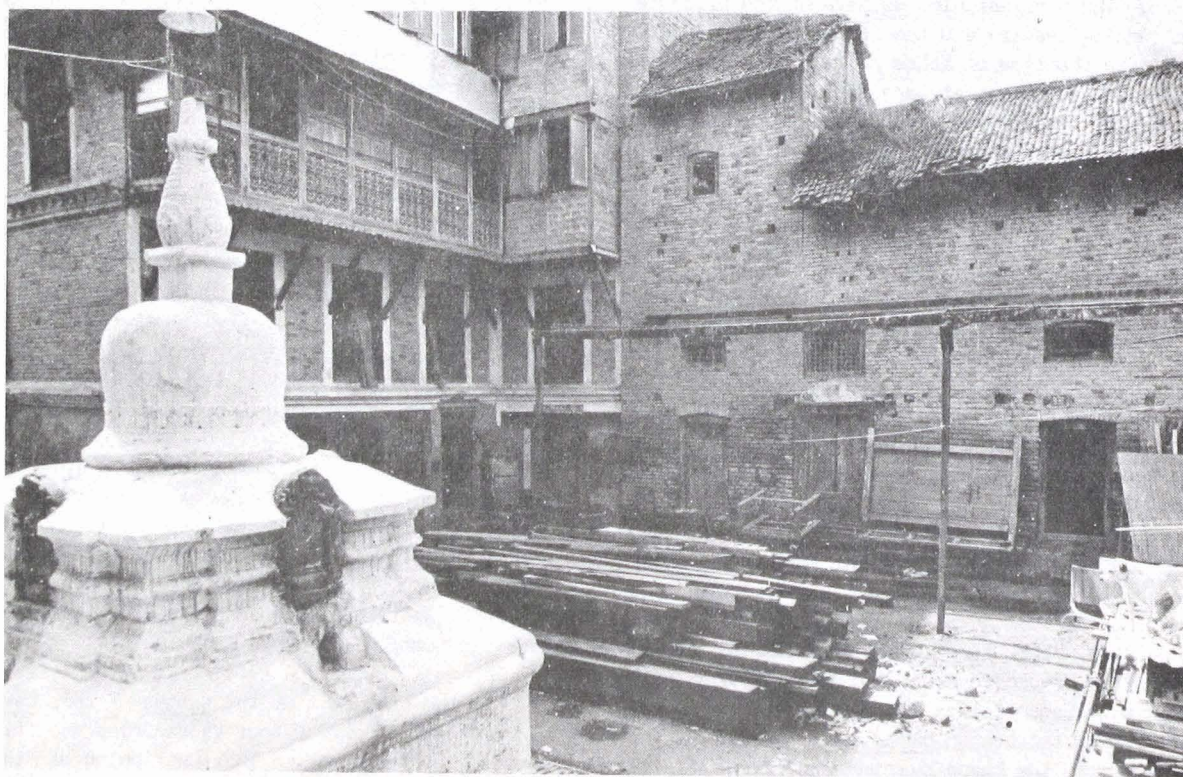
series of ordinary glass windows on an overhanging balcony; and the entire facade of the shrine has been plastered with plain, unpainted cement. The veranda in front of the shrine is enclosed by an iron railing. The carved doorway is surmounted by a fine copper repousse torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana flanked by two standing tantric figures. Above these figures are the pañcarakṣā deities and above them the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana at the very top of the torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is a large brass image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above the windows is an older wooden torāṇa having the same figures as the one over the main door. The top storey is enclosed with glass windows and supported by six carved struts. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted with a triple finial. In the centre of the courtyard is an enshrined caitya which is the lineage deity of the saṅgha. This brick shrine with a bell roof and a single golden finial has four doorways each surmounted by a wooden torāṇa. The torāṇa to the north depicts the Nāmasaṅgīti flanked by two bodhisattva figures and surrounded by nine other tantric deities. The other three torāṇas all depict tantric deities. In the courtyard are twelve other votive caityas (none of great antiquity), and two inscribed pillars.

There is some confusion about the proper Sanskrit name of this bāhā. The name found in all historical records, all inscriptions within the compound and references in manuscripts is simply Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra. However, several informants insisted that the proper name is Kīrtipūṇya Vajradhātu Caitya Mahāvihāra, the name deriving from the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. It would seem that this is a modern interpretation. This longer name is the proper Sanskrit name for one of the branches, Ta Bāhā [83] (see below). This insistence on the longer name may be due to a desire to point out the importance of the enshrined caitya; it may also be an effort to distinguish Lagañ Bāhā from the nearby bahī, Nhāyakañ Bahī [84] which has exactly the same Sanskrit name: Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra.<sup>116</sup>

At the present time the saṅgha of this bāhā is composed of ninety four Vajracaryas and two hundred fifty Sakyas. The functioning of the saṅgha was deeply affected by a dispute within the saṅgha some years ago between the Sakyas and



223. Lagañ Bāhā [80]



224. Wantā Bāhā [81]



Vajracaryas which was probably related to the long drawn-out dispute between the Ācārya Gūthī and its jajmāns. Since the Sakyas far outnumber the Vajracaryas in this saṅgha the Thakālī was most often a Sakya. The Vajracaryas objected to having to receive the Barechuyegu initiation from a Sakya, so they broke off, declared the Cakreśvara their Thakālī and began to perform their initiations separately. Theoretically this rupture has been healed but the scars still remain. At the present time the Vajracaryas and Sakyas still have their Barechuyegu initiations separately. When the Sakyas have their initiation the eldest Sakya presides, when the Vajracaryas have theirs the Cakreśvara presides. Vajracarya informants say that there are still in fact two saṅghas, but the Sakyas rather heatedly deny this.

All the members of the saṅgha, Sakya and Vajracarya, still serve in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The daily rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya are performed more fully here than at most bāhās. At dawn the dya-pālā awakens the deity and bathes him and then bathes the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. At about 8 AM the nitya pūjā is performed both to the kwāpā-dya and to the caitya. Some time after mid-day a pañcopacāra pūjā is performed to the kwāpā-dya and the caitya. In the evening the ārati is performed to both the kwāpā-dya and the caitya. The Sakyas act as dya-pālās for eleven months of the year and the Vajracaryas for only one month. Terms of service for the Sakyas pass down the roster of the initiated. The term of the Vajracaryas seems to be indefinite with each man sometimes doing it for only one day at a time. Theoretically the term of service of the Vajracaryas passes through their lineages. At the time of the nitya pūjā in the morning and again in the evening at the time of the ārati the dya-pālā must leave his entire left arm exposed like a bhikṣu. He must ring the bell to summon the worshippers and after completing the pūjā inside the bāhā he must go outside to the shrine of Avalokiteśvara which is in the square in front of the bāhā to worship him. The lineage deity for the entire saṅgha is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard, despite the fact that there are several distinct groups within the saṅgha. (See historical section below.) This 'deity' was 'brought' from western Nepal to its present site many generations ago.

The governing body of the saṅgha is made up of the Cakreśvara and the elders of five lineages from Lagañ Bāhā proper and three lineages which used to be centered on Jyā Bāhā [75] (now abandoned by the saṅgha). There used to be an annual festival at which all the members of the saṅgha, Sakyas and Vajracaryas, feasted together. This festival has been discontinued since the time of the dispute. However, some still observe the feast on a voluntary (i.e. unofficial) basis. When they have this unofficial feast both Sakyas and Vajracaryas take part. There used to be a feast for the entire saṅgha after initiations but this is no longer observed. The families of the boys being initiated have a feast, but they have to feed only their own relatives and the Thakālī of the saṅgha. The Barechuyegu initiation is held at irregular intervals and the Ācāluyegu is always performed four days after the Barechuyegu.

This bāhā and its saṅgha are intimately connected with the celebration of the twelve year Samyak ceremony held at Bhuī-khel below the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. According to the Thakālī there were originally three bāhās in Kathmandu which regularly held a samyak ceremony: Lagañ Bāhā held one at Khusī Bahī [92]; Itum Bāhā [44] held one at Burañ Khel (an open area near Nara Devī); and Tadhāñ Bāhā [49] held one at Pyukhā Bāhā [52]. After the attacks of Prithvinarayan Shah on the kingdoms of the Valley, their income considerably decreased and for a time the Samyak ceremonies were abandoned altogether. Later the three bāhās banded together to celebrate one samyak every twelve years at Bhuī-khel near Swayambhū.

Informants say that at one time members of the saṅgha of Lagañ Bāhā had a large number of treasures that were shown at the time of the annual 'showing of the gods'. At the present time the samyak deity and a few old images are put on display. Some say the people are afraid of theft so they no longer bring their treasures; other say the treasures have all disappeared. The bāhā also had a considerable income from agricultural land but this has now all been lost.

According to oral tradition the origins of this bāhā stretch back to the beginning of the history of the Valley. Members of the saṅgha say that after the draining of the Valley four viḥāras were founded. Of these four the first

founded was Lagañ Bāhā. In a later age when the bāhā had fallen into disrepair a king by the name of Kīrti had it repaired and from this time on the bāhā was known as Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra. There is also a legend that under the caitya in the centre of the courtyard is a lake and an emerald mine.<sup>118</sup> Wright's chronicle has a curious note claiming that in N.S.774 one Subharaṇa Sākya built the Lagañ Bāhā in Kāntipur, Lagañ Bāhā certainly existed long before this time. Most probably this is an inaccurate translation of the original chronicle. Wright's chronicle is a translation of a Nepali original and in Nepali the word banāunu can mean either to build or repair.<sup>120</sup> There may well have been a renovation of the bāhā at this time.

In addition to the above mentioned legend about the original founding of Lagañ Bāhā, the members of the saṅgha have a tradition which traces the history of the present community and its connection to Lagañ Bāhā. According to this story the Kolis, a tribe centered on the ancient site of Devadaha in the Nepal tarāī, were attacked by a king called Birudhak, the son of Prasanañjita. As a result of this attack many of them fled into the hills of Nepal and settled at a place called Yamyamtār five days walk west of Gorkha. Some time later one of these people by the name of Āyudeva came to the Kathmandu Valley in the time of the Licchavi kings. He eventually settled at Lagañ Bāhā, an ancient foundation which had been abandoned and had fallen into ruins. He renovated the place and took up residence there. Later his wife wrote from Yamyamtār complaining about the hard life there and the uncultured people they had to live among in that place. So Āyudeva called his wife and the other members of the family to Kathmandu and they joined him at Lagañ Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha point to a small 'Licchavi' caitya preserved in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya as proof of their having come in the Licchavi period. They also say they once had an ancient vaṃśāvalī which gave further details of this migration, but this book was lost about ten years ago. Another bit of evidence pointing to the antiquity of this saṅgha is an image kept at Jyā Bāhā and which is revered as the ājū or first ancestor of one of the Sākya lineages of the bāhā. He is called Sinhapati Ājū or Madya Ājū. According to informants this image is dated N.S.1<sup>121</sup>

All of this is oral tradition and highly

mythological, but that they did indeed have some connection with western Nepal is confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity came from this place called Yamyamtār there. Until recent times some of the members of the saṅgha used to make the trek to this place once every twelve years to worship this lineage deity. It has been a long time now since anyone has gone, but several old members of the saṅgha went in their youth and remember the place. Unfortunately they were unable to give any more precise identification of this place and I cannot find a Yamyamtār on any current map of Nepal.

More firm historical evidence is available from the time of Jayasthiti Malla on. There is in the possession of the members of the saṅgha a pāthī (grain measure, which has an inscription undated but which mentions the king Sri Sri Jayasthiti Malla. The pāthī was donated to the saṅgha by one Harṣarām who also donated land for a gūthī. According to a vaṃśāvalī preserved by one of the lineages and which they must recite each year this Harṣarām was a son of one Guṇadeva who had renovated Lagañ Bāhā in his time. The account gives a complete list of the descendants of Guṇadeva down to the time of Prithvinarayan Saha (two hundred years ago) when the list was written by one La Chuling, the Tibetan name of one of the members of the saṅgha who was long a trader in Tibet. This branch of the saṅgha had been traders in Tibet from the time of Jaya Sthiti Malla on. This La Chuling owned ten houses in Lhāsā which were still used by his descendants living in Tibet until they were bought up in 1967 by the Chinese government and converted into court buildings. It was this lineage which, because of their trade in Tibet, financed the samyak ceremony which Lagañ Bāhā used to hold at Khusī Bahī.

The earliest dated inscription inside the bāhā compound itself is dated N.S.796 at which time one Bhikṣu Śrī Sūryacandra erected a lamp stand for the worship of Akṣobhya and the Vajradhātu Caitya.<sup>122</sup> There is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London an exquisite Vajracarya crown with the following inscription:

In the year 797, on the twelfth day of the dark half of Seta; the donors (of this crown) are all the merchants/clients of Caitya Bāhāra, led by Śākyaabhikṣu Śrī Ratnadeva, merchant of Caitya Bāhāra, Khara [=Khala] Chē, Lagana, Śrī Kīrtipunya mahāvihāra, in

the great city of Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa. Before the work on this jeweled crown was finished in Lhāsā, Ratnadeva died, and Candrajoti finished (the work) and it was offered to their gurubharāḍa Vajracārya Śrī Kanakanamunijū of Yautā chē, Lagana, Yamgara. From the merit of this (donation) may the client(s) and all their families obtain long life and good health; in this world, family, wealth and good fortune; and in the next the (blessings of?) Vajrasattva. <sup>123</sup>

There are other stray references to Kirtipunya Mahāvihāra in Kathmandu which predate both of these, but since the nearby Nhāyakañ Bahī has the same Sanskrit name it is impossible to determine which institution they refer to.

The bulk of the members of this saṅgha both Sakyas and Vajracaryas belong to the group of people who claim to be the descendants of Āyudeva and whose lineage deity came from Yamyamtār. However, there are three other groups of people who have been assimilated to this saṅgha in various ways. In the time of Bhāṣkara Malla (A.D.1700-1719) some Sakyas from Bhaktapur settled in Kathmandu. They won the favour of the king and the king arranged for them to be received into the saṅgha of Lagañ Bāhā. They were assimilated into one of the lineages of Lagañ Bāhā and at the present time form a part of that lineage even worshipping the same lineage deity as the original saṅgha. Five generations ago a Brahman by the name of Dhananjaya Upādhyāya took the initiation of a Vajracarya at Lagañ Bāhā, and he and his descendants were assimilated to the saṅgha. His son was Dhirjamuni, his son Bhājumuni, his son Triratnamuni, his son Puṣpamuni and his son Saptamuni who is still living at Lagañ Bāhā and is the most knowledgeable Vajracarya in Kathmandu about the traditional Vajracarya ritual dances. This lineage of Vajracaryas, because they are Brahmans, still observe the Hindu ritual of Svasthānī Vrata each year, though they have accepted the same lineage deity as the rest of the saṅgha. The last of the Malla kings of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash Malla, took as a secondary wife a woman from the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā. She had a son from the king and tried to have him initiated as a Thakuri or member of the royal family. The other sons of Jaya Prakash, especially Jyoti Prakash, the crown prince, objected so strongly that this became impossible. Finally the boy was brought to Lagañ Bāhā and given the Barechuyegu. A

house was built for this man near Lagañ Bāhā and until the time of Māthbar Singh Thāpā his descendants retained possession of the house. At that time it was taken over by the Thāpās and later by the Ranas. Since this man and his descendants were not really of the same lineage as the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā, they were never admitted into full membership of the saṅgha. They may not serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, they do not worship the lineage deity of the saṅgha and they are not eligible to become elders of the saṅgha. They are therefore members only in the sense that they perform their Barechuyegu initiations at Lagan Bāhā.

A. Wantā Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra [81]  
Lagañ Bāhā

Wantā Bāhā is situated in a courtyard just to the west of Lagañ Bāhā proper and forms a part of the same complex. The whole compound and the structures are ill-kept and dilapidated. In the centre of the courtyard is a rather large plastered caitya. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a simple room on the ground floor of a building to the left as one enters the compound. The lattice door has no ornamentation and no torana, but there is a small fresco of Vajrasattva just above the lintel. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one of the Sakya lineages of the Lagañ Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those who live round the courtyard. The annual festival of the bāhā, which used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyestha, is no longer held. The bāhā has no income at the present time. The people of this bāhā have some connection to the present saṅgha of Syaṅgu Bahī [94]. If a member of the saṅgha of this branch should die without any children or without a wife, the people of Syaṅgu Bahī must come as dān to perform the funeral rites. <sup>124</sup> Furthermore, they would then take up the right of the deceased to serve as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya of this branch. This should indicate a blood relationship, but the people of Syaṅgu Bahī are descendants of a member of the Itum Bāhā saṅgha not Lagan Bāhā. Perhaps the connection was through a daughter, but everyone seems to have forgotten what the connection is now.

Despite the neglected state of this shrine



it is an old foundation. The earliest reference to it comes from the inscription on a golden ornament dated N.S.607 and offered to a Buddha image near Bālāju. One of the donors of the ornament was one Śākya Bhikṣu Śrī Jayasimha of Wantā Bāhā in Lagañ. An inscription of N.S.804 commemorating donations mentions the donor as one Śākya Bhikṣu Śrī Ratnacandra from Wantā Bāhā situated in Kirtipunya Mahāvihāra in Lagañ.

#### B. Jog Bāhā -- [82]

Lagañ Bāhā

This is another small courtyard just west of Wantā Bāhā. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya consists of a small room in the corner of a very dirty courtyard. Over the doorway of the shrine is a toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his right. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya of recent origin (N.S.1007). This was a branch of Lagañ Bāhā inhabited by one of the Sakya lineages of the saṅgha. They have removed to another area nearby and the daily rituals are performed by the current dya-pālā of Wantā Bāhā. There are no other observances at the present time. The annual festival has been abandoned and the bāhā has no income.

#### C. Ta Bāhā -- Kirtipunya Vajradhātu Vihāra [83]

Lagañ Tole

This bāhā is situated in a large, enclosed, residential courtyard in Lagañ Tole a short distance from Lagañ Bāhā. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is at the southern end of the courtyard and at present is a three-storied building with a flat roof. The shrine is marked by two small stone lions and the wooden lattice door is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by a toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The toraṇa is dated N.S.1007. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a narrow balcony in front of ordinary living quarters. The most striking feature of the complex is the large courtyard which has one large caitya in the centre and twelve smaller caityas.

This ancient branch of Lagañ Bāhā has a saṅgha composed entirely of Vajracaryas, one of the two main lineages of Vajracaryas of Lagañ Bāhā. It is from this lineage that the Phu Bare is always chosen. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by turn one month at a time. Rotation of service is by households. The saṅgha has one elder, and celebrates the annual festival at the time of Ghodā Jātrā.

The earliest reference to this bāhā is found on the golden ornament offered to the Buddha image near Bālāju in N.S.607. One of the donors was Vajracārya Jīnadeva of Tava Bāhā-la. There is also an inscription attached to the shrine which points to an almost equally early date. The inscription is dated N.S.744 at which time a gūthī was established for the celebration of the annual festival of the bāhā. The inscription notes that the shrine of the kwāpā-dya was repaired (jirnoddhāra) in the year N.S.699 in the time of King Śivasimha Malla.

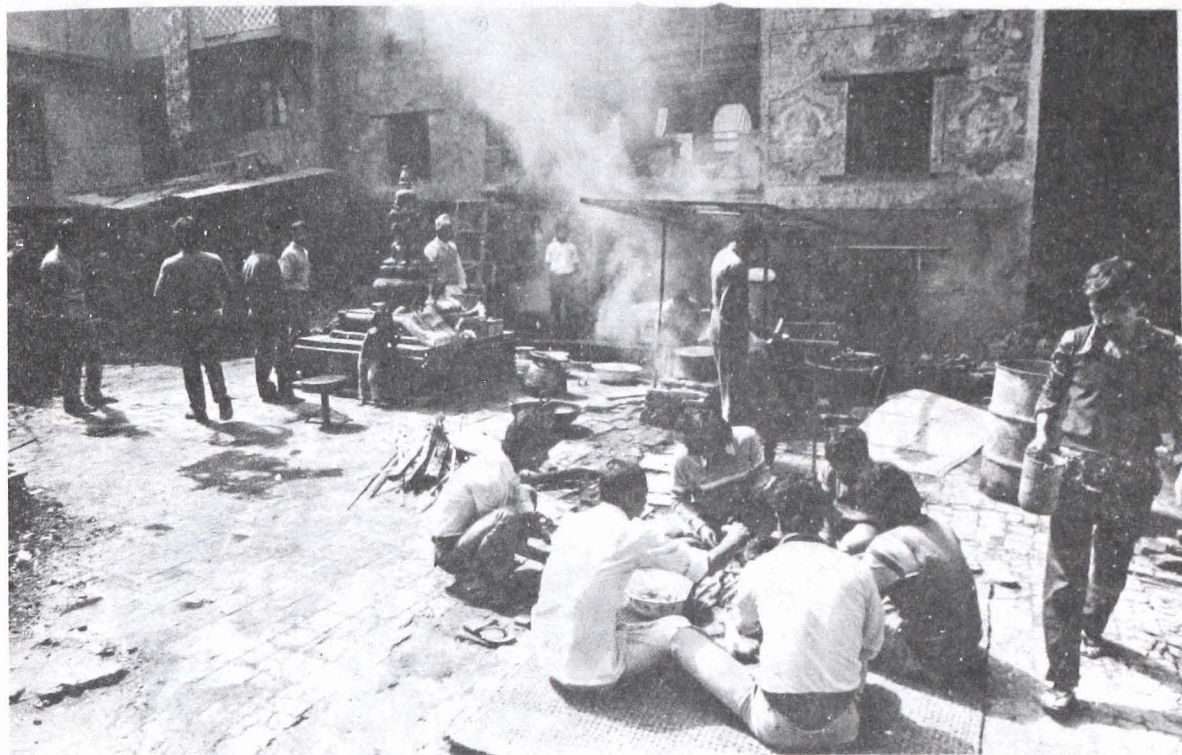
#### D. Khālā Cheñ Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra [79]

Jyā Bāhā Tole

This bāhā is situated in a very tiny courtyard in Jyā Bāhā tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has been renovated in recent times and finished with a fine brick facade. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a toraṇa with only a figure of Akṣobhya in the centre. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has one large lattice window above the shrine flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging, carved balcony. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The bāhā was built and is still inhabited by a sub-lineage of Sakyas of Lagañ Bāhā. However, at some time in the recent past they gave to the Vajracaryas of Musuñ Bāhā the right to perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. They still come each day to perform these rituals, and in this sense the bāhā has really become a branch of Musuñ Bāhā. However, since the Sakyas of Lagañ Bāhā still live here and the bāhā is clearly theirs and has always been so, I have placed it here with Lagañ Bāhā. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer held and there is no income.

There are no inscriptions within this com-

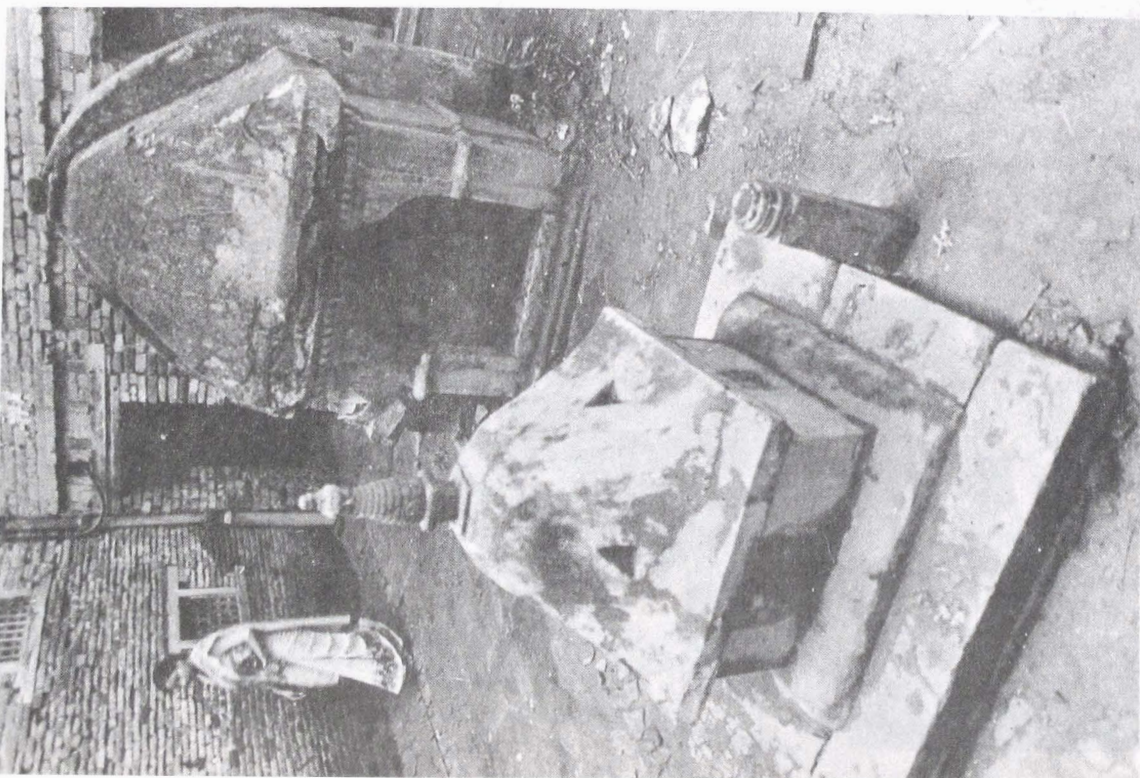


225. Jog Bāhā . [82]

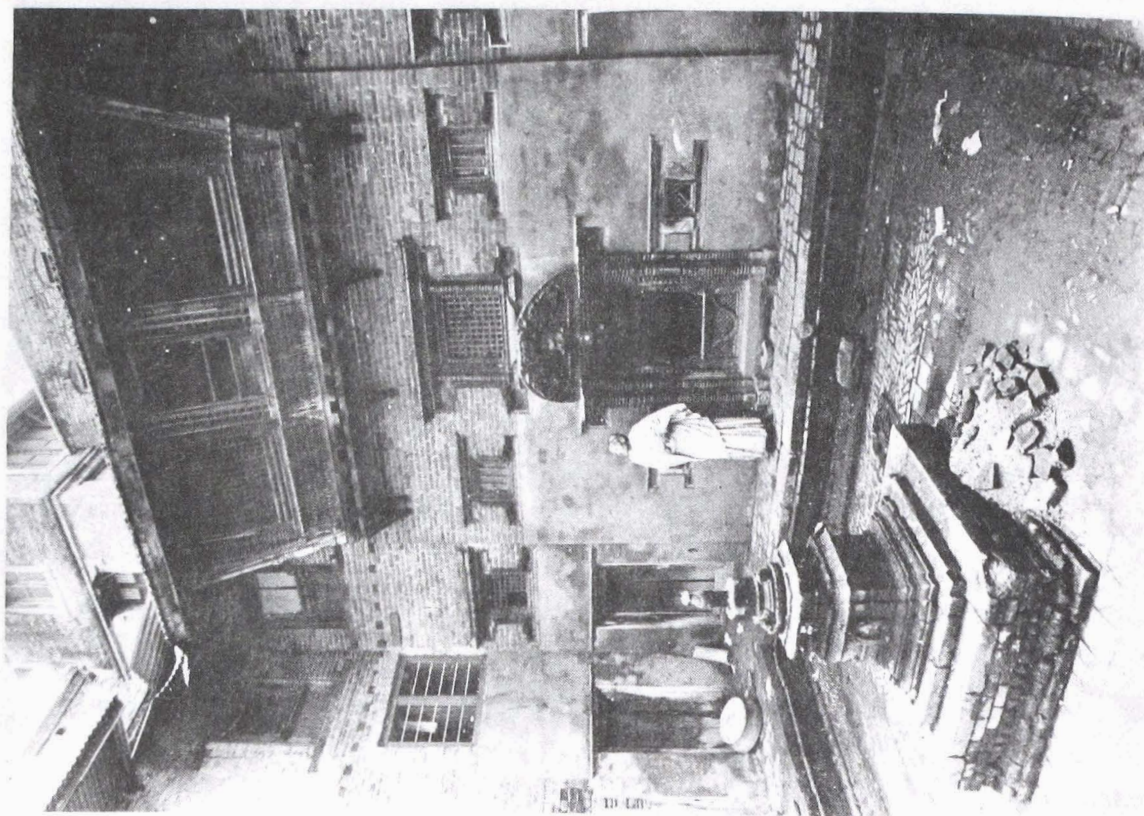


226. Ta Bāhā [83]





228. Kacā Bāhā [78]



227. Khala Chen Baha [79]



plex but there is one reference to this bāhā from the Malla period, the inscription on the Vajracarya crown mentioned above which was donated in N.S.797 by a trader in Lhāsā, Śākyabhikṣu, Śrī Ratnadeva of Khalā Cheñ Caitya Bāhā-<sup>130</sup>ra.

E. Kacā Bāhā -- Caitanya Vihāra [78]  
Jyā Bāhā Tole

At present this is simply a very tiny (six foot square) courtyard with a modern, plastered kwāpā-dya shrine containing an image of Akṣobhya plus images of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, Śāriputra and Mahākāl. The present look of the bāhā dates from a renovation in 1933, but the caitya bears the date N.S.799 at which time the caitya was constructed.

This is a private branch of the Sakyas of Lagañ Bāhā who still live here and perform the daily rituals. They have no saṅgha organization as such; the annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

F. Na Bāhā -- Siddhivara Vihāra [87]  
Gophal Tole

Na Bāhā is a large rectangular courtyard in Gophal Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is merely the ground floor of an ordinary house. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and above the doorway was a torana with Vajrasattva in the central position. The torana has now disappeared. The kwāpā-dya is a stone image of Amoghasiddhi, the only case of Amoghasiddhi as a kwāpā-dya of a bāhā. The image faces north. About sixty years ago this image was installed to replace a much larger clay image which had fallen into disrepair. The first storey has a plain lattice window directly above the shrine flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey, which contains living quarters, has three ordinary windows. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are four caityas.

This is a branch belonging to one household of Vajracaryas of Lagañ Bāhā. Those who live here perform the daily rituals by turn. But this is the extent of the activity of the saṅgha. There is no board of elders, no annual festival and no income. The courtyard also has a Śiva liṅgam, an odd addition to the bāhā. Informants explained its presence by saying that they are really Brahmans.

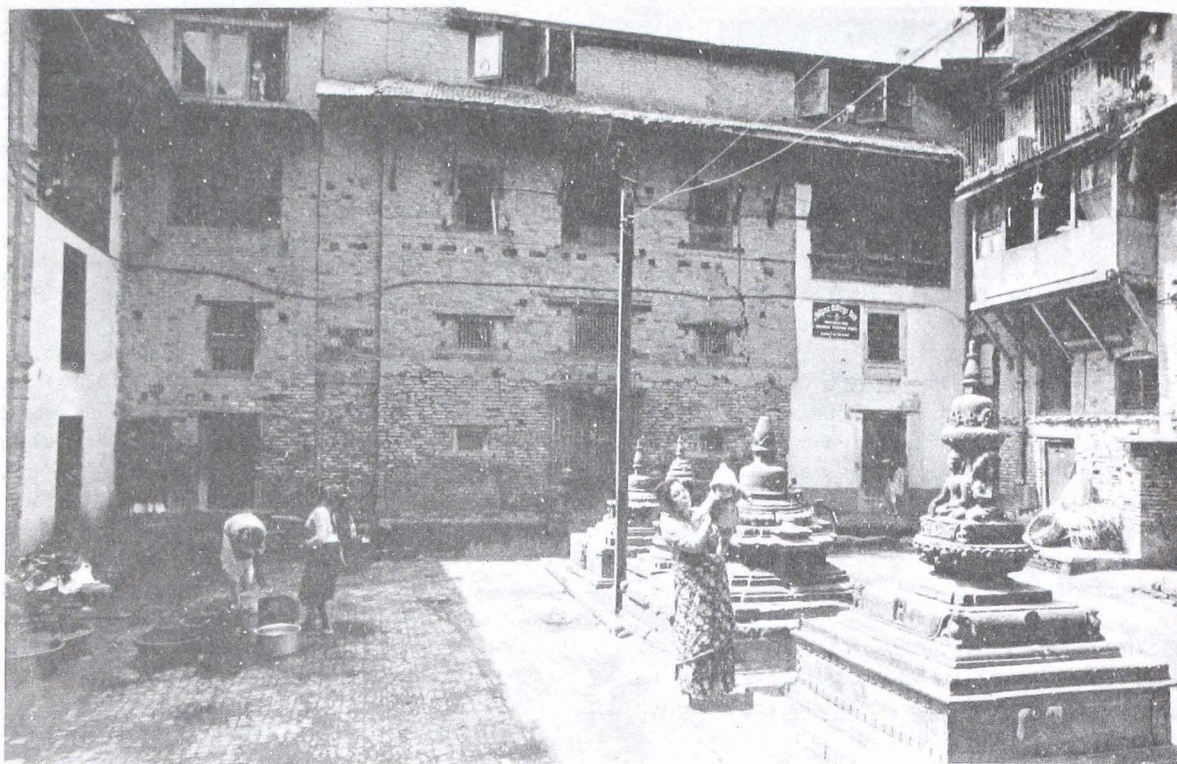
Above the doorway of the shrine is a copper-plate inscription, dated N.S.854 which commemorates repairs made to the shrine at that time, so the foundation of the bāhā must predate this time by a considerable amount.

14. Gubhā Bāhā -- Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra [65]  
Wam Bāhā Om Bāhā

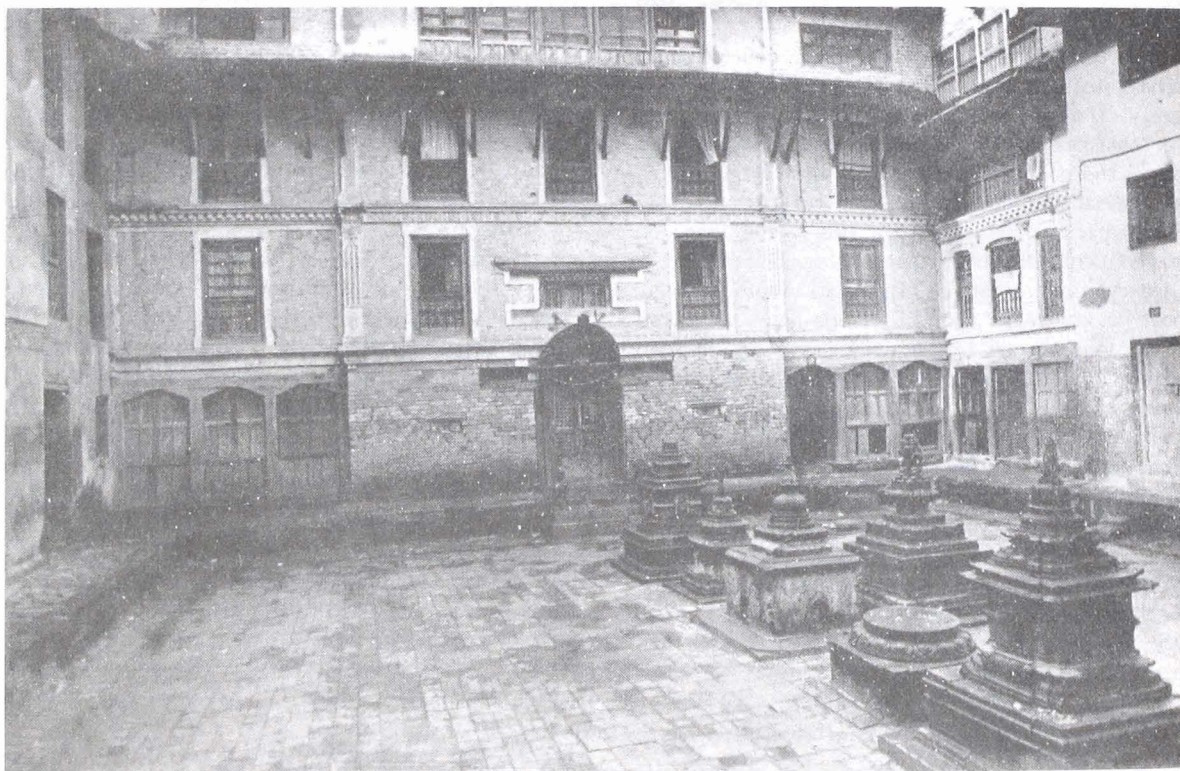
Little remains of the architectural structure of a bāhā at this site in Om Bāhā Tole. The shrine consists of a room on the ground floor of an ordinary three-storied building. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a modern, wooden torana showing Akṣobhya flanked by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are five votive caityas and a maṇḍalā. Informants say there used to be several other images in the shrine but all have been stolen except for a small caitya.

Though this is one of the eighteen principal bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī and has a sizeable saṅgha there is little religious or social activity here now. The saṅgha consists of one hundred seventeen Vajracaryas and seventy Sakyas. Few of these people actually live at the bāhā any more except for one family of Vajracaryas. Theoretically this family take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening, but at the present time the rituals are always performed by one man. The others in the saṅgha simply commission him to perform all the rituals. Both Ācāluyegu and Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but at irregular intervals, only when there are enough boys to share the expenses. Occasionally someone, who is wealthier than the others, has a ceremony just for his son. The saṅgha no longer has an active governing body; whatever needs to be done concerning the bāhā and its saṅgha is done by the senior-most elder. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed and there are no common feasts of the saṅgha, even at the time of initiations. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas of the saṅgha is Bisāṅkhu Nārāyaṇa (near Godāvārī); the lineage deity of the Sakyas is 'Dumjā Mahādya', now worshipped at the river near the Pacalī Bhairab shrine.<sup>131</sup> At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The origin and history of this bāhā is



229. Na Bāhā [87]



230. Gubhā Bāhā [65]

problematic. The bāhā is always called Gubhā Bāhā today, but the name found on the lists of the Ācārya Gūṭhī is Wām (or Ōm) Bāhā. There is nothing of great antiquity here, and the only inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.835. There are no references in other inscriptions or manuscripts to Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra. However, there are several references to Wām Bāhā in Cikamuga Tole. Given the fact that there is nothing of great antiquity (i.e. before the late Malla period) in or around the bāhā and the fact that it is now known as Gubhā Bāhā whereas the whole tole is and has long been known as Ōm Bāhā Tole, one is lead to the conclusion that this is not the original site of the bāhā which the lists call Wām Bāhā. Most probably the original site was somewhere nearby and when it fell into great disrepair it was abandoned in favour of a new site. Furthermore, there are several references to Wām Bāhā as a bāhā and not simply a tole. The earliest reference is dated N.S.594. This occurs in a manuscript colophon that was written in that year and refers to someone (evidently illegible) who lived in Wām Bihāra in 'Cyekanamagunī Tolake in Kāṣṭhamandapa'.<sup>132</sup> Wām Vāhāra-Vihāra is mentioned in another manuscript dated N.S.677;<sup>133</sup> and the inscription at Ta Bāhā of N.S.699 mentions one Śākebhikṣu Śrī Mayajū of Wām Bāhāra.<sup>134</sup> A palmleaf land document from the time of King Lakṣmīnaraśimha (N.S.737-761) refers to 'Wām Bāhāra in Cekaṇamugurī Tor[1]a in Yaṅgala'.<sup>135</sup> There are several other references after that time to people living in Wām Bāhā. At the present time there is no other Wām Bāhā in this tole or Cikamuga. It is evident from these references and the fact that the whole area has long been known as Wām Bāhā Tole that Wām Bāhā is an ancient foundation, but the original site was probably not the present Gubhā Bāhā.<sup>136</sup>

Another curious feature of the history of this bāhā is the origin of the saṅgha. According to the oral tradition of the members of the sangha this bāhā owes its origin to a Brahman who became a Vajracarya. According to a list of the Bāhās of Kathmandu written in N.S.1096 one Paṇḍit Hemantadeva Brāhmaṇa took the initiation of a Vajracarya and founded this bāhā which he then named Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra because he was a brahman.<sup>137</sup> No date is given for this event, but it is confirmed by the very curious fact that to this day the lineage deity of these Vajracaryas is Biśāṅkhu Nārāyaṇa near Godāvarī. The deity they worship is clearly Nārāyaṇa and

not some caitya, Buddhist deity or nameless lineage deity situated at the site. Other saṅghas have their lineage deity at a place which is now a Hindu shrine (e.g. Gūhyeśvarī), but they worship a Buddhist deity or simply a nameless lineage deity associated with the place which was probably originally a Buddhist shrine anyway. The site of Biśāṅkhu Nārāyaṇa has no Buddhist associations and is not a site for any other Buddhist rituals. The Sakyas belonging to this saṅgha have a different lineage deity and a different origin. According to their tradition their forebearers were originally Vajracaryas of Kathmandu who fell on hard times and could not afford to perform the Ācāluyegu. As a result of this they became simply Sakyas. Later they left Kathmandu moved to the village of Sankha (between Panauti and Namara) and built a bāhā for themselves there. Later some of the members of this family came into a considerable amount of wealth as a result of trade in Tibet. They then returned to Kathmandu and built themselves a new house in this area and called it Ja Cheñ. They were admitted (or re-admitted) into the saṅgha of Gubhā (Wām) Bāhā as full members of the saṅgha, and until recent times used to take their turn as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. As the result of a quarrel with the Vajracaryas over gifts received at the time of the bāhā pūjā they quit in protest. However, they still do their Barechuyegu at Gubhā Bāhā. Their lineage deity, now worshipped near Pacalī Bhairab down by the river, is 'Dumjā Mahādya.'

A. Nhū Bāhā -- Dharma-yasodharā Vihāra [73]  
Chikañ Muga

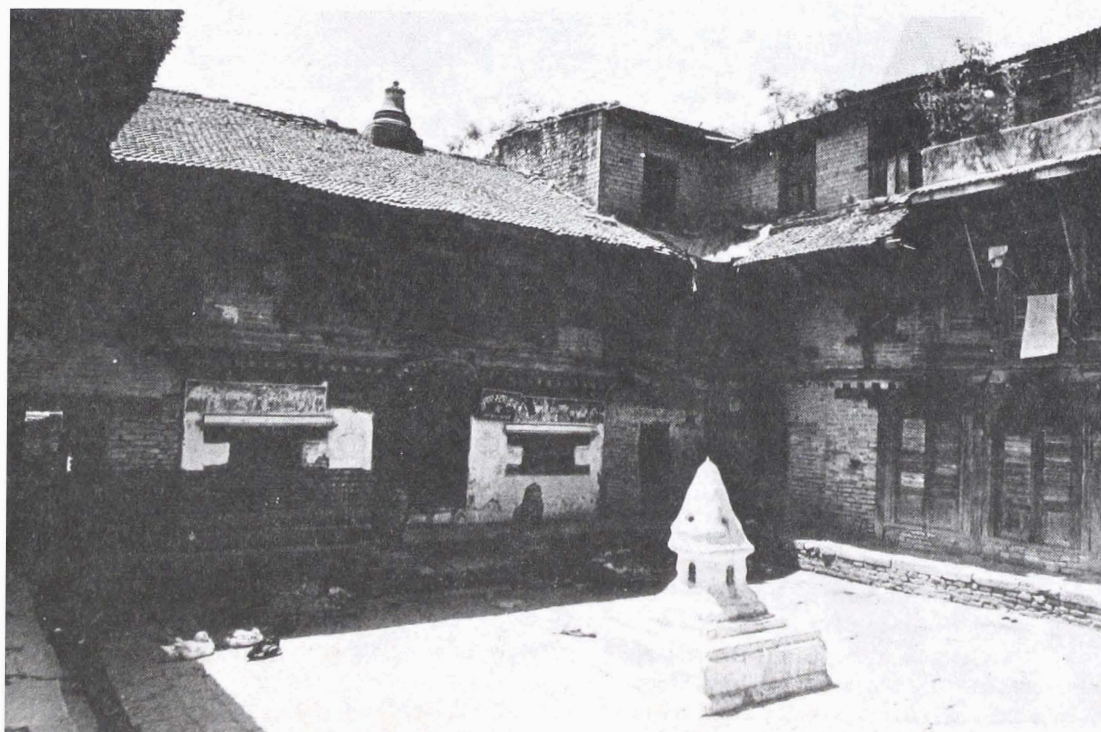
Nhū Bāhā consists of a very simple bāhā shrine situated in an enclosed courtyard in Chikamuga Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a simple three-storied building with little ornamentation. The ground floor with the kwāpā-dya shrine has a simple wooden lattice door with no torana but flanked by two smaller windows. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The storey above has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a high, plain brick facade with three openings above and a simple corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard are one large plastered caitya and two smaller caityas.

This complex was originally inhabited by Vajracaryas from Gubhā Bāhā and formed a branch of that bāhā. It has now been relinquished by





231. Nhū Bāhā [73]



232. Bhote Bāhā [26]

them and the people living in the buildings around the courtyard are Shresthas and Jyāpūs. A Vajracarya from Gubhā Bāhā, however, still comes each day to perform the usual rituals. The bāhā has no income at the present time and the annual festival is no longer observed. Attached to the doorway of the shrine is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S.736 which KTMV <sup>138</sup> commemorates the foundation of the bāhā. Nothing else is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā, though there are several other badly damaged Malla inscriptions within the courtyard.

B. Bhoṭe Bāhā -- Brahmachakra Vihāra [26]  
Bhoṭe Bāhā-Central Jail

This bāhā, which lies well outside of the limits of the old Newar city, is one of the few in Kathmandu to retain the characteristic architecture of a bāhā. Like Chusyā Bāhā [2] it is an entirely enclosed courtyard consisting of one continuous, two-storied building. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, also of two storeys, is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing a tantric deity of three faces and eight arms. In the right hands he holds sword, arrow, elephant goad and vajra, and in his left hand he holds a book, bow, noose and bell. He is flanked by two kneeling attendants. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked by two smaller windows. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The tile roof of the shrine is supported by five carved struts and surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a single 'Aśoka' caitya.

At the present time Bhoṭe Bāhā is in effect a branch of Gubhā Bāhā. There are twenty one Vajracaryas of Gubhā Bāhā living here who take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. However the 'saṅgha' has no further organization or functions. There is no elder as such, no annual festival and no income.

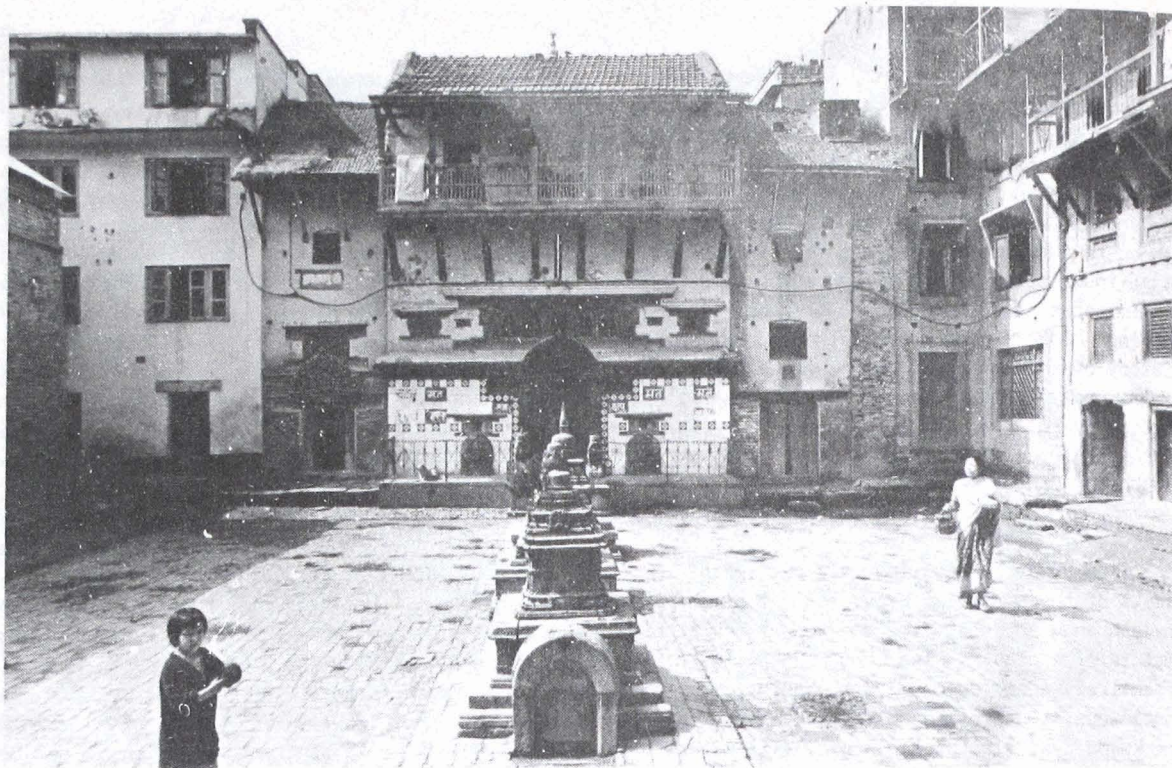
The most curious thing about this foundation is its location right outside of the old city. It is the only bāhā associated with the Ācārya Gūṭhī which is outside the confines of the old Malla city and is situated in an area that was until recently a remote and uninhabited place behind the central jail. Though the building appears old, it apparently is not.

According to Ānadamunī Vajracārya, the present thayāpā of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, the foundation of this bāhā dates to the time of Jang Bahadur Rana. At the time that Jang Bahadur was in England and his brother Bam Bahadur was acting as Prime Minister, the Ranas appropriated the property of an abandoned foundation called Gaṇa Bāhā. This was situated near the present Gaṇa Vihāra behind the Bhim Sen Tower. (The present Gaṇa Vihāra, however, was a different foundation, a bahī.) <sup>139</sup> This bāhā was an abandoned branch of Iku Bāhā. When the Ranas appropriated the property they asked the Vajracaryas of Iku Bāhā to remove the image of the kwāpā-dya. However, before the ceremony could be performed it was noticed that the image was sweating. The Vajracarya said that this indicated that the deity did not want to be moved. They refused to touch it. Other Vajracaryas were called, but under the circumstances no Vajracarya would move the image. Finally the Ranas called a 'Tibetan' Lāmā who removed the image and placed it at the site of Bhoṭe Bāhā. They then financed the construction of a bāhā for the image. Other informants confirm the story but say that the people were not Tibetans but Tāmāṅgs. Later Vajracaryas from Gubhā Bāhā took up the duties of dya-pālā in the shrine of this bāhā and in this sense it became a branch of Gubhā Bāhā. However, each year the Tāmāṅgs return to the Valley at the time of Śivarātri, and when they come they reside at 'their' bāhā. If this storey is true, it explains the curious placement of this bāhā outside of the city and its equally curious name: Bhoṭe Bāhā='Tioetan' Bāhā.

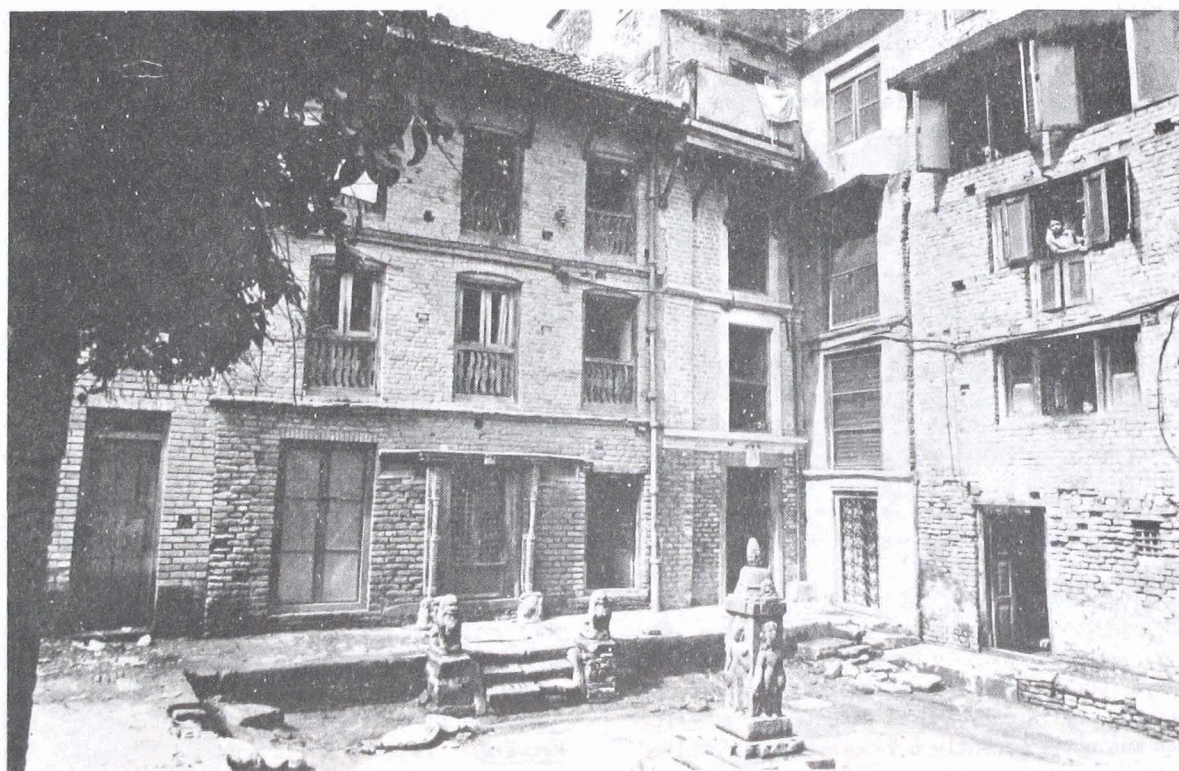
15. Iku Bāhā -- Vajraśīla Mahāvihāra\* [76]  
Yangal Tole

Iku Bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Yangal Tole which is reached by passing through another courtyard which tradition says was a branch bāhā or a bahī. Over the entryway to the courtyard is an old wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Dharmadhātu Vagīśvara), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and Sangha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). Above these figures are the other four transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form and above them six more plain Buddha figures surmounted by Vajrasattva. None of the original bāhā buildings remain, even the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a fairly recent renovation. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and a plain iron railing. The carved





233. Iku Bāhā [76]



234. Jyā Bāhā [75]



doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a copper repousse torana identical to the old wooden one outside. The kuāpā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing north. The facade of the entire ground floor has been finished in white ceramic tile. To the side of the ground floor facade is a door leading to the next little section of buildings to the east. Over this doorway is a wooden torana depicting a six-handed form of Prajñāpāramitā flanked by Ganesh and Mahākāl and with figures of the five transcendent Buddhas above. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has living quarters with an overhanging balcony which is supported by eight carved struts. The tile roof is surmounted by a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard are three caityas, an image of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and an image of Sarasvatī.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists entirely of Vajracaryas, originally four lineages now comprising eighty initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuāpā-dya for one month at a time, and service passes in turn through the original four lineages. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer held, but there is a busā-dañ festival of the main caitya in the courtyard celebrated on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of five elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācālyuegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha and initiation ceremonies are followed by a feast for all the members of the saṅgha. They also have a feast for the entire saṅgha at the time of the twelve year samyak festival. The saṅgha used to have twenty four ropanīs of land from which they obtained a fair income, six ropanīs each for the original families. However, most of this land has now been sold off and what remains will soon be disposed of as the members say it is too difficult to collect the rent any more. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the caitya at Namo Buddha beyond Panautī.

Informants at Iku Bāhā connect the foundation of this bāhā with the legend of the draining of the Valley by Mañjuśrī. According to Wright's chronicle, after Mañjuśrī had drained the lake and then spent some time absorbed in meditation,

he next made the hill Padma, from which place

to Gūhješvari he built a town called Mañju Pattan. He planted trees near Gūhješvari, and peopled the town with those of his disciples who wished to live as Grihasthas, or householders. To those of them who wished to live as Bhikṣhus, or religious mendicants, he allotted a biḥār. He then installed a king, by name Dharmākar, and himself returned to China.<sup>140</sup>

The elders of Iku Bāhā claim that Mañju Pattan is the area of Kathmandu around Yangal. They read the Sanskrit name of the vihāra as vajra-sira, sira meaning head--and hence this was the first vihāra constructed.<sup>141</sup> In addition to the fact that all of these early legends are highly suspect and very vague, most scholars have located Mañju Pattan in the area of Paṣupatināth.

Whatever be the truth of the legend, Iku Bāhā is one of the oldest foundations of the Ācārya Gūthi. We have two early dates for the bāhā N.S.213 and N.S.218. The date N.S.213 is found on a copper-plate inscription, a rubbing of which is in the possession of Ānanda Muni Vajracārya of Iku Bāhā and which has been published by Hem Rāj Sākya. In this year a gūthi was set up for the worship of the Swayambhū Stūpa, or more properly, for the worship of Vairocana who resides in the centre of the stūpa. The document mentions Vajracarya Dharmasīmha of Vajrasīla Mahāvihāra.<sup>142</sup> The date N.S.218 is found on a Vajracarya crown now in a private collection in the U.S. The crown bears the following inscription:

On Thursday, the eleventh of the dark half of Vaiśāka, in the year 218, in the reign of Śrī Harṣa Deva, this brilliant crown was made (on the order of?) the wise Kṣānti (=Kṣānti) Sena of Śrī Mat Vajrasīla Mahāvihāra.<sup>143</sup>

Neither document mentions the place of this vihāra, but there is only this one Vajrasīla in the whole Valley and the copper-plate inscription is still in the hands of the members of the saṅgha of Iku Bāhā. It is indeed interesting that the earliest reference mentions a Vajracarya, the earliest reference to a Vajracarya in connection with a still existing foundation. There are a few other stray references to Vajrasīla Mahāvihāra from the seventeenth century and according to KTM, the bāhā was renovated in A.D.1669 and 1825.<sup>144</sup>

A. Jyā Bāhā -- Jāgavañḍa Mahāvihāra\* [75]  
Jyā Bāhā Tole

Nothing of the original buildings of this bāhā remains, and the shrine consists of the ground floor of an ordinary house. Two small lions mark the shrine, but the doorway is entirely plain and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. To the side of the shrine entrance is another doorway leading to the living quarters above. The two upper stories are ordinary living quarters of a rather modern design with no ornamentation. In the centre of the courtyard is an elongated caitya with standing Buddha figures on the four faces of the stele.

This is an abandoned branch bāhā; at the present time there are no bare living in the complex which is inhabited by Citrakārs. Until recent times the Vajracaryas of Iku Bāhā used to perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, but even that has been abandoned now. At the present time the people of Iku Bāhā are trying to evict the Citrakārs and repossess the bāhā. However, the members of the saṅgha of Lagañ Bāhā claim that the bāhā really belongs to Lagañ Bāhā. This was the branch bāhā of one of the lineages of the Vajracaryas of Lagañ Bāhā, the 'Jyā Bāhā' lineage as it is still known today. It was originally a branch of Lagañ Bāhā which was later 'captured' by Iku Bāhā. Nothing definite is known about the origin of this bāhā or when it was abandoned. Almost every list of the bāhās of Kathmandu has a different Sanskrit name for this branch, but the name Jāgavañḍa is clearly written on an inscription near the doorway which is dated N.S.782 at which time the present image of Akṣobhya was consecrated. This date may well mark the foundation of the bāhā <sup>145</sup>

16. Musuñ Bāhā (1) -- Mañi Saṅgha Mahāvihāra\*  
[89] Musuñ Bāhā

This very large complex situated in one of the oldest sections of the city of Kathmandu gives the impression of a neglected archaeological garden rather than an active shrine. The whole complex is on a sloping section of land surrounded by dilapidated buildings with bits of ancient sculpture and Licchavi caityas scattered here and there. The complex contains two small bāhā shrines and there are actually two main bāhās here and two separate communities. Both

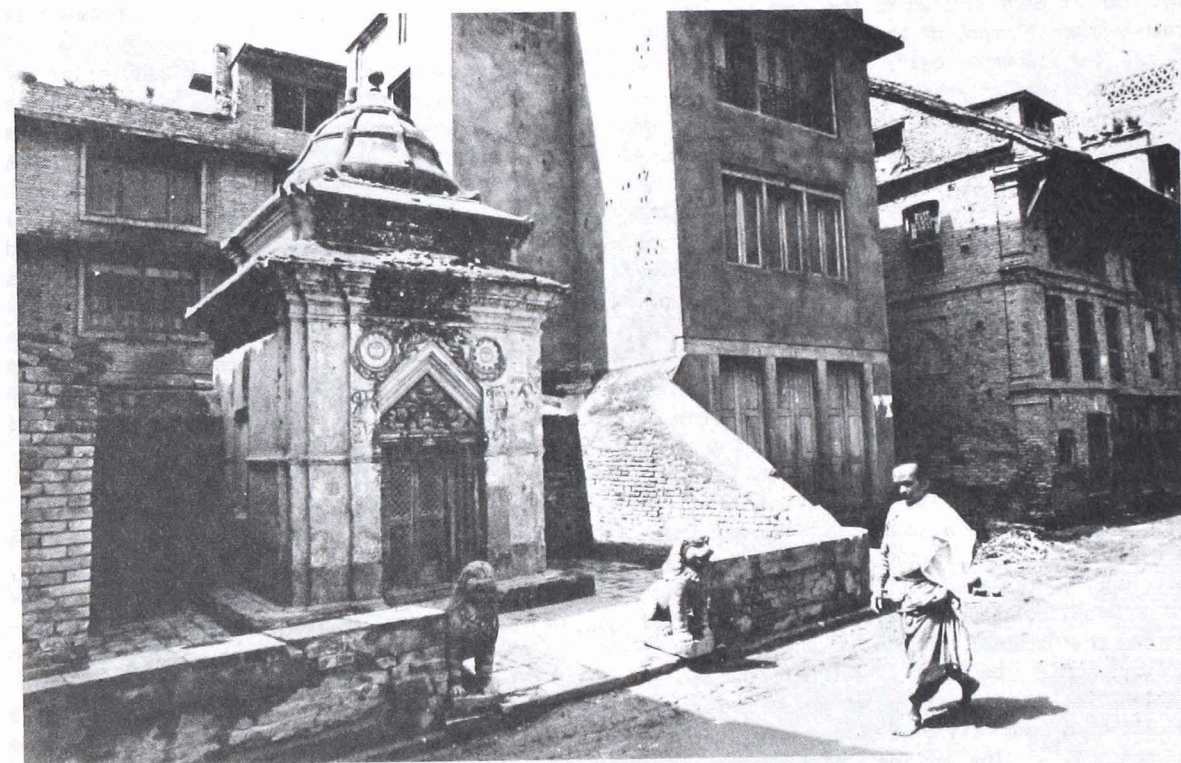
shrines have the same Newari name but different Sanskrit names. The first shrine, that of Mañi Saṅgha Mahāvihāra, is situated along the southern edge of the area. The present building is a small three-storied building of fairly recent origin. The carved doorway is surmounted by a simple carved torana, dated N.S. 973, depicting Vajrasattva flanked by two standing attendants with yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya was a large clay image of Maitreya enthroned in the Tusitā Heaven. This was one of the few such clay images left in the bāhās. Originally many of the kwāpā-dyas images were such clay images. A few years ago this image was replaced with a smaller stone image of Akṣobhya. The image faces north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony surmounted by a tile roof and a single finial in the form of a caitya. In front of the shrine is a single 'Licchavi' caitya. To the east of this complex is another large residential courtyard known as Bare Nanī. This complex has no bāhā shrine but only a large stylised and plastered caitya in the centre. The nanī is a part of Musuñ Bāhā (1), the āgam shrine of the saṅgha is situated here and both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here rather than in front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā now consists of only twenty initiated Vajracaryas. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya by turn. The term of service is only eight days. The saṅgha no longer observes an annual festival of the bāhā, but they do have an annual festival in honour of Maitreya Bodhisattva on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. There is a feast for the entire saṅgha whenever there are initiation ceremonies. The bāhā no longer has any regular income. However, every twelve years there is a festival in connection with the well in the centre of the large open area north of the shrine. The government Gūṭhī Saṁsthān gives money for the celebration of this festival, but at the time of the last festival they gave only Rs. 500 which the members of the saṅgha said was too small an amount to do anything, so they sent it back.

This well is associated with the famous Jāmana Gubhāju who flourished in the time of King Pratāp Malla and who was the king's Buddhist guru. (It seems that this man's proper



235. Musūm Bāhā (1) [89]



236. Pikhā Bāhā [88]



name was Mañjuvajra, but informants insist that he is not the Mañjuvajra who is the preceptor of the bāhās in this section of Kathmandu. They assign a much earlier date to this Mañjuvajra.) According to the legend concerning the well, Jāmana Gubahājū once entered the well in the centre of the complex to propitiate the snake deities at the time of a drought. When he entered the well he found a tunnel which led him to Sāntipur at Svayambhū where he performed the rituals. The members of this saṅgha had in their possession a text used for this ritual to the snake deities (nāgā sādhanā). This had been passed on from generation to generation and its possession conferred the right to enter Sāntipur regularly to pacify the snake deities. The last Vajracarya of Musuṃ Bāhā to have possession of this book died without a son, so the book passed to his daughter who married into Makhañ Bāhā [42], and in this way the book and the right of entry into Sāntipur passed from Musuṃ Bāhā to Makhañ Bāhā. By the time of Pratāp Malla they had already lost possession of this book. (See the section on Makhañ Bāhā.)

As mentioned above initiations are performed but in Bare Nani where the āgam is located rather than in front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Amitābha image attached to the Svayambhū Mahā-caitya. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders plus three more who act as assistants to the five official elders. Members of this saṅgha claim that their saṅgha was the original community of Musuṃ Bāhā; the other community was originally a branch but later broke off and became independent. The members of the Musuṃ Bāhā (1) saṅgha also perform the nitya pūjā to the image located in Buddha Bārī [F]. Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but it is certainly one of the oldest of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, and the place has had Buddhist associations since the Licchavi period. There are eight 'Licchavi' caityas scattered around the area of the bāhā, and there is one Licchavi inscription near the water tap. Unfortunately the inscription is only a fragment and undated, but Dhanavajra Vajracarya has dated it to the time of Narendradeva (mid-seventh century) on the basis of epigraphic evidence. The inscription refers to donations made for the benefit of a community of Buddhist nuns (bhikṣu-ni saṅgha).<sup>146</sup> The earliest definite date for Musuṃ Bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Nāmasaṅgīti Jipannī dated

N.S.600 which mentions Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra.<sup>147</sup> A manuscript copy of the Āryavasundharā Dhāraṇī was written in N.S.625 by one Vajrācārya Śrījīnacandra of Maṇisaṅgha Vihāra in the city of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa (kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa mahānagara).<sup>148</sup> An inscription at Na Bāhā [87], dated N.S.631 when an image of Dīpaṅkara was consecrated, notes that one of the officiating priests at the ceremony was Vajrācārya Jīnacandra of Maṇisaṅgha Vihāra.<sup>149</sup> A copy of the Pañcaraksā was written in N.S.655 by the same Vajrācārya Jīnacandra of Dakṣiṇa Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra in the city of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa.<sup>150</sup> An inscription on a caitya in the town of Dolakha dated N.S.669 lists the priests who officiated at the consecration ceremonies. The chief officiating priest was from Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra in the city of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa.<sup>151</sup> A copy of the Vasundharādhāraṇī was copied in N.S.677 by one Vajrācārya Śrī Jayacandra of Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra.<sup>152</sup> From this date on one finds a number of manuscript and inscriptional references to Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra, and it is always the Sanskrit name that is used rather than the Newari name Musuṃ Bāhā.

A. Pikhā Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra [88]  
Brahma Tole

At present this is simply a small brick and plaster shrine of Avalokiteśvara standing on the edge of the road east of Bare Nani. Near the entrance of the shrine are two small stone lions and the lattice doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a small torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Māhā-aksobhya), Dharma (Prajāpāramitā), and Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). As it stands this is not a bāhā and it has no saṅgha. However the nitya pūjā is performed by Vajracaryas from Musuṃ Bāhā (1) and they say it was once the site of a large branch of Musuṃ Bāhā. The original complex of the bāhā was behind, to the south, of this present shrine.

17. Musuṃ Bāhā (2) -- Maṇisimha Mahāvihāra\*  
[90] Musuṃ Bāhā

This is the second bāhā within the complex of Musuṃ Bāhā and consists of a small, free-standing shrine of two storeys which looks like a tiny house. The shrine rests on a plinth of about four and a half feet, and the entrance is behind a covered veranda. At the top of the steps leading to the shrine are two lions, and the simple, carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa showing Vajrasattva flanked by two seated



237. Musum Baha (2) [90]



238. Lhugha Bāhā [30]

attendants holding yak tail fans. One curious feature of the torana is that at the corners, instead of the usual makaras, are two lions, each facing outward. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Above the shrine proper is a low second storey surmounted by a tile roof with three finial. In front of this shrine is a half buried 'Licchavi' caitya.

There is some question about the Sanskrit name for this bāhā. Some authors and informants give the same name as that of Musuṃ Bāhā (1), but the name Maṇisīmha Mahāvihāra does occur frequently in manuscripts and inscriptions from the sixteenth century on, and several informants say that this is the proper name of this bāhā. In any case all agree that this is an offshoot of Musuṃ Bāhā (1). It was evidently originally a branch which later became independent for some long forgotten reason. At the present time it is recognised as a separate bāhā with a separate saṅgha and is counted as one of the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī. However, both saṅghas have the same lineage deity and share the same āgam in Bare Nanī. It is the saṅgha attached to this second bāhā which now has all the rights connected with the festival of the well, and they claim that Jāmana Gubhājū was a member of their saṅgha. It is impossible to say when this division of the saṅgha took place, but it is evidently some time ago as attested to by the sixteenth century references to Maṇisīmha and an inscription of N.S.672 situated at the shrine.<sup>153</sup>

Of the two bāhās this second one has the larger saṅgha with a total of ninety initiated Vajracaryas. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed in front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, and Ācālu-yegu initiations are performed before the āgam deity in Bare Nanī. The saṅgha has five elders. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is the same as that of Musuṃ Bāhā (1). The annual festival is no longer held regularly, but only occasionally and not on a fixed date. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

A. Lhugha Bāhā -- Maitrī-uddhāra Vihāra [30]  
Jaisideval

All that remains of the bāhā architecture of this small complex, just behind the Jaisi Deval

temple, is the three-storied shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The plain ground floor has an unornamented door leading into the shrine flanked by two small windows. There is no torana. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, facing north. This image is popularly called 'Karuṇāmaya'. The first storey of the shrine has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a single tiny window up against the roof. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and has no ornamentation on the top. There are three votive caityas in the courtyard. Some lists refer to this bāhā as Nhū Bāhā, but the proper current name is Lhugha Bāhā. The inscription near the door clearly gives an earlier form of this name: Lhugra Bāhāra.

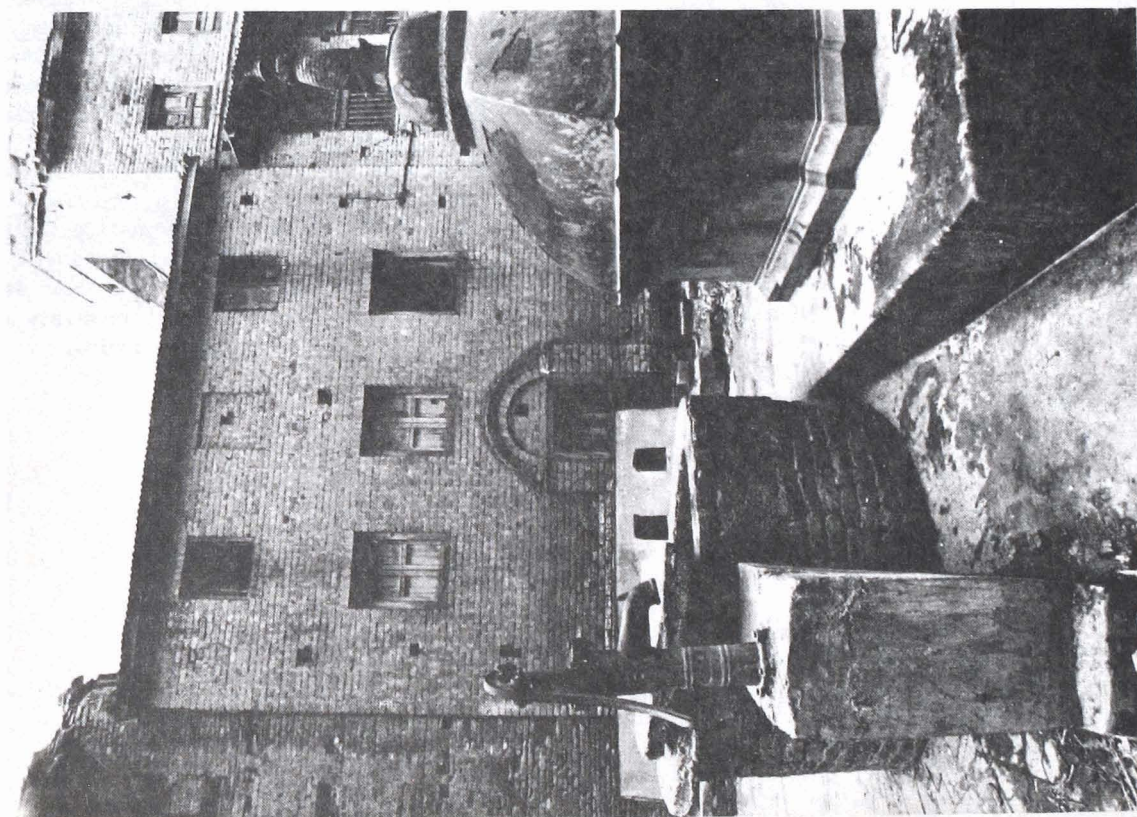
This is a branch of Musuṃ Bāhā (2), but at the present time it has no active saṅgha. One family of Vajracaryas from Musuṃ Bāhā (2) live here and perform the usual rituals morning and evening. They ceased observing the annual festival a few years ago. It was observed on Yomarhī Punhi. The site appears old and the members of the saṅgha have a copper-plate inscription<sup>154</sup> referring to the bāhā dated N.S.703. This may mark the foundation of the bāhā. There are several late Malla inscriptions in the courtyard recording donations and renovations, the earliest of which is dated N.S.733.

1. Yo Bāhā -- Nadisaṅga Rājākṛta Vihāra [33]  
Ko Hiti Tole

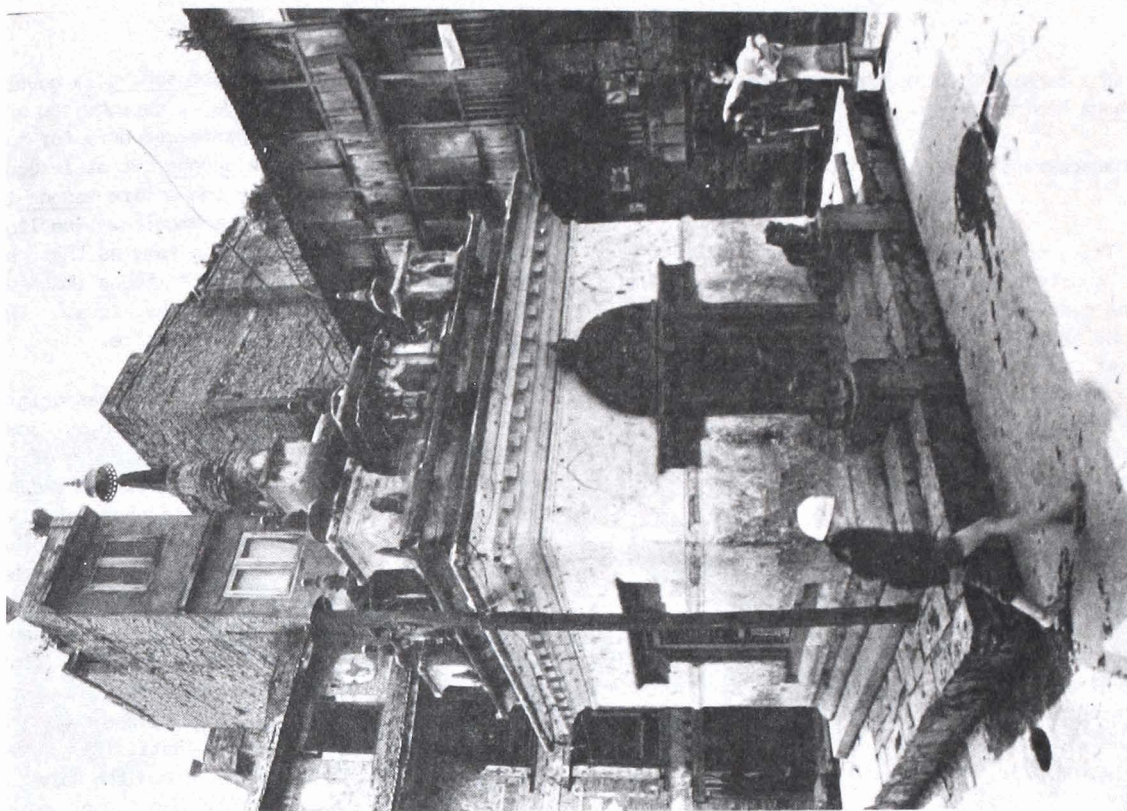
There is nothing left of the original architecture in this courtyard situated in Ko Hiti. The image of the kwāpā-dya is housed on the ground floor of an ordinary house with a plain facade. The original bāhā buildings were badly damaged in the earthquake of 1934 and finally collapsed a few years ago at which time the present structure was built. The doorway of the shrine is unornamented and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is a small, standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. In the courtyard is a single, small votive caitya.

The site has been abandoned by the original inhabitants, all Vajracaryas from Lhugha Bāhā (and hence of Musuṃ Bāhā [2]). One of the Vajracaryas from Lhugha Bāhā still performs the nitya pūjā, but this is the only activity of the bāhā. The annual festival which used to be held





239. Yo Bāhā [33]



240. Dhanacakra Bāhā [91]

on Māghe Sankrānti is no longer observed, and the bāhā has no income.

B. Dhanacakra Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Vihāra [91]  
Musum Bāhā Tole

This complex consists of a large residential courtyard with a brick and plaster shrine in the centre which houses a caitya. The top of the shrine is in the form of an elaborate caitya and at the corners of the structure are subsidiary shrines. Over the doorway of this shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha (Amitābha) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara).

If this can be counted as a bāhā at all it is a purely private branch of Musum Bāhā (2). The nanī and caitya have long existed but in A.D.1870 the present rather elaborate shrine was constructed by an ancestor of the present Thakālī of Musum Bāhā (2). It was consecrated as a bāhā according to informants and the descendants of the founder still perform the nitya pūjā. This is the only sense in which it can be called a bāhā. It does not have a kwāpā-dya (though some say the image of Amitābha on the caitya above the shrine is the kwāpā-dya). It has no saṅgha as such and no income. The annual festival is no longer observed.

18. Mikhā Bāhā -- Manisaṅgha Mahāvihāra [74]  
Mañjesvarī Tole

Nothing remains of the original bāhā buildings in this complex, and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a very plain and crumbling building. At the entrance to the shrine are a pair of guardian lions, the lattice-work doorway is surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left and the Saṅgha (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has one single, small latticed window over the doorway of the shrine. The top storey has an overhanging bay window with three openings. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two caityas one of which is mediaeval.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of only three families of Vajracaryas who now have sixteen initiated members. These take turns acting as dya-pālās performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The annual festival of the

bāhā is no longer held and the saṅgha is governed by a board of five elders. Barechuyegu and Ācālyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha but at irregular intervals. A feast for the entire saṅgha is held only after initiation ceremonies. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the same as that of the two Musum Bāhās, i.e. the Amitābha image on the west side of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

According to all informants this was originally a branch of Musum Bāhā(1) which at some time broke relations with Musum Bāhā and became independent. At the present time it is recognised as one of the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī. The relationship with Musum Bāhā is confirmed by the fact that the saṅgha has the same lineage deity as the saṅghas of the two Musum Bāhās. Furthermore, some ten years ago the two saṅghas at Musum Bāhā organised a joint ceremony for their entire saṅgha. At the time of the festival people from Mikhā Bāhā came and demanded to be included in the festival as they are really all 'one saṅgha'. Though the lineage deity is the same, Mikhā Bāhā has its own āgam shrine at this site. Just when this bāhā was founded and when it became independent is unknown. The oldest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.803 and gives the name of the bāhā as simply Mṛkhā Bāhā. The bāhā was last renovated in A.D.1866. There is some disagreement among informants and authors about the Sanskrit name of this bāhā. Most of them claim that it has the same name as Musum Bāhā (1), i.e. Manisaṅgha. Some, however, claim that the name is Munisaṅgha or even Munisimha. There is a nanī courtyard to the side of the bāhā compound which informants claim was once a branch bāhā known as Dhvākā Bāhā. At the present time it is merely a nanī with a caitya but no kwāpā-dya shrine.





241. Mikhā Bāhā [74]





## The Sakya Bahas

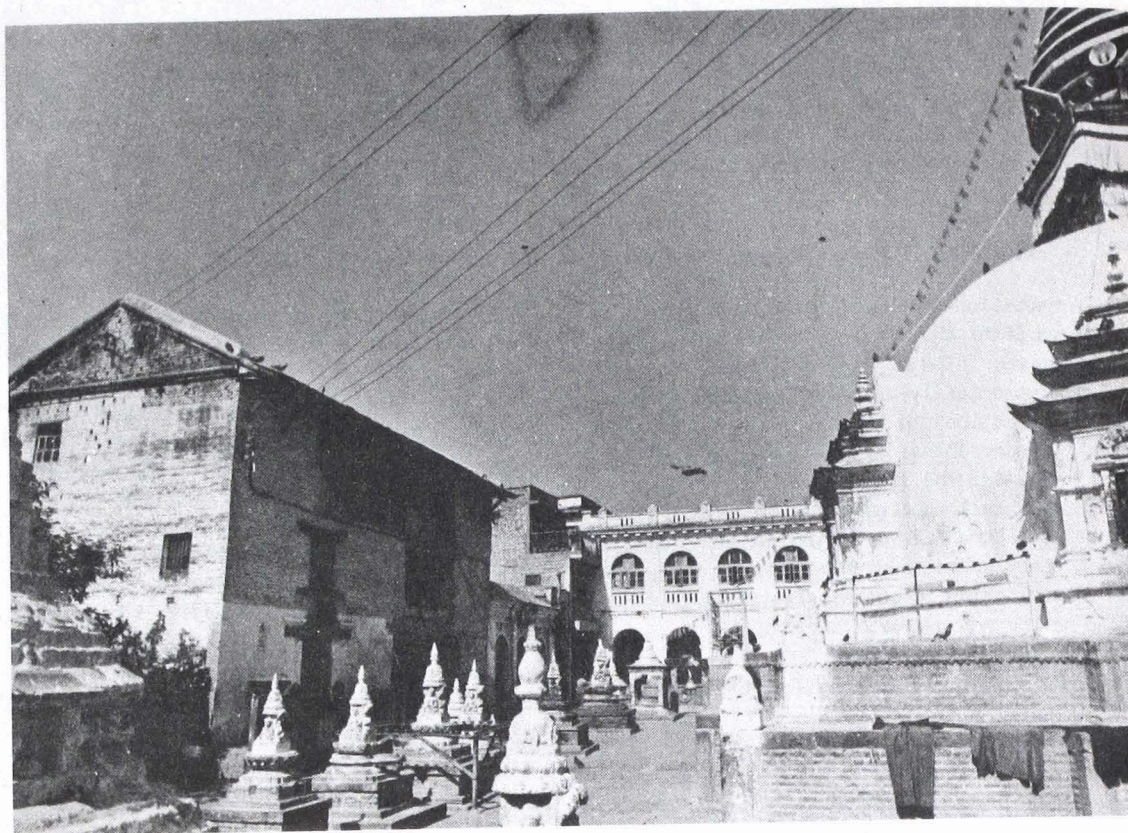
In addition to the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī there are ten other main bāhās in Kathmandu. The saṅghas of these ten bāhās are made up entirely of Sakyas and they have no direct connection to the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī. Their saṅghas are entirely independent. When they need the services of a Vajracarya priest they call a priest from one of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī, but they have no other connection to these bāhās except for common participation in certain festivals like the pañcadāna and the samyak.

1. Sigha Bāhā -- Śāntighaṭa Caitya Mahāvihāra\* [8] Nagha Tole

Sigha Bāhā is part of a large complex, the main feature of which is the large caitya in the centre of the courtyard known as Śāntighaṭa. Caitya or Kāthe Simbu (the 'Kathmandu Swayambhū'). The caitya is reminiscent of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya but has many features that are different. The dome rests on white-washed pedestal. Above the dome or garbha is a four-sided harmikā with eyes similar to those at Swayambhū. The tower rising above this consists of thirteen rings surmounted by a large ornamental umbrella. At the cardinal points around the garbha are the images of the four transcendental Buddhas. In the large courtyard around the caitya are a number of votive caityas, shrines and images of deities of the Mahāyāna pantheon. The most striking of these is a large sculpture of Padmapāñi Lokeśvara which has been generally assigned to the ninth century A.D. There was an even earlier fragment of a Buddhist image attached to a nearby wall, but this has now disappeared. These two images suggest a great antiquity for the shrine but the earliest dated inscription in the complex bears the date N.S.672

There is an oft told legend which explains the existence of this caitya. In ancient times there was a great Buddhist king of Benaras who out of devotion caused a caitya to be erected in his city. When the caitya was finished he searched for a powerful Buddhist ācārya to consecrate it. None could be found in the city until someone recalled that there was a Nepalese Buddhist Ācārya in town who was seen to go and bathe in the river each morning. This was none other than the famous Vākvajra, the preceptor of Kwā Bāhā in Kathamandu. So he was summoned and asked to consecrate the caitya. He brought water from the river, sprinkled it on the caitya and declared it consecrated. The populace was unhappy with this, as they felt that the caitya could not be properly consecrated with such a simple ceremony.

At this point in the story versions diverge. One version says that Vākvajra then challenged the people. He told them to tie a rope to the caitya and see if they could move it, when they failed he then said that he could move the caitya by the force of his mantra and this would prove his power and hence the validity of his consecration. He moved the caitya, then raised it into the air and preceding it himself took off for Nepal where he caused it to come to rest in its present place. According to the other version of the story, Vākvajra addressed the people and convinced them of his learning and power. Finally they were satisfied that the consecration must be effective. Some time later it became evident that the caitya had been placed on an inauspicious site, a place which was inhabited by ghosts and fierce spirits who were unhappy about its presence. Accordingly the king decided the the caitya must be moved. The caitya was bound with ropes; and then horses, elephants and men tried to drag the



242. Sighe Bāhā [8]



caitya to a new location, but it would not move. Finally Vākvajra told the king he could move the caitya. He instructed the people to take away all the horses and elephants, to remove the ropes and to tie a simple string of five colours (red, green, yellow, white and black) round the caitya. When this was done he began the recitation of his mantras. Vākvajra rose into the sky and behind him the caitya followed tied to the string. The people were amazed and the king declared, 'Truly you are no man, but an incarnation of the Buddha. You are none other than Samantabhadra.' (This explains why in some accounts the ācārya is referred to as Samantabhadra). Flying through the air Vākvajra brought the caitya to Nepal, bringing it to rest at Santi Ghata, a place where a sacred water pot (ghata) was enshrined. He then set up the caitya with proper rituals and consecrated it. After the caitya was established a vihāra called Śāntighata Vihāra was set up and Sakyas called from Asan Tole, initiated and given charge of the caitya and the vihāra.

The only account to give a date for this event and the foundation of the bāhā is that of Kavirāj Vajracarya who places it in the year N.S.695 during the reign of 'Narendra Deva Malla'. This is impossible on several accounts. An inscription at the caitya dated twenty three years earlier than this speaks of offerings to the caitya. There was certainly no Buddhist king in Benaras at this time (during the reign of Akbar the Great!), if there ever was. The king of Kathmandu in N.S.695 was Sadāśiva Malla. There was a Narendra (alias Amar) Malla who ruled Kathmandu from N.S.650 until about 680, but he was certainly dead by N.S.695.

The inscription of N.S.672 gives us the first dated reference to the caitya. At that time one Megharāja donated a golden finial for the caitya in memory of his deceased son and set up a gūthī for the purpose of performing an annual commemoration of the gift. The members of the gūthī are listed and the first one of the list is a Bhikṣu from Kwātha (Kwā) Bāhā.<sup>2</sup> In the time of Pratāp Malla extensive repairs were carried out on the caitya. In N.S.767 the life of the caitya was removed (i.e. the caitya was deconsecrated--nyasapikaya) and the repair works begun. The repairs were financed by Śākyabhikṣu Jayata Simha, Śākyabhikṣu Jīna Simha, Śākyabhikṣu Deva Simha, Śākyabhikṣu Jayarāja, Śākyabhikṣu Maṇi, Śākyabhikṣu Padmarāja, Bhikṣuṇī Jamu-

na, Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Śāhā, and Śākyabhikṣu Ratna Simha; but there is no indication of which bāhā these Sakyabhikṣus belong to. By N.S.773 the repairs had been completed and an elaborate yajña was performed by a large number of Vajracaryas from Kwā Bāhā, Dhvākā Bāhā and Sikhamu Bāhā. Among the participants are mentioned two from Navaghala, Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Abhijyoti and Ratnasimha. This Navaghala could refer either to the present Sigha Bāhā or to Nagha Bāhā [9]. In N.S.882 in the time of Bhūpalendra Malla one Sūrya Simha set up a votive caitya in the compound, and in N.S.1010 in the time of Prithvi Bir Bikram Saha one Vajramaya Bhikṣu set up an image of Vajrasattva. Somewhere about this time extensive repairs must have been carried out on the caitya as by the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> last century the caitya was in a ruinous state.

The Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā still retain a ritual connection with this place. Along the western side of the open area surrounding the caitya and behind a little school is a small shrine referred to by various names: Śāntipur (because it is the place where the Śānti Ghata was enshrined), Kosam Bāhā, and Kwoma Bāhā. When the Vajracaryas go there to perform the rituals they refer to the event as 'pimbā wane', going to Pimbā. No one was able to explain the significance of pimbā. Once a year, two Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā, the current Thāyā and one other (by rotation through the thirty two lineages of the saṅgha) go to this shrine to offer pūjā. This takes place on the fullmoon day of Magh. The day before the fullmoon they go to offer betel nuts as a preparatory rite. On the fullmoon day itself, which they consider to be the greatest of all fullmoon days, they offer masa dal and puñ hāyaṇu, a common propitiatory rite. The present incumbents have no information on the origin or meaning of this ritual other than the tradition that they have this right as the heirs of Vākvajra who founded the caitya. They have no connection with the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā and the people of the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā in turn have no rights or duties connected with this shrine.

Sigha Baha itself is only a small three storied building on the southern side of the open area around the caitya. The present building is a simple, unadorned, three-storeyed building with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in a room at the eastern corner of the building. The building has none of the architectural features

of a bāhā shrine except for a metal torāṇa over the door depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north.

The saṅgha consists of about one hundred initiated Sakyas from sixteen families. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and as dya-pālās of the caitya by turn for eight days at a time. Service passes through the households in turn, but at the present time little attention is paid to the correct order of service. The annual festival is now observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āswīn, though it used to be held at a different time. The saṅgha has a board of five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā 'Mahādyā' first brought to Kuleśvara near Teku and later to the area of the caitya where the annual pūjā is now performed. Informants say that the bāhā had a considerable income, but this has been reduced to the income from a small plot of land near the Public Youth Campus. The saṅgha is served by Vajracarya priests from Sawal Bāhā [50].

Informants were unable to give any account of the history or founding of this bāhā beyond the tradition that the bāhā has existed since the time of the caitya. Some informants confirmed the tradition that they had originally come from Asan, but not from Asan Bāhā. This makes good sense because the lineage deity of this saṅgha and that of the Asan Bāhā saṅgha are not the same. Other informants, however, denied any connection with Asan and claimed that they have lived at Sigha Bāhā since time immemorial. Nothing definite can be deduced from the many inscriptions in the complex since they all refer to the caitya and not the bāhā. The present shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a reconstruction following the destruction of the older buildings at the time of the earthquake of A.D.1934. The early sculptural remains indicate a great antiquity for the site but say nothing about the present community.

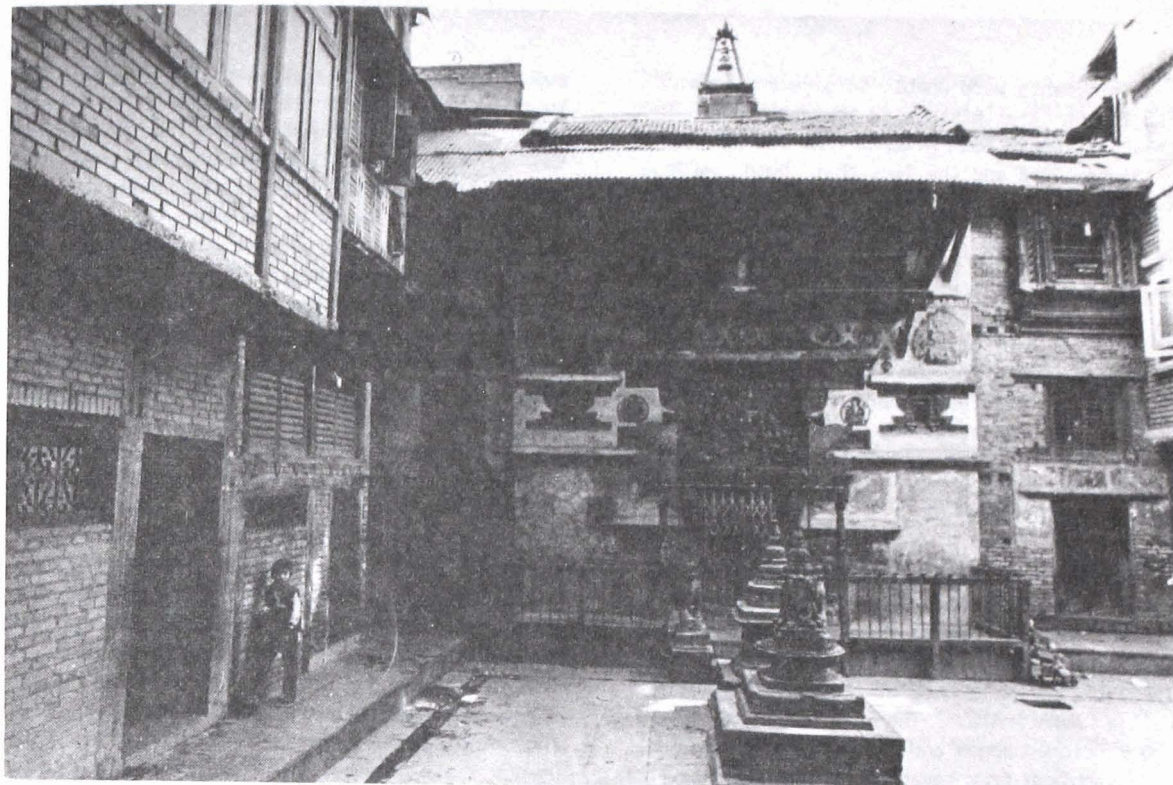
Along the western side of the open area is a new foundation, a vihāra for Theravāda monks which was founded a few years ago and goes by the name of Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra. These The-

ravada monks have no connection with the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā.

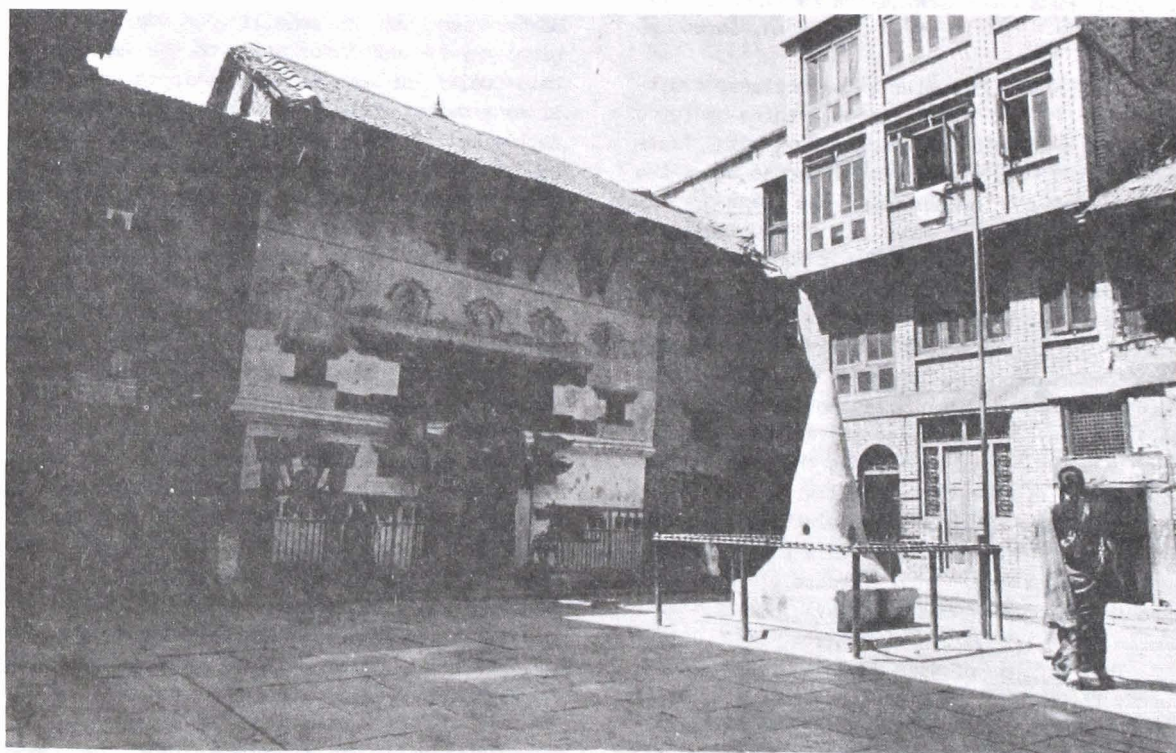
## 2. Nagha Bāhā -- Ratnamaṇḍala Mahāvihāra\* [9] Nagha Tole

This bāhā is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard just off the main road a little south of the entrance to the Sigha Caitya. Over the street entryway is a wooden torāṇa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the centre. Inside is a small courtyard with the bāhā shrine along the southern arm. The shrine has been recently repaired and is good example of a well-preserved typical bāhā shrine. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved lattice door is flanked by images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and surmounted by a metal torāṇa depicting Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara and four other tantric deities. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is an overhanging wooden balcony surmounted by a tile roof and a single finial. The facade of the shrine is painted with several frescoes of Buddhist deities. In the courtyard are two votive caityas, one dated N.S.1027 and the other dated N.S.1053.

This bāhā has a large saṅgha of fifty seven families with over two hundred initiated Sakyas. Few live at the bāhā or even in the vicinity, but are scattered around the city of Kathmandu. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by members of the saṅgha. Service is for eight days at a time and passes through the fifty seven households in turn. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed, except by a few interested people and in a private manner. A feast for the entire saṅgha is now held only at the time of initiations. Informants say that they no longer invite any Vajracaryas to their feasts because the Ācārya Gūṭhī refuses to recognise this as a 'main' bāhā. Hymns are recited at the bāhā during the month of Guṇlā, but there are few other observances at the bāhā now. The saṅgha has a board of five elders and Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā 'Mahādyā', now worshipped in the bāhā compound but first 'brought' to Kuleśvara near Teku. The bāhā has no income.



243. Nagha Bāhā [9]



244. Asan Bāhā [17]



Informants were unable to give any information about the history or foundation of the bāhā. It would seem evident from the proximity to Sigha Bāhā and the fact that both saṅgha have the same lineage deity that one of these two bāhās is an offshoot of the other. However, informants denied this and claimed that the two bāhās are entirely separate and have always been so. According to their own oral tradition the present saṅgha originated in Simroaṅgaḍh. After the destruction of Simroaṅgaḍh they migrated to the hills and eventually to Nuwākot. After the conquest of the Valley by Prithwinarayan Shah they migrated to the Kathmandu Valley and took up residence in this bāhā which was at that time abandoned.

The earliest dated inscription in the complex is dated N.S.805 at which time repairs were carried out by Śākyaabhikṣu Śrī Rāmadeva and Śākyaabhikṣu Dharmarāja. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Ratnamaṇḍa[1]a Mahāvihāra. The inscription at Sigha Bāhā mentioned above and dated N.S.773 mentions a Śākyaabhikṣu from Navaghala which may refer to this bāhā. There are no earlier references to the bāhā or the saṅgha.

### 3. Asan Bāhā -- Aśokacaitya Mahāvihāra [17] Asan, Jaruncheñ

Asan Bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off Asan Tole. It is a three-storeyed bāhā shrine of brick painted white, with frescoes of the five transcendent Buddhas above the first storey. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is marked by a pair of metal lions and an iron railing round the ground floor veranda. Set into the top of the railing is a row of prayer wheels, and at the left corner is a large temple bell. The carved wooden doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torapa depicting Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants waving yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has a single, plain lattice window in the centre. The roof is of tile and surmounted by a single gaḷūra. In the centre of the courtyard is a single 'Aśoka' caitya.

The saṅgha of Asan Bāhā consists now of twenty three families with a total membership of ninety eight initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals morning and

evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The term of service is eight days and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. The saṅgha of this bāhā has always been very active, but in recent years the activity has diminished considerably because of dwindling income. Until a few years ago there were eighteen feasts each year for the entire saṅgha. This feasting depended on a large income from agricultural land which had been donated by wealthy traders of Asan, some Sakyas and some Tulādhars. Gradually this land has decreased, and at the present time there are no more communal feasts except at the time of initiations. The annual festival is still observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh and the saṅgha has five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated at a place called Bhinha Gā along the road running west from the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. This is a shrine containing a Śiva linga and is frequented by a number of different peoples including Jyāpūs, Brahmins and Chetris. The Jyāpūs call the deity Harisiddhi or Nāsadya (their favorite form of Śiva) and perform blood sacrifices to the image. However, the deity is most commonly called Phay-kwā-dya (=hot wine god). No one at Asan Bāhā, or at Mahābū Bāhā which has the same lineage deity, could give any further information on the nature of this deity or why it is worshipped as their lineage deity. Most probably it was originally a typical lineage deity shrine with aniconic images which was later turned into a Śiva shrine either by the Jyapus or the later Brahmins and Chetris. This deity has been 'brought' to the bāhā complex where it is now worshipped.

This community of Asan is by all accounts an ancient community. Oral tradition states that the bāhā was founded by a son of Aśoka. However, there is at the present time no information on the history or founding of the bāhā and there are no old inscriptions or images within the compound. There are inscriptions but the oldest of these is dated N.S.993. This may be due to a change of site. Informants claim that originally the bāhā was situated north of the present site where there is now a private house of Tulādhars and where there is still a caitya, an image of the Buddha and an image of Lokēśvara.

Informants at Asan Bāhā claim that when

Sigha Bāhā [8] was built there were no Bare there to tend the shrine, so Sakyas were called from Asan Bāhā to take over the shrine. This, they say, is confirmed by the fact that to this day, if the saṅgha at Sigha Bāhā were to die out entirely its rights and duties would be assumed by the people of Asan Bāhā, and vice versa should the saṅgha of Asan Bāhā die out. One thing which casts considerable doubt on this (in addition to the denial by the people at Sigha Bāhā) is the fact that the saṅghas of these two bāhās have different lineage deities.

A. Huakhā Bāhā -- Aśokaśrī Vihāra [16]  
Asan Tole

The shrine of this bāhā consists of a small, single-storied, free standing temple in the centre of a courtyard adjacent to Asan Bāhā. This shrine is evidently a recent construction. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans and dated N.S.757, evidently salvaged from an earlier building. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The rest of the building is a simple square, cement-plastered structure with a tile roof supported by plain struts.

This was originally a flourishing branch of Asan Bāhā but at the present time has no separate saṅgha. The daily rituals are performed by the current dya-pālā of Asan Bāhā and the annual festival is observed at the time of Nāg Pañcamī. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of the bāhā but the date on the torana, N.S.757.

4. Mahābū Bāhā — Mahābuddha Mahāvihāra [21]  
Mahābuddha

The main feature of this bāhā is the large stūpa which stands in the centre of an area enclosed by a low wall. There are no buildings in the area except for the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and a small rest house. The shrine is a single-storeyed, one-roomed shrine painted white and having a tiled roof. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants waving yak tail fans. The image of the kwāpā-dya is an enormous seated, stone image of the Buddha in bhumisparśa mudrā (Akṣobhya) about seven feet high. The image fills the entire shrine, and the building must have been built round the image. In addition to the large stūpa there is one small

caitya in front of the shrine; and within the compound are images of Mañjuśrī, Amitābha, Prajñāpāramitā, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

The saṅgha of this bāhā now consists of five families with a total of eleven initiated members, all Sakyas. The daily rituals are performed by the members of the saṅgha in rotation. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of membership according to seniority. The annual festival has been discontinued as the bāhā no longer has any income. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha at very irregular intervals. The only time a feast is held for the entire saṅgha is after initiations. The saṅgha has five elders. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Phay-kwā-dya deity west of the Swayambhū Caitya.

This bāhā has some sort of seniority status among the bāhās of this area, a fact that is recalled by a still existing gūthī of these bāhās. Informants were unable to explain just what this position of seniority consists in or what its origin is. Supposedly it indicates that this bāhā is the oldest bāhā in the area and as such has a position of eminence. The bāhās which belong to this gūthī are Mahābū Bāhā, Mū Bāhā [46], Tachāñ Bāhā [49], Cidhañ Bāhā [48], Asan Bāhā [17], Takṣe Bāhā [15], Jamo Bāhā [99] and Dagu Bāhā [18]. Once a year, on the eighth day of the bright half of Gūthī this gūthī must perform a pūjā, which was originally always performed at Mahābū Bāhā. Though in former times this gūthī met as a body at Mahābū Bāhā and was afterwards feasted, the pūjā is now performed by the Thāyapā of each of these bāhās by rotation and is performed at his own bāhā. Since this gūthī contains two of the main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī (Mū Bāhā and Takṣe Bāhā) and one branch of a main bāhā of the Ācārya Gūthī (Dagu Bāhā) and one bāhā which is for all practical purposes defunct (Jamo Bāhā), this gūthī may well date back to a much earlier time before the ascendancy of the Ācārya Gūthī and the fixing of its eighteen bāhās as the 'main' bāhās of Kathmandu. Whatever its origin, the custom is on the decline, has no practical implications at the present time, and will probably soon disappear altogether.

Nothing is known about the foundation or age of this bāhā. In N.S.844 repairs were made to the image of the Buddha, and further repairs



245. Hwakā Bāhā [16]



246. Māhābū Bāhā [21]



were made to the complex after the great earthquake of A.D.1833. Whether the compound ever contained a courtyard or proper bāhā buildings is now unknown. At the present time the area round the stūpa is used daily as a grain selling depot. The Thāyāpā of the saṅgha who lives here gets a cut on each bag of grain and potatoes which is weighed. At present his day is taken up with the collection of the fee and the general business of selling grain and potatoes. The existence of the large stūpa and the large stone Buddha would indicate an early date for the complex, probably early medieval period, but nothing definite can be said at the present time.

A. Mahābū Kacā Bāhā -- Bodhipraniddhi Vihāra  
[20] Mahābaudha

The shrine of this bāhā, which sits just off the road leading to Mahābū Bāhā, is a fine example of the typical bāhā facade. The building is of three storeys with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya on the ground floor. The shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), with the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. These figures are flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Above are figures of a four-armed Mañjuśrī, an image of Vairocana and an image of a monk with a fez-like cap. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony which is screened after the manner of the bahās. The other buildings which surround the partial courtyard on three sides are of a much more recent date. The western side of the courtyard is open to the street. In the centre of the courtyard are three caityas, the central one of which is an 'Aśoka' caitya.

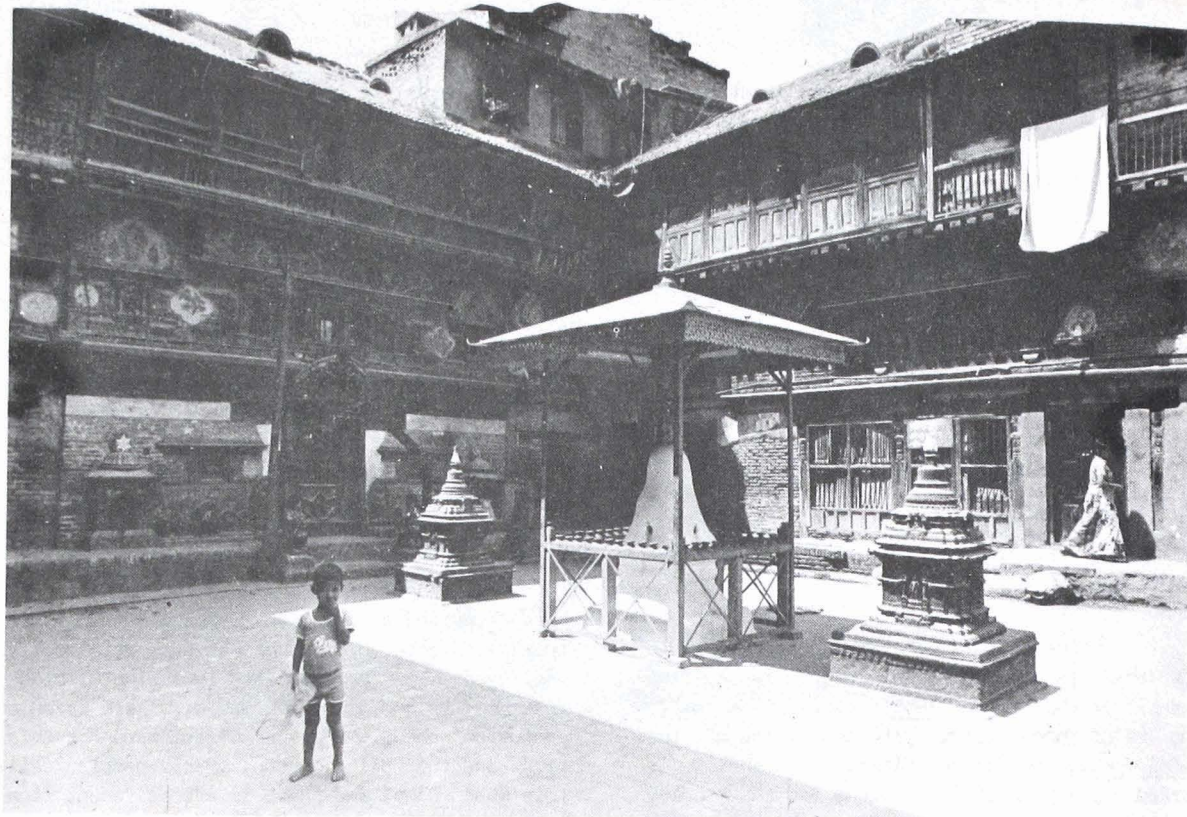
According to informants this was originally a branch bāhā of Mahābū Bāhā but was later abandoned by the members of the saṅgha. At the present time the buildings around the courtyard are inhabited by Tāmākārs. Until recently the current dya-pālā of Mahābū Bāhā used to come daily for the usual rituals, but even this has now been discontinued. Whatever rituals are performed are done by the Tāmākārs who live here. The earliest inscription in the complex

is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S.746 at which time the present structure was built.

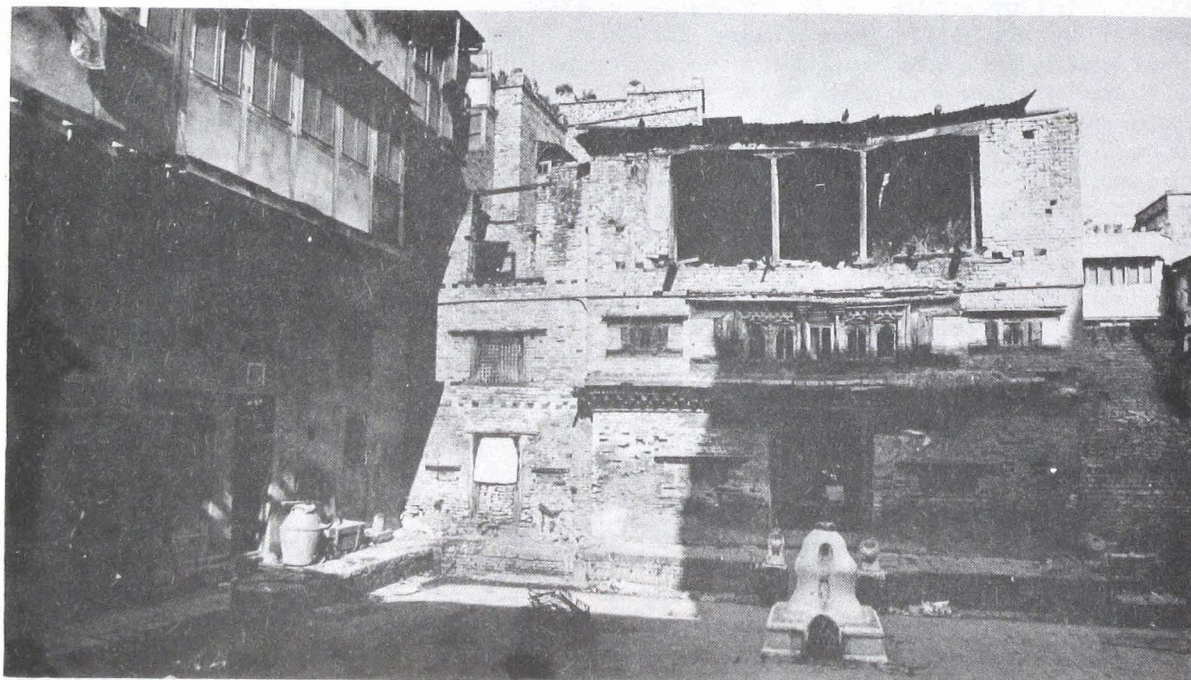
5. Tamu Bāhā -- Ratnākara Mahāvihāra [28]  
Hyumat Tole

All that remains of Tamu Bāhā is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and this is in a state of almost complete ruin with the roof collapsed and much of the brickwork damaged. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions, the carved lattice doorway is flanked by two small windows. Over the doorway was a wooden torāṇa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas which has now disappeared. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey had a finely carved overhanging balcony, but the tile roof collapsed onto this and it has been practically destroyed. In the courtyard is a single plastered caitya and piles of rubble. There is some confusion about the proper Newari name for this bāhā and the following one. Some people call this Kusāñ Bāhā, and there is even a recent sign inside the compound with this name. However, informants at the bāhā say that this is Tamu and the following one Kusāñ.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of only two families with fifteen initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for a lunar fortnight at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority. The annual festival is no longer held; and a common feast is held only at the time of Barechuyegu initiations which are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has only one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the large standing Buddha near the Swayambhū Caitya showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. He is called Vairocana by the members of the saṅgha and is now worshipped at Tamu Bāhā where he has been 'brought'. The saṅgha of this bāhā has some connection with Lagañ Bāhā [80] which at present is not very clear. At the time of the twelve year samyak festival the Lagañ Bāhā saṅgha used to invite the people of this bahato a festival at Lagan. Formerly it was also the custom whenever one of the members of five bāhās in this area returned from trading in Tibet to hold a common feast to which the members of five bāhās were invited. The five bāhās were Tamu Bāhā, Kusāñ Bāhā [27], Yatā Bāhā [86], Lagañ Bāhā [80], and Kohiti Bāhā



247. Māhābū Kācā Bāhā [20]



248. Tamu Bāhā [28]

[31]. The saṅgha of Tamu Bāhā used to be served by priests from Takṣe Bāhā [15], but this was officially changed (through the offices of the Ācārya Gūṭhī); and they are now served by one man from Gubhā Bāhā [65] and one man from Lhugha Bāhā [30].

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. The caitya in the centre of the courtyard was erected in N.S.706 and two other inscriptions bear the dates N.S.835 and 865. In N.S.865 a caitya was erected, the āgam deity was consecrated and a gūṭhī was set up to ensure their continued worship.

Recently some Theravāda nuns (anagārika) have come to stay in one section of the bāhā compound along the northern sector. They have established a vihāra which they call Dharmasāṅgha Mahāvihāra.

A. Kusāñ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra [27]  
Hyumat Tole

This bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard almost opposite to Tamu Bāhā. The shrine is a fairly recent reconstruction and consists only of a room on the ground floor of a residential building which houses the kwāpā-dya. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing east. The two upper storeys contain living quarters.

This bāhā was originally a branch of Tamu Bāhā and part of the saṅgha used to live here. However, they have all moved away now, though some return daily to perform the nitya pūjā. Recently some Theravāda monks have moved into a part of the complex founding a vihāra which they call Dharmaratna Mahāvihāra.

There is an inscription on the base of the Buddha image in the kwāpā-dya shrine which states that the image was consecrated by one Śākyabhikṣu Chakrapatideva in N.S.865.<sup>9</sup> This may mark the foundation of the bāhā.

B. Tukañ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra [29]  
Hyumat Tole

At the present time this is not a bāhā in any sense. It has no kwāpā-dya and no saṅgha. Yet it is called a bāhā and included in the list of bāhās to be visited at the time of the bāhā

pūjā. The complex comprises a large courtyard surrounded by ordinary houses, all inhabited by Jyāpūs, with a large stūpa in the centre. The stūpa stands on a single circular platform of masonry with Buddhist relief scenes. This is a common feature of stūpa remains in India but is almost unique in Nepal. The rest of the stūpa is of the usual brick and plaster. There are the usual four shrines of the Buddhas at the cardinal points. However, the whole is in a sad state of neglect. A peepul tree is growing out of the harmika of the stūpa, and the exquisite masonry is beginning to crumble. The courtyard also contains a number of minor caityas and a vajra. According to KTMV the caitya was constructed in the 14th century and later renovated first by a monk named Shām and later by one Śivasiṅgha Lāmā.<sup>10</sup> However, Pal dates the relief panels round the caitya to the seventh or eighth century:

Some of the most charming Buddhist reliefs adorn the stupa at Tukañ bāhāl at Kathmandu. In one of these, two sedent lions confront a vajra, the symbol of Vajrayāna Buddhism; in another, a pair of antelopes with flying scarves flanks a wheel of the Law; in the third, a human couple adore a flowering vase. It is rather interesting that in the majority of such decorative Buddhist reliefs the formal rock motif predominates. Perhaps this is an influence of the hills and mountains that surround the valley, although there is no attempt at naturalistic delineation. Rather, the Nepal artists give us even a more stylized and flamboyant version of the conceptualized rocks that the Indians had employed first at Sanchi and then at Ajanta.

Isolated as these reliefs are, their chronological context is difficult to determine. One such relief, however, now preserved in the National Museum, is inscribed, and the paleography seems similar to that of sixth century inscriptions. Thus, by comparison, the few reliefs discussed above may safely be attributed to the seventh or eighth century.

According to informants this was formerly a branch of Tamu Bāhā, but as the number of the members of the saṅgha declined this complex was entirely abandoned. Until recently members of the saṅgha of Tamu Bāhā used to come here daily to perform the customary rituals at the caitya, but even this has now been discontinued. Infor-





249. Kusāñ Bāhā [27]



250. Tukañ Bāhā [29]

mants say there is a wooden torāṇa which used to hang over the entryway to this complex but it has been removed for 'safe keeping.' Given the early sculptures on the caitya, it is certain that this site had Buddhist connections in Licchavi times and may well have been the site of one of the Licchavi viḥāras.

6. Tadhañ Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra\* [49]  
Wotu Tole

This bāhā is situated in a very large residential courtyard in Wotu Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is situated on the southern side of the quadrangle and is a simple three storey structure wedged in between much later buildings. The ground floor of the shrine has been plastered and painted white; the rest of the building is of ordinary brick. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa showing Vajrasattva flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans. According to informants the kwāpā-dya is an unusual image of the Buddha seated in the European fashion and showing what appears to be the bodhyaṅga mudrā. This is difficult to confirm as the image is always covered with a sort of metal cope. According to informants this is a 'secret' deity which can only be seen by the members of the saṅgha. Not even their wives are ever permitted to see the image uncovered. This is indeed a strange custom; the kwāpā-dya is never a secret deity, and for this reason his image is always kept on the ground floor in an open shrine where he can be seen and worshipped by all. A copper-plate inscription near the door of the shrine identifies the image as Maitreya. The first storey of the shrine has a triple carved window. The top storey has an overhanging balcony with carved lattice windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a triple finial.

In the courtyard are a number of inscriptions, caityas and images. To the left as you enter the courtyard is a large shrine with three images: the Buddha (in dhyāna mudrā) flanked by the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya built on a high platform which has a large standing image of Padmapāni Lokeśvara on the north and a small image of Buddha showing the varada mudrā on the south. In front of this caitya and facing the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is an image of a devotee with a large inscription carved on his back

dated N.S.769. There are seven other votive caityas in the courtyard, the top part of one of which appears to be a 'Licchavi' caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā, which is one of the oldest and most active communities in Kathmandu, now consists of thirty families comprising two hundred five initiated Sakyas. There were originally four lineages to the saṅgha, and this division is still reflected in the fact that there are still four groups: 1. one lineage centered on Tadhañ Bāhā, 2. one lineage centered on Cidhañ Bāhā and Phykā Bāhā, 3. one lineage centered on Picheñ Bāhā and 4. one lineage which used to have a branch bāhā behind Picheñ Bāhā. The daily rituals at Tadhañ Bāhā are performed at dawn (the bathing of the image), morning and evening. Theoretically all the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās by turn according to seniority, but as a matter of fact the pūjā is always done by one man now whom the members commission to take their place. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders. Of the two main elders one must come from Tadhañ Bāhā itself and one from Cidhañ Bāhā. The annual festival is held on the third day of the bright half of Āswini at which time all of the elders of the saṅgha have to observe a fast. However, there is no longer an annual feast following the rituals. A feast for the entire saṅgha is held only after Barechuyegu initiations, and this is not the traditional bhway but a rice meal. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is located at Gūhyeśvarī (near Paṣupatināth) and informants identify this deity as Heruka. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The history of this foundation is one of the most intriguing in the city of Kathmandu. First, a word about the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. All modern lists give the Sanskrit name as Dharmacakra Dharmasāna Mahāvihāra.<sup>12</sup> Yet informants at the bāhā insist that the name is simply Dharmacakra; and, more important, all of the inscriptions and manuscript references which reach back for at least seven hundred years, give the name as Dharmacakra. The earliest definite reference to this bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Astasahasrika--Prajñāpāramitā in the Cambridge University Library. The manuscript was written in N.S.285 by one Śākyabhikṣu Mañjuśrī who lived in the 'Sri Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra in Vantradullake in Yambukramāyām.' Yambukramāyām is Yambu or





251. Tadhañ Bāhā [49]



Dhatu Puiñ and Vantradullake is Wotu Tole. The manuscript was written for a resident of Pharping (Panapinga-visaya).<sup>13</sup> However, there is an even earlier manuscript which may refer to this bāhā. There is a copy of the Catuspīṭhanivāṇḍhaḥ in the National Archives (formerly the Darbar Library). According to the catalogue of the Archives Collection the manuscript is dated N.S.135 and was written in the reign of Bhāskara Deva by one Śākyabhikṣu Kumāracandra who lived in the Śrī Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra founded by Guṇakāmadeva.<sup>14</sup> The date is surely erroneous, because we know from another colophon of this date that in N.S.135 three kings were ruling jointly: Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Lakṣmīkāmadeva. Petech reads the date as N.S.165 and this has been confirmed for me by Mr. Śānkarmān Rājvāṃsi of the Archeology Department. This date falls within the known dates of the reign of Bhāskara Deva. However, Petech also reads the name of the vihāra as Padmacakra instead of Dharmacakra.<sup>15</sup> If the date 165 and the name Dharmacakra are correct, there is a good chance that the reference is indeed to Tadhañ Bāhā. The Archive Catalogue adds a phrase which is not in Petech: srigaṇḍalāke kulaputra. Gaṇḍulāke refers to Kathmandu.<sup>16</sup> There is no other vihāra in Kathmandu from this period called Dharmacakra as far as we know, and there is a still current tradition at Tadhañ Bāhā that the bāhā was founded by Guṇakāmadeva. Legends and chronicles attribute the foundation or inauguration of so many things to Guṇakāmadeva that one immediately suspects all such attributions. However, in this case we have a manuscript dated N.S.165, fifty-five years after the known dates of Guṇakāmadeva's reign which attributes its foundation to him. Hence the attribution to Guṇakāmadeva is fairly certain whether this vihāra is in fact Tadhañ Bāhā or not.

The history of the bāhā picks up again in N.S.665 when one Śākyabhikṣu Sthavira (=Thāyāpā) Toyujū had a large, golden image of Dipaṅkara made and consecrated in memory of his father Śrī Jīva with the intention of setting up a gūṭhī for the regular performance of the samyak festival. In N.S.667 the gūṭhī was set up and a samyak festival was held. The record of this event is preserved in a copperplate inscription kept at Cidhañ Bāhā, the branch where Toyujū's descendants still live.<sup>17</sup> According to oral tradition Toyujū spent many years in Lhasa and after returning with a great quantity of gold he decided to revive old traditions and bring about

an awakening within the Buddhist community by spending the money he had earned on this image and the gūṭhī to insure the regular observance of the samyak. After his death his family preserved his memory by having a wooden image of him made which is still preserved in Cidhañ Bāhā and shown each year during the sacred month of Guḥlā.<sup>18</sup> This samyak was held regularly every four years at Pyukhā Bāhā until the time of Prithvinarayan Shah when economic hardships dictated its discontinuation in favour of a joint Kathmandu samyak at Bhuikhel near Swayambhū every twelve years. Once a year, however, on the day of Māghe Sankrānti the image of Dipaṅkara is taken to Pyukhā Bāhā for a pañca dāna.

In N.S.790 one Śākyabhikṣu Guṇacandra donated a book for the recitation of hymns in honour of the Buddhist deities; in the year N.S.796 he repaired the doors of the bāhā and established a caitya; in the year N.S.797 he made a donation to the Swayambhū Mahācaitya at which time he donated land for the recitation of verses in honour of Aryaśālokiteśvara and finally he made a further donation in N.S.808. All of this information is contained in the inscription on the back of the donor figure near the entrance to the bāhā.<sup>19</sup> Despite all this information people at the bāhā will identify this figure as Guṇakāmadeva. Another inscription records that this same Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Guṇacandra of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra set up a caitya and established images of Maitrī Bodhisattva, Hevajra, 'Iṣṭa-devatā', and Vajra-mahākāl in N.S.796.<sup>20</sup> In N.S.863 one Śākyabhikṣu Candrajoti Rāja who lived in the North eastern corner of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra in Wotu Tole donated money for the repair of the āgam shrine in memory of his father Dharmarāja.<sup>21</sup>

From what evidence we have it is clear that this is one of the earliest of the bāhās of Kathmandu, probably founded by Guṇakāmadeva himself, and that down the years the saṅgha has been very active. Much of this activity, which has been sustained by donations and the gūṭhī for the samyak ceremonies, probably resulted from the fact that many members of this saṅgha were traders in Lhāsā and thus had a source of considerable outside income which enabled them to make lavish donations to carry on their traditions.

A. Cidhañ Bāhā -- Jīna-uddhāra Vihāra\* [48]  
Wotu Tole

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard just off Wotu Tole. The well-preserved bāhā shrine is of three storeys with a bahī style cupola over the roof. The carved doorway of the shrine is flanked by stone images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and surmounted by a wooden torāṇa showing the Nāmasaṅgī with a small figure of Vairocana above and six other indistinct deities around. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging lattice-work balcony supported by four carved struts. In the courtyard are four votive caityas.

This is an official branch of Tadhañ Bāhā and its saṅgha is one of the four lineages of Tadhañ Bāhā. Originally five households lived here, now there are only four and the members of these households serve as dya-pālās in the shrine. Rituals are performed at dawn, in the morning and again in the evening. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed, but there is a special observance at the time of the disi pūjā in Paus when the heads of the five households perform a srāddha in honour of five famous deceased chief elders who served in succession. The branch saṅgha has only one elder. Evidently this has long been a branch of Tadhañ Bāhā and the members of this branch saṅgha have been active and comparatively wealthy. The famous Toyuju mentioned above was a member of this branch saṅgha.

Nothing is known about the date of foundation of this branch, but the earliest date found on inscriptions within the courtyard is N.S.660. Renovations were carried out in N.S.835, and again in A.D.1918 by one Subhadhan Sākyabhikṣu Prabhrīti.<sup>22</sup>

B. Pinchē Bāhā -- Jāmbunadavana Vihāra\* [47]  
Maniju Bāhā  
Khuñ Bāhā Wotu Tole

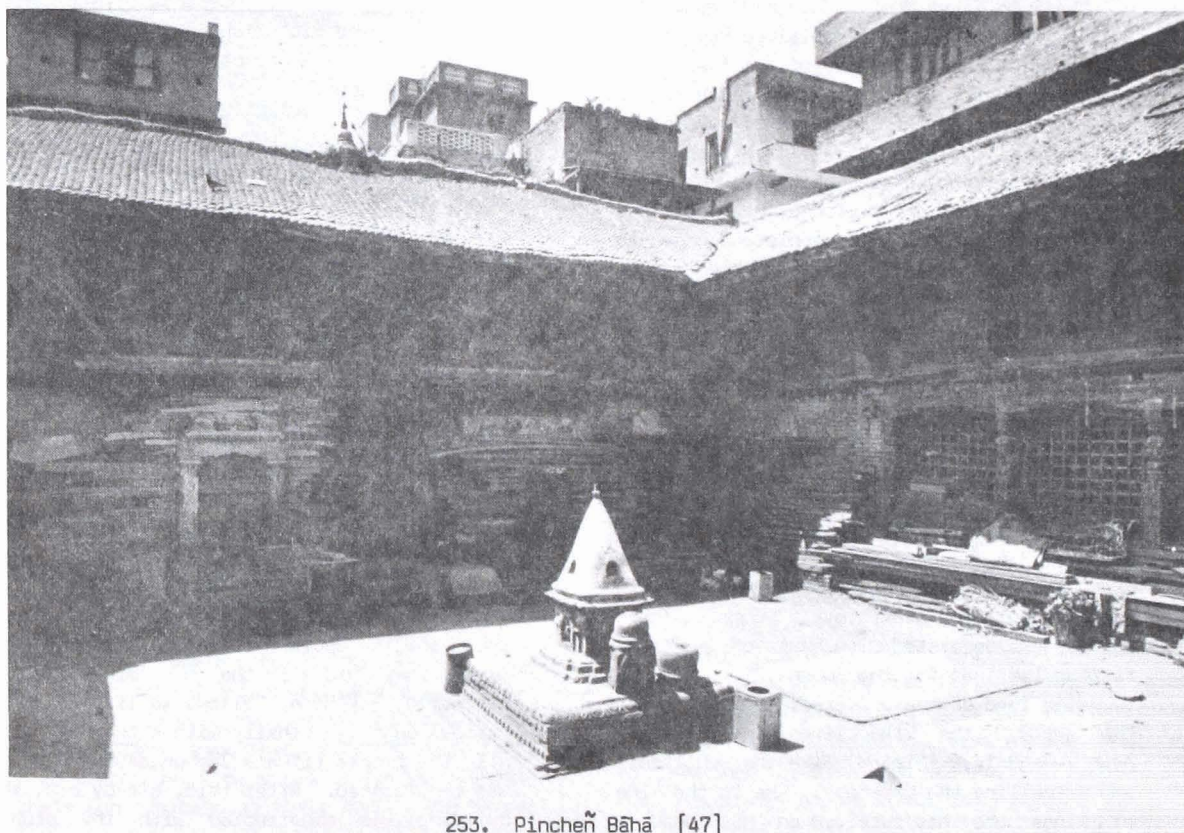
This bāhā has three Newari Names. The oldest of these seems to be Pinchē Bāhā, but Maniju Bāhā is also current among the people of the bāhā. The third name, Khuñ Bāhā (= 'Thieves' Bāhā) derives from the fact that at one time in

the Rana period the bāhā was taken over for a time by the government and turned into a common jail. Outside the entryway to the bāhā was a large inscription commemorating the construction of this bāhā. It does not give the Newari name but in two places gives the Sanskrit name in two different forms first Jāmbunada and later Jambunadavana.<sup>23</sup> Jāmbunadavana appears in another inscription at Swayambhū a few years later, and this appears to be the correct form.<sup>24</sup>

This bāhā is one of the few examples left in Kathmandu of a complete bāhā structure. Three sides of the original building are in tact, though not in good repair, and the fourth side (the west) has been reconstructed in a modified form. The bāhā is situated right at the crossroads in Wotu Tole and across the street from Cidhañ Bāhā. Outside the bāhā was the large inscription mentioned above and dated N.S.711. (This inscription has now been removed and the last time I saw it, it was lying down near one of the buildings inside; it has since vanished.) Next to the place of this inscription is a large shrine containing three figures: Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara in the centre, flanked by Ganesh on his right and Prajñāpāramitā on his left. The three original wings of the bāhā complex each present the same facade. On the ground floor there is a door in the centre flanked by an open area screened with lattice-work in the style of the bahīs. The first storey has a five-fold window in the centre flanked by two smaller windows which in turn are flanked by triple windows. The structure has only these two storeys. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, which is marked by two stone lions, presents the same facade. The carved doorway is flanked by stone images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa which contained a figure of Buddha in the dhyaṇa mudrā (Amitābha). (The image is now missing.) The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Below the cornice between the first and ground floors can be seen the fading remains of frescoes. The struts supporting the roof are all well carved. The struts along the western section are erotic sculptures, the only example of such erotic sculptures found in a bāhā. It must be noted, however, that this western wing of the complex is a recent renovation (perhaps after the earthquake of 1934), and that the struts which have erotic carvings support Hindu deities. The struts are done in the same



252. Cidhañ Bāhā [48]



253. Pincheñ Bāhā [47]



general style as the struts on the three original wings, but they appear much more recent. It is quite possible that they are a very recent addition. The whole structure has a simple tile roof which is surmounted by a decorative caitya above the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. In the centre of the courtyard are a plastered caitya and the remains of two earlier stone caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Tadhañ Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service passes in turn through the households of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

The large inscription outside the bāhā dated N.S.711 leaves no doubt about the date of the construction of this bāhā. I give here a rough translation of the entire inscription as it is the most complete document we have concerning the foundation of a bāhā and gives something of the flavour of the religious and social customs of the time:

Hail to Sakya Muni. Jāmbunada Mahāvihāra. . . the masters have explained how sin is destroyed by the observance of festivals . . . by the daily recitation of scriptures to the accompaniment of instruments. Pūjā is performed . . . to the image of Akṣobhya . . . in the presence of the bhikṣus. May Akṣobhya, who grants one's wishes, be propitious to the great gathering of people who come to worship him. This shrine is adorned with a golden finial, with garlands of gold which give pleasure to the wise, with a foundation stone decorated with various jewels. Along the window frames are bells whose sound drives away sin, for in this shrine there is an image of Lokeśvara. Outside are images of Sarasvatī [sic] and Ganesh. May these defend the builders of this shrine. In this monastery are also images of the Triad [Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha] done in colour by the painter. There are six pillars decorated with lapis lazuli and other lovely gems. There are banners decorated with heaps of jewels--a fitting [shrine] for the Buddha.

The lord of the universe, the master of the world, the king Śivasīmha rules in Nepāla-maṇḍala, shining like the sun itself and dispelling the darkness. He is the king of kings who has received on his head a

consecration from the hands of the gods. With him, in the city of Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa, is [his grandson] Lakṣmīnarasiṃha the lord among nobles, the conqueror of his enemies, the brave among the brave who has received the prasāda of Jagadambikā [Durgā].

On the first day of the dark half of the month of Baiśākh in the year 711 work was begun on this vihāra. On the fullmoon day of Baiśākh this Buddhist vihāra was set up. The virtuous one, the servant of the king Bhikṣu Jayalakṣa has added glory to the king; he is like another Kubera--a great and religious soul. By virtue of his plenteous gifts to the bhikṣus he has attained the unbounded power of a Bodhisattva. He remains firm forever in the law of the Śrāvakas, the Mahāyānists, etc. By virtue of the merit he has earned, his name is known in the three worlds. He has two sons by his wife Heralakṣmī, who is a true Lakṣmī, a veritable jewel. His elder son is the good and wise Jayata Siṃha. His younger son, Puna, being a great and religious man, is famous among the people. He has two wives, Lakṣmī and Padminī. Like satis their lives are spent in the joy of serving their husband. This whole family endowed with riches--what praise can one give them? One cannot give a fitting encomium of them.

All hail. In the reign of Śrī Śivasīmha in the great city of Kāntipur, Thursday the first day of the dark half of Baiśākh. The donors of this vihāra, all of whom live in the house called Pīṭhaprasāda in the northwest corner of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra [Tadhañ Bāhā] in Watu Tole in the same city: Heralakṣmī, the mother, her husband Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Harṣapāla who unceasingly pays his respects at the feet of Śrī Gūhyavajra, like Gūhyeśvara himself he is filled with the spirit of good will and daily fulfills the desires of those who beg; the son of this incomparable Heralakṣmī, Jayata Siṃha, his wife Maṇikalakṣmī, his daughter Kumārī Jayanti, her [Heralakṣmī's] second son, Puna Rāja, his wives Lakṣmī and Padminī. All of these together took counsel and with a generous spirit decided to set up this vihāra. First they had all the preliminary pūjās performed. [There follows a list of the various pūjās.] Finally with a homa pūjā and all the proper rituals Jāmbunadavāna Vihāra was consecrated. After this, bit by bit, the building was constructed with the proper

pūjās being performed at each stage. [There follows another list of pūjās performed for setting up of pillars, doors, the roof, etc.] Within a year the work was complete. On Monday, the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Baisākh in the year 712 the Srinkhalavarohana was completed.

All hail. On Saturday, the fullmoon day of the month of Baisākh at the exact auspicious moment the image of Akṣobhya sitting in vajrāsana [was set up], so each year the proper religious festival [the busā dañ] must be observed [on this day]. On the fourth day the following images which had been made and set up in front of Akṣobhya were consecrated with a yajña: a revered caitya, a golden image of Dīpaṅkara, an image of the revered Buddha overcoming the tempters, a wooden image of Āryatārā with her whole family, two more caityas, the double dharmadhātu [maṇḍala], Siddhimanjū and Śrī Halāhalalokēśvara. We have also given an endowment from which a stipend will come each year for the recitation of the text of the holy Ārya-sahasrika-prajñāpāramitā from the eighth day of the bright half of the month [Guṇlā?] until the first day of the following dark half of the month in Jāmbunada Vihāra so that true dharma might flourish. Also we have offered sacred garments of various colours for the annual festival of the white god and goddess. In order that the running of the vihāra may proceed without hindrance, may the powerful Mahākāl and Hārītī, the great Yakṣinī with her five hundred sons enjoy the aroma of the offerings, may they eat and drink to their fill. May the powerful gods and goddesses defend the one who rules this vihāra [so that he may rule] without hindrance. May the people have wealth, health and a long life. This is the religious gift of the Mahāyanist upāsaka Śākyabhikṣu Jayalakṣa. By the merit of this work may the ācāryas, the upādhyāyas, his mother, his father, and all living beings obtain incomparable fruit.

In the reign of the lord, the revered leader Śrī Lakṣmīnarasimha Malla Deva, in the great city of Kāntipur in the place called Jmalesvara in Wotu Tole in Jāmbunadavana Mahāvihāra live the following donors: the religious minded Śrī Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jayaharṣa Pāla, his wife Heralakṣmī, his eldest son Jayata Simha plus his wife Maṇikalakṣmī, their son Jeka plus his wife Jayalakṣmī, their son Municandra, their second son Ratna-

traya plus his wife Lakṣmī, their fourth son Jīnacandra, their fifth son Jakasimha, the second son of Jayalakṣa, Puna Rāja plus his wife Padmini, their daughter Jayanti, their second son Yakṣarāja plus his wife Bhavānī, their son Jayarāja, their daughter Padmini, Puna Raja's third son Jayanaraja plus his wife Heralakṣmī, their daughter Purnavati, their son Jayacandra, Puna Rāja's fourth son Munindra and his wife. All of these together took counsel and with hearts filled with devotion and unwavering courage have set up this vihāra for [=in memory of?] their father. Those who performed the rituals were: chief priest, Śrī Sirimuni, karmācārya Śrī Mahābuddha, assistant priest Śrī Jakha and Sthavira Jata. These consecrated the vihāra with a yajña that lasted for three days and four nights. On the fourth day the five elders (pañcasthavira) and thirty six ācāryas finished the gundī-pūjā. However many are needed as dya-pālās in this vihāra, let them carry on their work beginning from the youngest. There must not be more than thirty six ācāryas.

There is a gūthī of eight who must make arrangements for the recitation of the sacred texts, there are twelve revered gurus who must serve as dya-pālās in the vihāra. Let none of these--not the chief elder, the gurus, not the jajmāns--interfere in any way with the running of the vihāra. Let no one use any of the sacred property of the vihāra for his personal use--not the land, the building, nor any of the possessions of the deity including his ornaments and utensils. If anyone takes any of these things, let him bear the guilt of the five great sins: murder of a brahman, murder of a woman, the killing of a cow, murder of a child and suicide. May those who respect this property enjoy the fivefold fruit. The courtyard of this vihāra has been paved with 'teliya' bricks. Jayalakṣa has bought the rights of the wall round the house called Yanta and has built the house called Cupavata. He has had images of Ganesh, Lokeśvara and Sarasvatī made and has also made a rest house at the eastern entrance to the vihāra. On the south side . . . a light must be lit to burn throughout the month of Kārtik. No one may interfere with this building or the road. Jayalakṣa has fixed up the area around the rest house. . . . no one may encroach on the land. If anyone does, let him bear the guilt

of having destroyed a caitya . . . The vihāra was consecrated after sunset on Thursday, the third day . . . <sup>25</sup>

Further inscriptions record donations in N.S.764 and again in the time of Pārthivendra Malla. <sup>26</sup>

C. Pyukhā Bāhā -- Aśoka Caitya Vihāra [52]  
Pyukhā Tole

Though this is called a bāhā, is included on the list of bāhās to visit at the time of the Bāhā Pūjā, and informants say that it was a bāhā, at present it is an area enclosed by a low wall into which are set a great array of Buddhist images of varying ages and with a large stūpa in the centre. The plastered stūpa rests on a square plinth and the lower part of the stūpa itself is square with the four transcendent Buddhas set into the cardinal points and twelve other images set below them. The garbha is an elongated dome and is surmounted by the eyes on the harmikā and rings surmounted by another small elongated caitya. The area has no kwāpā-dya shrine, but informants say that the standing Buddha image showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā along the west wall was the kwāpā-dya. It is possible that this was once a bāhā complex that was abandoned after it fell into disrepair and the accumulated images then set into a wall round the stūpa resulting in a Buddhist place of pilgrimage. Since one lineage of Tadhāñ Bāhā is said to be attached to this place and Cidhañ Bāhā, it is quite possible that this was their original branch. When it fell into disrepair they built a new bāhā in Wotu Tole and abandoned this site as a bāhā. On the other hand, it may well be that this has always been merely a place of pilgrimage as this is the site where the Tadhāñ Bāhā Samyak used to be

The earliest dated inscription in the complex bears the date N.S.667. <sup>27</sup> The inscription is damaged and all that can be made out is that one Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Thevarapata (=Sthavira?) Yauvaju of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra made some donation. Another inscription dated N.S.674 mentions <sup>28</sup> Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Toyu and Sakyabhikṣu Jakarāja. KTMV claims that this inscription commemorates the building of the stūpa, but the inscription gives no evidence for this statement. <sup>29</sup> It is damaged, but the later part speaks of a consecration ceremony performed by a Vajracarya from Sikomaguḍi. This ceremony may

well mark extensive repairs to the stūpa or the donation of some image or major ornament. Neither inscription speaks of this place as a vihāra or bāhā.

7. Bikamā Bāhā -- Mañjuśrīnaka Mahāvihāra\*  
[66] Om Bāhā Tole

All that is left of this very old bāhā is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in a partial courtyard. The present shrine is a three-storied building built in a modified bāhā style. The brick facade has been plastered and painted white. The shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved door is surmounted by a wooden torana dated N.S. 1002 and depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows and the top storey has an overhanging balcony in front of ordinary living quarters. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a votive caitya covered by a canopy, and along the western arm of the courtyard is a shrine dedicated to Viśvakarma from which the bāhā takes its popular Newari name.

The saṅgha consists of one hundred forty households of Sakyas comprising four hundred members. Even this number does not count all of those who have been initiated here. Many of the members of these households have either moved away from Kathmandu (or at least away from the area of the bāhā) and no longer take any active part in the life of the saṅgha. Hence they are no longer counted as active members. This is one of the few bāhās at which they no longer count non-active members in the saṅgha. According to informants the saṅgha originally comprised three lineages, but these have further divided now into eleven lineages. Though there are now one hundred forty households, the memory of the eleven lineages is perpetuated by the theoretical linking of one lineage each to eleven of the twelve branch bāhās. The division seems to have little importance now.

The usual rituals are performed here morning and evening but only by the people attached to Mim Nanī Bāhā [68], one of the branches. Hence most of the members of the saṅgha no longer take their turn in the shrine. The an-





254. Pyukhā Bāhā [52]



255. Bikamā Bāhā [66]

nual festival is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of Phālgun, but few attend any longer. The saṅgha has no active board of elders. There is an elder for each of the lineages and each lineage functions as a separate unit. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. However, since there is no board of elders the customary five elders no longer attend the ceremonies. The father or elder brother of the boy being initiated takes the place of the head of the saṅgha. At the time of the sacred month of Guṇlā hymns are recited. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā 'Mahādya', who was first 'brought' to Pacalī (the area near the famous Pacalī Bhairava) but was later 'brought' to the bāhā itself where the annual rituals are now performed. At present the bāhā has no income at all.

Legend ascribes the foundation of this bāhā to the time when Mañjuśrī came to the Valley from 'Mahāchīn' to drain the lake. When he came to the Valley he heard that the great Viśvakarma had a shrine in this place and he stopped here to pay his respects. Later he founded a vihāra at this place and it was named after him, hence the name Mañjuśrīnaka.

The earliest dated record at the bāhā is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S.549 during the reign of Yakṣa Malla at which time one Jaya Teja Pāla and his brother Ananta Teja Pāla donated a golden image of Akṣobhya in memory of their father.<sup>30</sup> Another inscription dated N.S.631 records the offering of a golden kalaśa (for the roof), a golden banner, piṇḍapātras, and the setting up of a gūṭhī for the feeding of the saṅgha. The donors were one 'Śrī Ratna of Caitramakuṭa (Cikamu) and Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Rupa-taja, his wife Rupalakṣmī, their eldest son Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Abhaya Jyoti Pāla, his wife Yadumayī, their eldest son Śākyabhikṣu Luṅgo Pāla, his wife Śaktimayī, their son Śrī Bhima Pāla of the Śākya clan (Śākyavamsodbhava) and Dharmajyoti Pāla, all of Śrī Caka Vihāra'.<sup>31</sup> Two manuscript colophons on copies of the Kāraṇḍavyūha mention this bāhā. Neither is dated, but both were written during the reign of Śivasimhadeva Malla (c.N.S.698-740). The donor of the first manuscript was Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jīvarāja, his wife Dralhalakṣmī their son Śākyabhikṣu Anantarāja, his wife Otakilakṣmī, their son Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jīvarāja, his wife Mukunda, their son Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Ruṅjintasigu and the

daughter of Anantarāja, Anuju, all of Mañjuśrīnaka Vihāra in Ciemkuṭi Tole in Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa.<sup>32</sup> The second manuscript was donated by Sakyabhikṣu Śrī Dharmakīrti Pāla, his mother Saminilakṣmī, his wife Herālakṣmī, their son Vandhavakīrti and their second son Dharmasimha,<sup>33</sup> all of Mañjuśrīnaka Vihāra in Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. There are several other inscriptions in the complex from the seventeenth century down through the nineteenth commemorating various donations and renovations at the bāhā.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century references there are several points worth noting. First is the surname Pāla which is not a usual surname for Sakyas, although it does appear in the inscription of N.S.711 commemorating the consecration of Pinchē Bāhā [47], a branch of Tadhāñ Bāhā. Secondly is the curious shift in the second inscription from Śākyabhikṣu to 'Bhima Pāla of the Sakya clan (Śākyavamsodbhava)'. Thirdly, is the amount of wealth which these donations indicate. Evidently the people of Mañjuśrīnaka, or at least this family of Pālas, had a considerable amount of wealth. Bikamā Bāhā has the largest number of branches of any bāhā in Kathmandu, twelve in all.

A. Khaṣā Cheñ Bāhā -- Varṣacandana Vihāra [67]  
 Wañ (Om) Bāhā  
 Pakhā Cheñ Bāhā Om Bāhā Tole

This bāhā, situated in a partial courtyard adjacent to Bikamā Bāhā, has several Newari names. It seems to be most commonly called Wañ Bāhā, but there is a copper-plate inscription attached to the front of the bāhā which gives the name Khaṣā Cheñ Bāhā. Furthermore, several informants said the name should be Pakhā Cheñ Bāhā. The shrine is of three storeys. The finely carved doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Mahā-akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokesvara) on his left. The torana is dated N.S.1024. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey, which has been adapted for living quarters, has a plain balcony and a white plastered facade. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Bikamā Bāhā. The daily rituals are





256. Khasā Cheñ Bāhā [67]



257. Thāna Bāhā [72]



performed morning and evening by the members of this lineage. The annual festival is still observed but not on any fixed day, whenever is convenient. This branch saṅgha has one elder. The bāhā has no income.

B. Thāna Bāhā — Sthānabimba Vihāra [72]  
Cikamuga Tole

This bāh is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Cikamuga Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is in the traditional style but without ornamentation. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions but the carved doorway has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two other windows. The top storey has a plain balcony supported by plain struts and comprises living quarters. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Bikamā Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of this lineage. They observe the annual festival on the third day of the bright half of Māgh. The branch has one elder, but no income.

A copper-plate inscription attached to the shrine gives the date of foundation of this branch: N.S.667, one of the few cases where it is possible to give a definite date for the foundation of a bāhā.<sup>34</sup>

C. Ganthi (Nanī) Bāhā -- Buddhaganthi Vihāra  
[69] Gacheñ Nanī--Om Bāhā

This is a small bāhā situated in Om Bāhā Tole, the shrine of which is a modern reconstruction on the site of an older foundation. The present shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a simple one-room affair on the first floor of an ordinary dwelling. There is no decoration or ornamentation other than the metal repousse torana over the doorway which depicts the five transcendent Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. Recently published lists of the bāhās have given several different Sanskrit names for this bāhā but the name Buddha Ganthi Mahāvihāra is very clearly written on the metal torana, which, however, is of fairly recent origin. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the

centre of the small courtyard is a caitya enclosed in a modern brick and plaster shrine with a bell-shaped top.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those of the lineage who live here. They observe the annual festival on the day of Śrī Pañcamī. There is one elder, and the bāhā has no income at the present time.

There is nothing here to indicate an early foundation for this bāhā except the caitya which may be early Malla period.

D. Ratnākara Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra [101]  
Gacheñ Nanī--Om Bāhā

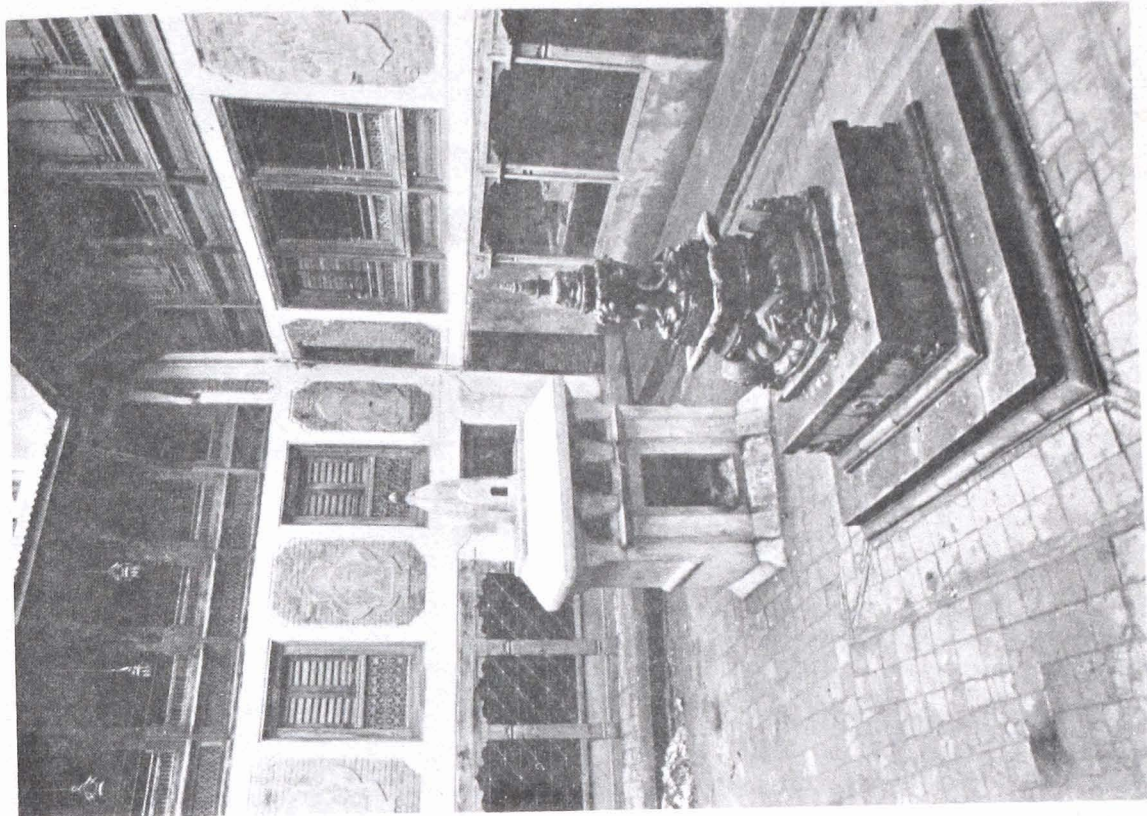
This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard directly behind Ganthi Bāhā. As it stands now it is certainly a modern foundation and has none of the architectural features of a bāhā. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya. To the south of the caitya is an open shrine which houses four images from left to right: Tārā, Akṣobhya, Mañjuśrī and Lokeśvara. The last two images appear quite old, the other two are certainly less than a hundred years old. The image of Padmapāni Lokeśvara, which faces north, is the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā is one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha comprising three households. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those of the lineage who live here. There is no annual festival and no income.

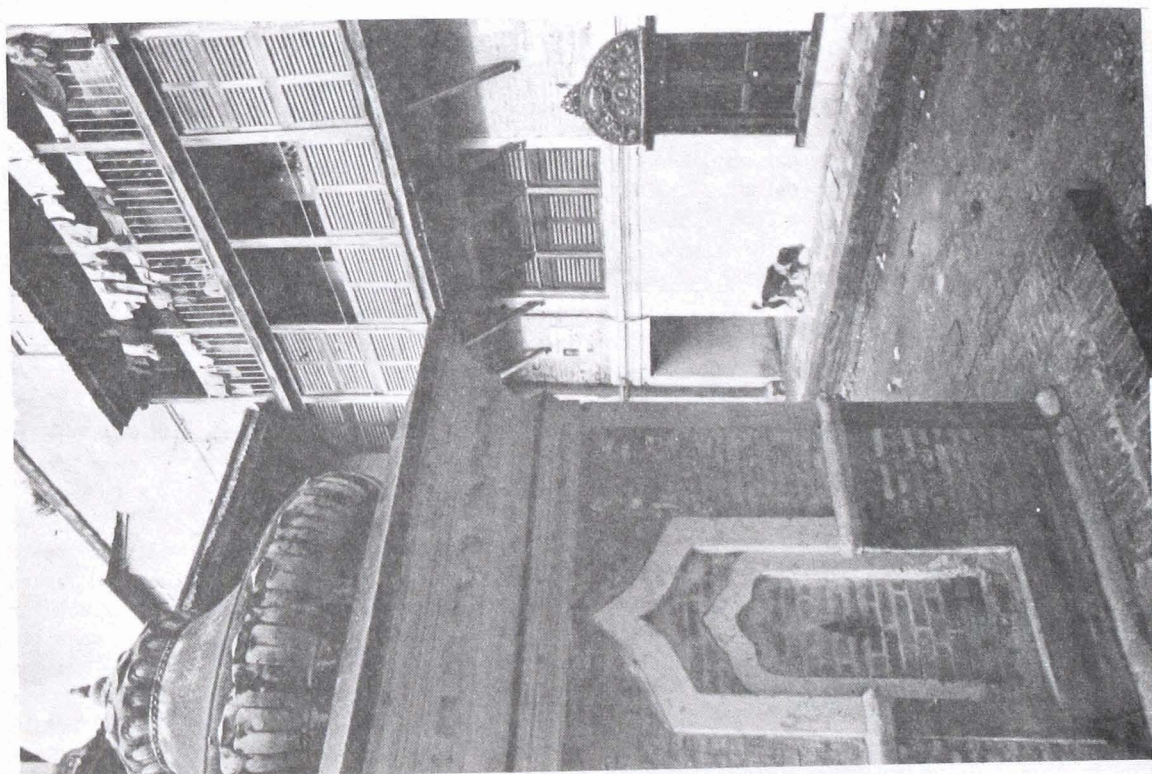
As it stands this appears to be an entirely modern foundation. Whether the present modern shrine is in fact a renovation of an older foundation or an entirely modern foundation is unknown. Nothing here is dated.

E. Ratnapur Bāhā -- Ratnapura Vihāra [70]  
Gacheñ Nanī--Om Bāhā

This bāhā, which is situated in a small open space between buildings, is a modern foundation. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a brick and plaster, free-standing shrine. Over the doorway is a stone torana dated B.S.1981 and depicting Vajrasattva flanked by two sword yielding Bhairavas. The kwāpā-dya is an image



259. Ratnākara Bāhā [101]



258. Ganthi (Nani) Bāhā [69]

of Akṣobhya facing east. In front of the shrine is one votive caitya, and at the eastern end of the open area are two small shrines, one of Mahākāl and the other of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of this lineage who live here. The branch has one elder, but they do not observe an annual festival, and the bāhā has no income.

The image of the kwāpā-dya appears old, but there is nothing else here to indicate a great antiquity for this branch. According to informants this branch was built by one Ratnākara Sakya, a trader in Lhasa. The caitya rests on a 'jaladroni' (such as is found at the base of a Śiva Lingam and usually interpreted as the yoni). Informants said that during the Rana period it was the rule that all caityas had to be built in this 'Hindu' style; one could not build a caitya in the 'Buddhist' style, i.e. on an ordinary square base. The date B.S.1981 (A.D.1923-24) may well mark the foundation of this branch.

F. Puñchē Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra [62]  
Poḍe Gallī--Om Bāhā

The shrine of this bāhā is a fairly well preserved example of a typical branch bāhā with some exquisite carving. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and the finely carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa dated N.S.1001 which depicts the five transcendent Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. The doorway is flanked by two smaller windows and the kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has a richly carved, over-hanging balcony with three openings. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya. The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha comprising eight households with twenty nine initiated members with one elder. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha who live here. They do not observe an annual festival of the kwāpā-dya but do observe one in honour of the caitya on the dark night of the month of Jyeṣṭha and another one in honour of their āgam deity on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Baiśākh. The bāhā has no income.

The building of the shrine gives every appearance of being from the late Malla period, but the only dated piece in the courtyard is the torāṇa, dated N.S.1002. Nothing further is known about the history or foundation of this branch.

G. Twākewa Bāhā -- Amṛtakānti Vihāra [64]  
Om Bāhā Tole

The shrine of this bāhā, situated in a fairly large residential courtyard, has been renovated in recent times and lost much of its traditional style. The building is a typical Newar town house with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya on the ground floor. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa dated N.S.1042 which depicts what appears to be Mahā-amitābha flanked by two sword wielding Bhairavas. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Amitābha facing west. The first storey has five small, modern windows set together (instead of the five-fold window of one piece) and two larger lattice work windows. The top floor has living quarters, and the tile roof is surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

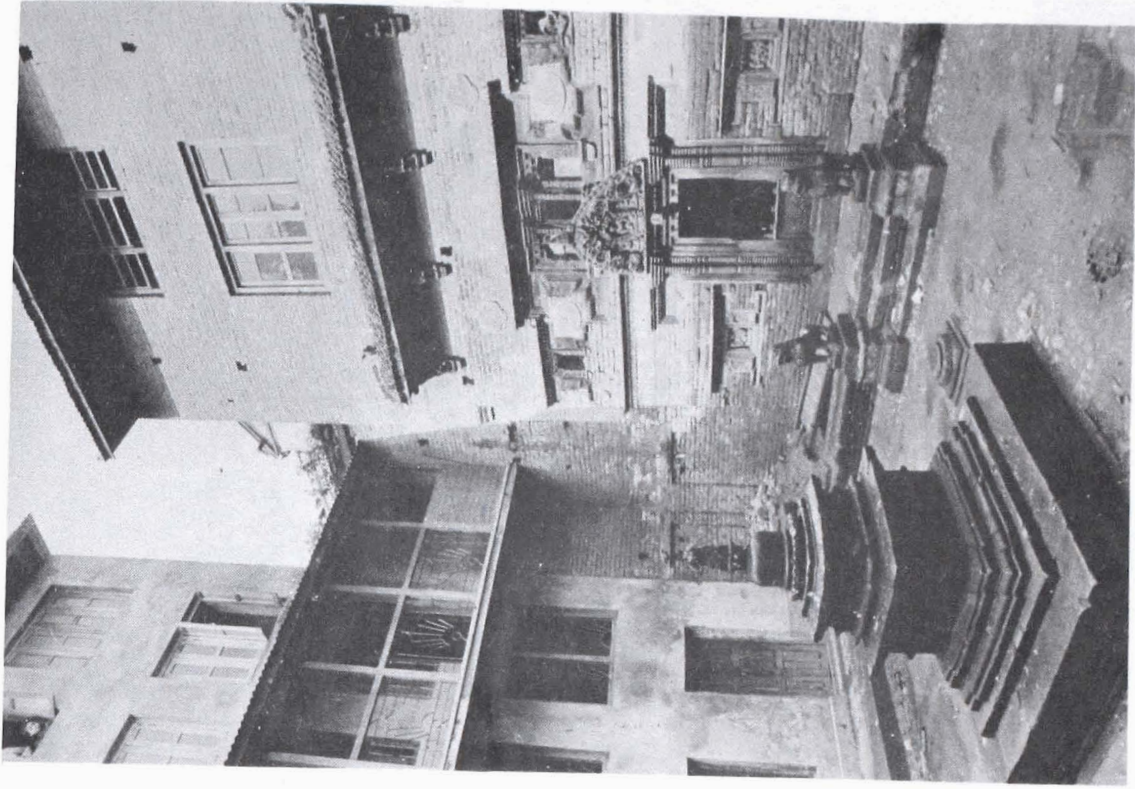
The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. The members of the one household of this lineage which actually lives here perform the usual rituals morning and evening. The saṅgha has one elder. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The branch has no income.

Nothing is known of the early history or foundation of this bāhā. It was evidently renovated in N.S.1042 when the torāṇa was erected.

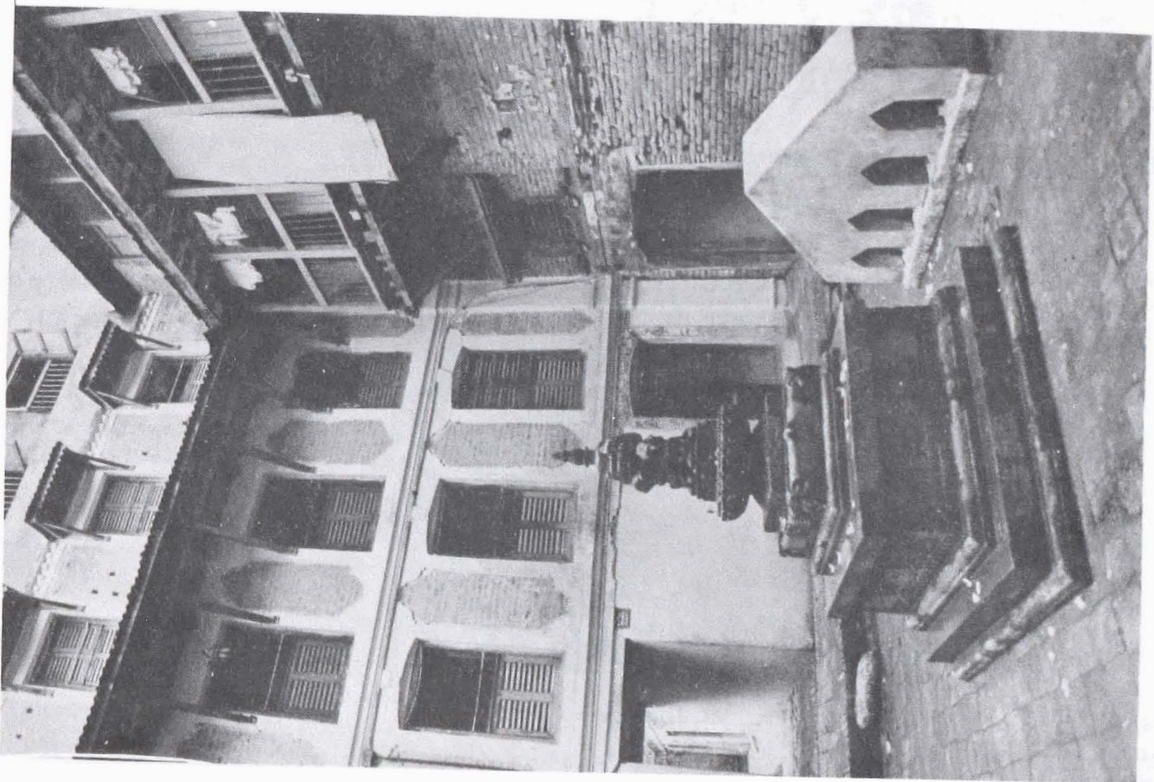
H. Nhū Cheñ Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra [63]  
Jor Ganesh

This very dilapidated bāhā shrine of two storeys is situated in a very small courtyard just off of Jor Ganesh. The shrine is unmarked and the ground floor is unornamented except for a row of prayer wheels. The plain door is flanked by two small windows and there is no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. Four





261. Puñché Bāhā [62]



260. Patnapur Baha [70]





262. Twākewa Bāhā [64]



263. Nhū Cheñ Bāhā [63]

struts of the pūjādevīs support the collapsing tile roof which is surmounted by three small gajūra. In the centre of the courtyard are two votive caityas and a stone maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha comprising thirteen households. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the members of this lineage who actually live here. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on Māghe Saṅkr-ānti. The saṅgha has one elder, but no income at the present time.

There are no dated inscription within this complex, and nothing is known about the history or foundation of the bāhā.

I. Wāku Bāhā -- Indrapuranagara Vihāra [61]  
Wa Tuñ Bāhā Jor Ganesh

All that remains of this bāhā is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which lies just off the main road giving the impression that the original courtyard was cut by the road. The ground floor of the shrine is a simple unadorned facade with a lattice door flanked by two smaller windows. There is no torāṇa, but a small image of the Buddha in dhyāna mudrā (Amitābha) is attached to the lintel. On either side of the doorway are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana dated N.S.1005. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a large triple window and is surmounted by a corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard is one late Malla caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed each day by the members of this lineage who actually live here. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the day of the Cā Bahī Gangāmai Jātrā, and the annual festival of the caitya is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Baisākh. The saṅgha has one elder but no income.

There are no inscriptions in the complex other than the date on the two images. Nothing else is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. KTMV gives the time of foundation as seventeenth century but gives no evidence for this.<sup>35</sup>

J. Mim Nanī Bāhā -- Nimha Nimha Vihāra\* [68]  
Nimanaka Vihāra Om Bāhā

This bāhā is situated in a large courtyard in Om Bāhā Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has preserved the traditional form, but it is in a sad state of disrepair. The ground floor has a plain lattice door surmounted by a wooden torāṇa dated N.S.1002 and showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The second storey has an overhanging balcony with three plain windows, and above this is another sort of dormer balcony which is open to the elements. The tile roof is surmounted by a single gajūra. In the courtyard is a single caitya and a Śiva lingam.

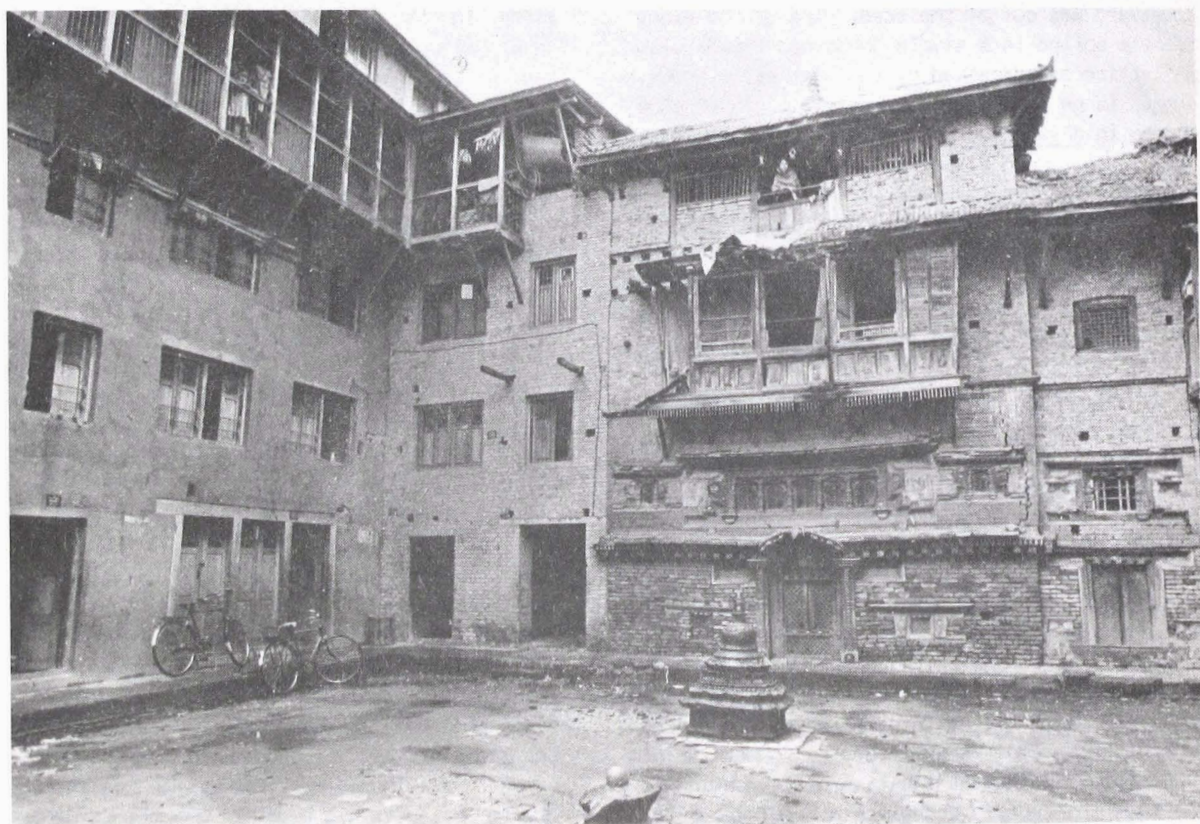
The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Bikamā Bāhā comprising two households. At the present time only one man, who lives in the courtyard behind, performs the usual rituals in this branch. The branch has one elder. They no longer observe an annual festival of this branch and the branch has no income.

This is a very old branch bāhā. The image of the kwāpā-dya is inscribed with the date N.S.548.<sup>36</sup> There are two other early copper-plate inscriptions at the bāhā. The first is dated N.S.616 and commemorates the consecration of an image in the āgam. The donors were Sri Rupasimha Pāla, his two wives and their sons and daughter.<sup>37</sup> The second inscription dated N.S.629 in the time of Ratna Malla commemorates donations made for the setting up of a gūṭhī for the annual pūjā of Sakyamuni on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Srāwan and for the annual worship of Heruka. The inscription says these two images of Sakyamuni and Heruka were installed in the Nihma Nihma Vihāra. This seems to be the original form of the Sanskrit name which is now usually given as Nimanaka Vihāra. The donors were Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Ojono Rāja Pāla, his brother Śrī Suo Pāla, and two other brothers Śrī Pamsuo Pāla and Śrī Kamalarāja Pāla in memory of the late Śākyabhikṣu Uhvaso Pāla and his brother Śākyabhikṣu Abhaya-simha Pāla.<sup>38</sup> Members of the Gubhā Bāhā [65]





264. Wāku Bāhā [61]



265. Mim Nani Bāhā [68]

saṅgha claim that this was the original site of their bāhā and they point to the existence of the Śiva Liṅgam in the courtyard as proof of this. Since they were brahmins they erected this Śiva Liṅgam. The people of Mim Nanī have denied this, and judging by the names on the above mentioned inscriptions it would seem that the site has been in the possession of the Palas of Bikamā Bāhā at least since N.S.548.

K. Bhwañ Bāhā — Bhvanta Vihāra\* [71]  
Om Bāhā Tole

At present Bhwañ Bāhā is a bāhā in ruins. The ruins are found in a vacant, overgrown plot of land behind several layers of other buildings in Om Bāhā Tole, and consist of three caityas on a cemented base and a plastered, free-standing shrine containing the kwāpā-dya, an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The site has evidently been abandoned for some time and ownership of the property is disputed. People from Bikamā Bāhā claim that it is their bāhā, and they in fact still perform the daily rituals. However, members of Gubhā Bāhā [65] claim that it is their property and that when it flourished it was a branch of their bāhā.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. Members of this lineage take turns performing the daily rituals here morning and evening. They no longer observe an annual festival here and the bāhā has no income.

There is one inscription set into the wall near the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is dated N.S.775 in the time of Pratāp Malla. KTMV claims that the bāhā was constructed in N.S.760 but gives no documentation for this.<sup>39</sup> The colophon of a manuscript copy of the Āryavasundharā Dhāraṇī, dated N.S.625 mentions that the manuscript was copied for one Heramayi the wife of Sakyabhikṣu Śrī Amrtapāla, their son Amrtapāra, and their fourth son Dharma Sīmha of the Bhvanta<sup>40</sup> Vihāra in Yanthalācche Tole in Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. This is almost surely Bhwañ Bāhā, and the connection to Bikamā Bāhā is confirmed by the surname Pāla of these people, a name frequently found among Sakyas of Bikamā Bāhā.

L. Tamuga Bāhā — Ratnakara Vihāra\* [39]  
Tamuga Galli

This bāhā consists of a kwāpā-dya shrine on

the ground floor of an ordinary and fairly modern house in a narrow courtyard in Tamu Galli. The entrance to the shrine is marked by an arch of oil lamps. Over the doorway is a metal repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway of the shrine are two double triangle banners and images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are two caityas, one of them bearing the date N.S.997.

This is a twelfth and fairly recently acquired branch of Bikamā Bāhā. The saṅgha consists of four households with a total of fifteen members. At the present time, though, only one household actually lives here and the members of this household perform the usual rituals morning and evening. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed any time during the month of Caitra. The saṅgha has one elder and no income.

This bāhā was originally a private branch of Sakyas of Itum Bāhā [44]. In the year A.D.1811 the property was bought by people from Bikamā Bāhā and the bāhā was thus 'captured' by Bikamā Bāhā. (In fact the people of Itum Bāhā still claim it as a branch of their bāhā.) There are two Malla period references to this bāhā. In the Mahāsiddha cave near Bālāju is a golden necklace donated to the deity there in N.S.607. The inscription on the necklace lists the donors among whom are Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Rupa-deva, Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jayasimhadeva and Śākyabhikṣu Punadeva all of Ratnakara Mahāvihāra in Tamaguri Tole.<sup>41</sup> These people were evidently of the Itum Bāhā saṅgha.

B. So Bāhā — Dharmadhātu Vihāra [77]  
Yangal Tole

The shrine of this bāhā which lies in an enclosed courtyard in Yangal-Manjeswari Tole, is in a very neglected state. The present building, which was renovated after the earthquake of 1934, is of three storeys and plastered; but much of the plaster is now crumbling. The shrine is marked by two stone lions. The lattice doorway is plain and has no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has three plain openings flanked by two small windows. The top





266. Bhwaṃ Bāhā [71]



267. Tamuga Bāhā [39]





268. So Bāhā [77]

storey, which is used as living quarters, has a crude wooden balcony and is surmounted by a tile roof with no ornamentation. There is one enshrined caitya in the courtyard and one other small votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of five families of Sakyas comprising twenty five initiated members who perform their Barechuyegu initiations here. It seems that at the present time most of the members of the saṅgha have moved away from the area of the bāhā and the daily rituals are performed morning and evening by one man who lives here. There is no annual festival of the bāhā but only of the caitya, on the sixth day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha. There is another pūjā for the entire saṅgha in Baisākḥ and one in Pauṣ, but both of these are poorly attended now. The saṅgha has a body of five elders and the lineage deity is the enshrined caitya at Vajrayogīni, Sankhu; but the deity has been 'brought' to the bāhā where the pūjā is now performed. The saṅgha is served by Vajracarya priests from Gubhā Bāhā [65].

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there is nothing in the courtyard that would suggest a great antiquity. There is only one inscription in the bāhā, but that is badly defaced that it is impossible to read it.

9. Ko Hitī Bāhā -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra [31]  
Ko Hiti Tole

The shrine of this bāhā which is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Ko Hiti Tole is a rather recent renovation consisting of three storeys. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa showing a standing, crowned Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with his right hand. Both hands hold the stems of lotuses. The kwā-pā-dya is a standing Buddha figure showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. The first storey of the shrine has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has a triple modern window and contains living quarters. The roof is of corrugated iron. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and painted white. In the courtyard are one caitya, a Siva linga, and images of Mahākāl and Gaṇesh.

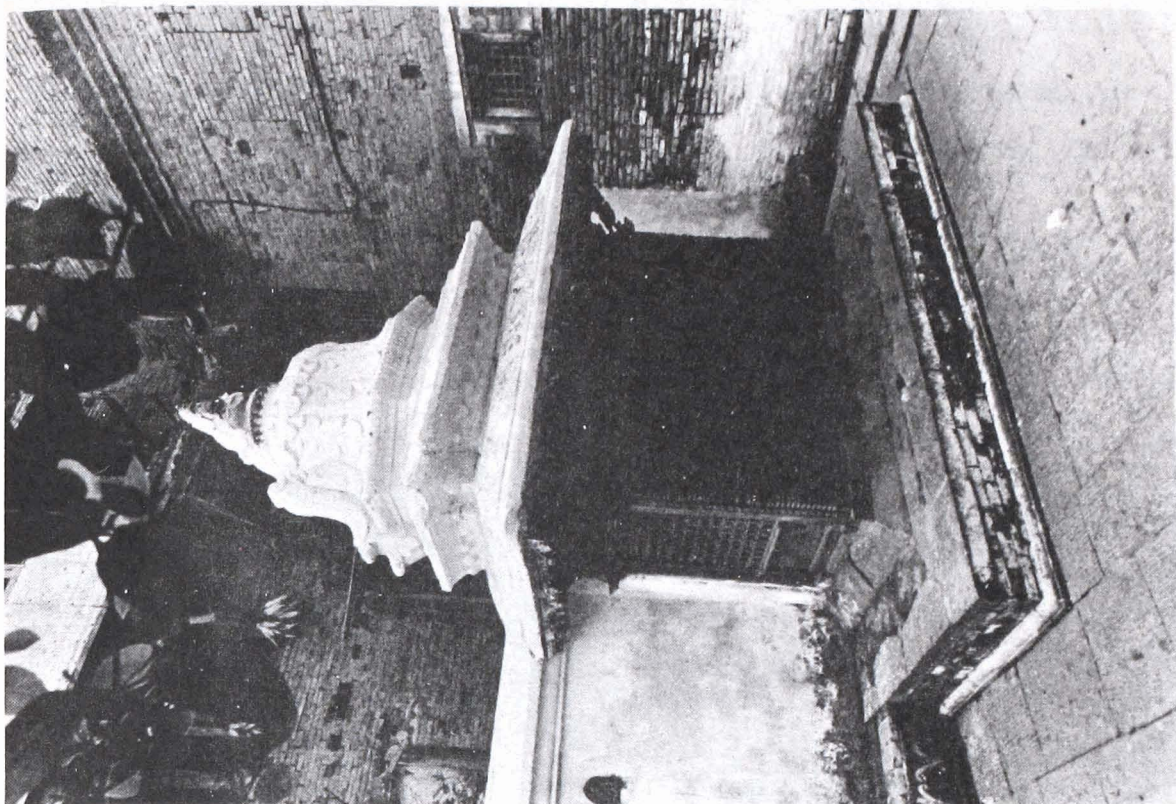
The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty

six families of Sakyas with a total of one hundred fifty initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine by turn. The term of service passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated, but nowadays many members do not take their turn in the shrine at all. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āśvin, but there is no longer a feast for the entire saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā Mahādya, but they identify the deity worshipped as Yogāmbara, an identification that would make more sense than Dumjā Mahādya=Siva, the usual identity given for this deity. The bāhā has no income.

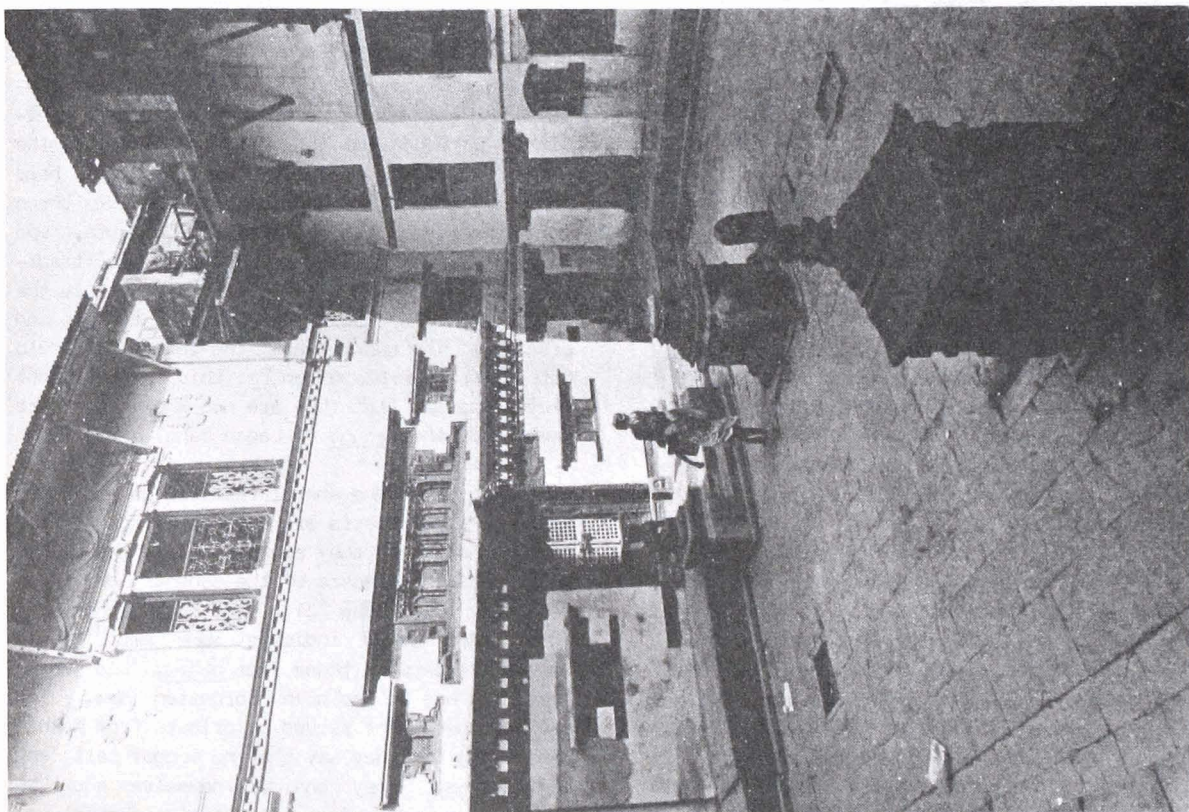
Several informants identified this bāhā as a branch of Lagañ Bāhā [80], but this is incorrect. The false impression comes from the fact that it was until recent times the custom for five Sakyas from Lagañ Bāhā to come to Kohiti Bāhā to preside at all initiations. However, both the people from Lagañ Bāhā and the members of this saṅgha agree that they were never members of the Lagañ Bāhā saṅgha. Informants at Ko Hiti Bāhā say that they came to Kathmandu from one of the outlying villages several generations ago. They had come at the request of the king of Kathmandu, probably because of some specialized skill which the community possessed. When they first came to Kathmandu they remained members of their bāhā in the village and used to return there for initiations. As this proved to be inconvenient it was arranged (through the offices of the Ācārya Gūṭhī?) for them to hold initiations here at Kohitī Bāhā with five Sakya elders of Lagañ Bāhā in attendance to validate the initiations. However, from the beginning they formed a separate saṅgha and never had the right to enter the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at Lagañ Bāhā. The informants have no recollection of where their original village was, but some speculated that it was actually Kirtipur. This seems unlikely as their lineage deity, Dumjā Mahādya, is not the lineage deity of any bāhā saṅgha in Kirtipur. It seems more likely that they came from some village in the eastern part of the Valley.

Nothing is known about the date of foundation of this bāhā. There is one damaged and illegible Malla period inscription in the courtyard and one other inscription dated N.S.1040 at





270. Ko Hitī Kacā Bāhā [32]



269. Ko Hitī Bāhā [31]



which time renovations were carried out.

A. Ko Hitī Kacā Bāhā -- [32]  
Ko Hitī Tole

Ko Hitī Kacā Bāhā is typical of the 'modern' bāhā often found in Patan. The shrine is a small brick and stucco affair set against the wall of a sort of passageway leading from Ko Hitī Bāhā to another large house behind. The small shrine contains three images: one of Akṣobhya in the centre flanked by Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara on the right and Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara on the left. The shrine has a small lattice door surmounted by a small wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is the image of Akṣobhya facing west. This shrine was set up some time within the past hundred years (no one knows for sure and there are no inscriptions) as a purely private shrine of one of the families of Ko Hitī Bāhā. It is a bāhā in the sense that it has a kwāpā-dya, duly consecrated as such, and it has a saṅgha, i.e. the family who founded it and still serve as dya-pālās in the shrine. No informant was able to give a Sanskrit name for this private branch.

10. Yatā Bāhā -- Kīrtipunya Bhūvana Sundara Vihāra [86]  
Gophal Tole

The shrine of the kwāpā-dya in this courtyard in Gophal Tole is an unadorned single room on the ground floor of an ordinary Newar 'town house'. The present building dates from some time after the earthquake of 1934 when the original buildings of the complex were destroyed. The shrine is marked by two guardian lions and a carved doorway surmounted by torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. There is one large plastered caitya and one small votive caitya in the courtyard.

The status of this bāhā and its saṅgha is one of the most confusing of all the bāhās. This is often listed as one of the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, and when I first visited the site I was given the same information by Vajracaryas who live here and who insisted that their bāhā was one of the eighteen. In reply to further questions they said that their initiations were, however, performed at Musūm

Bāhā [89] because their āgam was situated there. Despite this they insisted that Yatā Bāhā was a main bāhā (of the Ācārya Gūṭhī). Others said that it is not a main bāhā at all since initiations are never performed here; it is in fact a branch of Musūm Bāhā [89]. Others said it is a branch of Lagañ Bāhā [80]. All of this finally proved to be incorrect. There are some twenty nine initiated Vajracaryas living in this complex, but they clearly belong to Musūm Bāhā. Their initiations are performed in Musūm Bāhā and they have no rights or duties in regard to the kwāpā-dya of this shrine. In fact they have moved to this place in fairly recent times, perhaps when their original homes were destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of two Sakyas who were initiated in this bāhā and who serve as the dya-pālās by turn. According to their information, this bāhā has always been a Sakya bāhā, but the original saṅgha died out entirely. When the last man of the original saṅgha died the bāhā and all its right and duties passed to a nephew--a son of the last surviving member's sister and hence not a man of the original lineage. The present two Sakyas are descendants of this nephew. They do not remember which bāhā their ancestors came from. Their lineage deity is a nameless deity kept in the compound, but they have no recollection of its origin. There have been no Barechuyegu initiations since these two men were initiated in A.D.1941 (which contributed to the confusion about whether initiations are held here or not). However, there are now three young men, sons of the present incumbents, who will soon be initiated to carry on the tradition. At the time of the Barechuyegu it is the custom for the elders of Lagañ Bāhā to come and preside at the ceremonies. The informants could not give any explanation for this custom, but they insisted that they are not and never were members of the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā.

At present the annual festival is no longer held. Ritual feasts are held at irregular intervals and when they are held it is the custom to invite the members of the saṅghas of Lagañ Bāhā, Ko Hitī Bāhā [31], and Kusāñ Bāhā [27]. This fact would indicate some sort of a connection between these four bāhās, but whatever it was it has been forgotten now. The saṅgha used to be served by priests from Makhañ Bāhā [42] but they say they no longer call any Vajracaryas. They consider themselves equal to Vajracaryas and perform all rituals themselves.

There are no inscriptions within the courtyard at the present time. KTMV claims that the bāhā was built in A.D.1736 by one Śākyabhikṣu Surjachuling but gives no evidence for the statement.<sup>42</sup>







## The Bahis of Kathmandu

As in Patan so in Kathmandu the bahīs are not nearly as active as the bāhās. Many of the bahī saṅghas have died out altogether, and none of them are large. Except for Makhañ Bahī whose buildings have been renovated and kept in a good state of repair, none of the bahīs are in good physical shape, some of them have disappeared altogether. There are theoretically sixteen bahīs in Kathmandu. I say theoretically because four sites have disappeared altogether, and some of the others actually have no saṅgha any more. Yet there is a sense in which they still exist. When a saṅgha dies out the rights and privileges of the saṅgha are taken over by another saṅgha. If the bahī complex still exists they go there to perform the usual rituals and they claim any property (bahī property or agricultural lands of the bahī gūthī) as their own. At all common meetings and feasts of the bahīs they claim an extra place as a representative of the defunct saṅgha. Though all of these bahīs were main bahīs in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations were performed there, and are usually still performed there if the saṅgha still exists, the members of all of the bahīs comprise one overall community (sarva saṅgha). The head of this overall community (the sthavira) is always the eldest member of the saṅgha of Makhañ Bahī. At all initiations at the bahīs the five eldest of this overall community must attend to validate initiations; and there is an overall governing body of the Sixteen Bahīs composed of these five men plus the eldest member of each individual bahī saṅgha. Most of the individual bahīs have only this one elder instead of the usual five, ten or twelve. This body of elders of the Sixteen Bahīs must also ensure the continuity of worship in bahī shrines where the saṅgha has died out or its members moved away. With the continually decreasing membership of the bahī saṅghas, this has been a problem more than once as will be seen from the following accounts.

The committee must also pass judgment on questions of disputed ownership of bahī property and bahī rights. As in Patan the bahīs are not served by regular Vajracaryas but by priests from a bahī, though individual families may call a Vajracarya for family and other rituals. In this case the bahī priests are from Makhañ Bahī whose members receive the Ācālyegu and function as priests for the members of the bahīs but are not permitted to act as priests for others and are not members of the Ācārya Gūthī. Unlike Patan, there is no evidence of the members of the bahī saṅghas being called Brahmacharya Bhikṣu. They are simply Sakya or Sakyabhikṣu.

### 1. Makhañ Bahī — Rājakṛta Mahāvihāra [43] Makhañ Tole

Makhañ Bahī is situated in a small enclosed courtyard just off of Makhañ Tole. The present complex is a modern construction, built after the earthquake of 1934. Only the shrine itself remains, all the other buildings of the complex are ordinary houses. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and a pair of double-triangle, metal flags. The door of the shrine is situated at the back of a covered veranda. The carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torāṇa, the principal figure of which is Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara flanked by two attendants. Above are four of the transcendent Buddhas in their ordinary, non-tantric form, i.e. all but Vairocana. The kuāpā-dya is a standing Buddha image showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā and facing north. The deity is usually called 'Devāvatāra'. On either side of the shrine is an open space, now screened with metal grillwork, which evidently marked the circumambulation passageway, but is now a store-room for sports equipment and other merchandise.

The first storey is entirely screened with modern, unornamented wooden lattice-work. The top storey, which has an open veranda comprises living quarters. Above the corrugated iron roof is a small, square cupola, a modern adaptation of the typical bahī cupola. To the right of the entrance is one large temple bell and in the courtyard are eight votive caityas, none of great antiquity.

The saṅgha of this bahī now consists of six households comprising fifty initiated members. These people are by initiation Vajracaryas but called Sakya or Bauddhacarya 'because there are no Vajracaryas in the bahī saṅghas.' This explanation, provided by Vajracaryas, gives a perfect example of the closed shop domination of the Ācārya Gūṭhī and the general prejudice of people of the bāhā saṅghas that the members of a bahī saṅgha are somehow lower than those of a bāhā. Some will say that these people are not Vajracaryas and cannot have other clients because there is a further initiation required by a Vajracarya before he can function as a priest. This begs the question. They cannot receive this initiation because they are not members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī and they cannot be members of the Ācārya Gūṭhī because they belong to a bahī. The fact is that they do receive the Ācāluyegu and function as priests for the sarva-saṅgha of the Sixteen Bahīs. Despite this, individual families may call a Vajracarya of the Ācārya Gūṭhī for private family rituals.

The right of initiation as Vajracaryas and the consequent right of functioning as priests for the bahī saṅghas originally belonged to Dugañ Bahī [22]. According to Yoga Siddhi Sakya, the aged elder of Makhañ Bahī, the Makhañ Bahī people acquired this right about three hundred years ago. Nine generations ago Yoga Siddhi's ancestor, whose name was Jñāna Siddhi, acquired the title Layjyū because he held some important post at the Hanūmān Dhokā Palace. His grandson, Dhana Siddhi known as Pām Layjyū, was the first to receive the ordination of a Vajracarya. This came about because the people of Dugañ Bahī, which had been a prosperous foundation, had fallen on hard times and were unable to afford the Vajracarya initiation. Pām Layjyū accordingly went to Dugañ Bahī, financed the ceremony and received the Ācāluyegu from a Dugañ Bahī 'Vajracarya'. When the last of the 'Vajracaryas' of Dugañ Bahī died Pām Layjyū and his descendants took up the office of priests

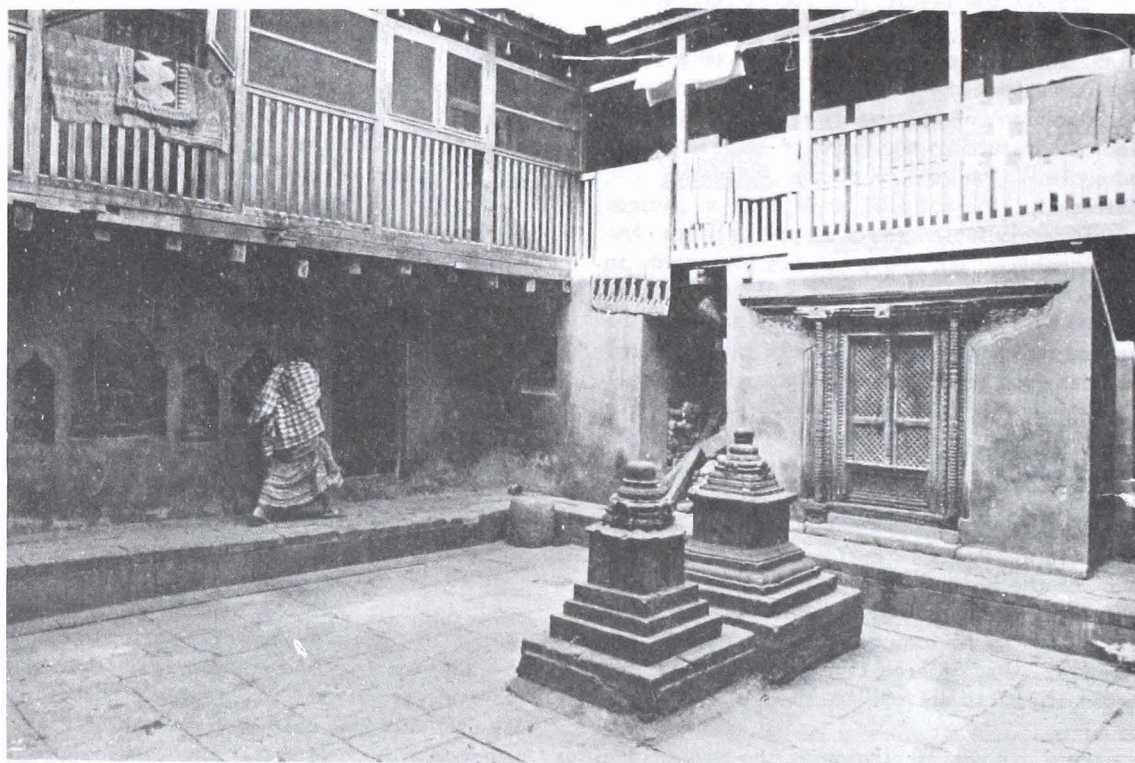
for the sarva-saṅgha of the sixteen bahīs. As a result of this, Makhañ Bahī became the foremost of the bahīs and its elder became the head of the sarva-saṅgha. Before this time Dugañ Bahī was considered to be the foremost of the bahīs, and the elders of Dugañ Bahī had to attend all initiations in the bahīs. The whole story, and the insistence that the members of the bahī saṅghas have Vajracarya priests, is, of course, reminiscent of what Wright's chronicle records of the events in Patan. There the use of Vajracarya priests was imposed on the people of the bahīs because the king felt it was necessary to have some priest (Buddhist or Hindu) who could perform the homa ritual and thereby remove death pollution after the death of a member of the family of the saṅgha.

The members of the saṅgha of Makhañ Bahī are still given both the Barechuyegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations and they still function as the priests of the bahīs. Furthermore, the elder of this bahī is considered to be the head of the loosely connected organisation of all the bahīs. His function seems to be limited primarily to the problem of ensuring continuity of worship in bahīs where the saṅgha has died out or the members have moved away. He must also be present at all initiations in the bahīs and he also passes on questions of disputed ownership of bahī property and disputed bahī rights.

The usual rituals are performed by the members of the saṅgha in turn. The term of service lasts for one month and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. There used to be two annual festivals for the members of the saṅgha, one in the month of Baisākh (on Akṣayatrītiyā) and the other on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Pauṣ, but both of these have now been discontinued. The only feast for the entire saṅgha is held at the time of initiations. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an unnamed deity which is kept at the bahī and worshipped there. The saṅgha of Makhañ Bahī is more prosperous than the saṅghas of the other bahīs, a fact which is shown by the way this bahī has been continually renovated up to the present time. Though the traditional architectural features have been lost, the entire complex is in an excellent state of repair. At one time the bahī had a considerable income, but this has dwindled to only three murīs of paddy. At the time of Guṇlā, hymns are recited. There also used to be a rather elaborate display of



272. Makhañ Bahī [43]



273. Syaṅgu Bahī [94]



images at the time of the 'showing of the gods', but this has stopped as people no longer bring their images for display. Inside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, in addition to the image of the kwāpā-dya, are also one image of Vairocana, one of Amitābha and images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

Beyond the story recounted above which tells the history of the 'Vajracaryas' of this bahī, nothing is known of its history. the only inscriptions in the compound are quite late: two dated N.S.949 and one dated N.S.950 both of which tell of repairs and donations. There seems little doubt that this is an ancient foundation, but all traces of earlier buildings and inscriptions have been lost in recent renovations.

## 2. Syaṅgu Bahī -- Jyotikīrti Mahāvihāra\* [94] Swayambhūnāth

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard directly to the west of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The present buildings around the courtyard are all the result of a recent renovation. A few years ago the original buildings had fallen into disrepair and the Swayambhū Bikāś Maṇḍal undertook the repair of the building with the intention of setting up a library of Buddhist literature in the front of the renovated quadrangle. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya was repaired in the original style with a passage for circumambulation round the cella where the deity resides, but the whole was plastered in plain cement. Over the doorway of the shrine used to be a damaged wooden torāṇa showing the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form. This has now been removed and is in the small museum near the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In addition to the image of the kwāpā-dya the following images are also housed in the shrine: Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara, Saptalocana Tārā, Triratna Mūrtī (i.e. a combined image of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), and Ārya Tārā. In the courtyard are two votive caityas and the following images: Dharmacakra Lokeśvara, Prajñāpāramitā, Saptalocana Tārā, Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara, Mañśjuśrī.

There is an inscription at the base of the image of the kwāpā-dya which gives the following information: the bahī was built in N.S.513 by

one Jyoti Rāj of Maru Tole and the complex turned over to one Śākyaabhikṣu Śrīmadhanjū of Itum Bāhā [44] in Kathmandu to ensure that the regular rituals would be performed. Whether this was an entirely new foundation or whether it was an old foundation that had fallen into disrepair, had no saṅgha and was revived by this donation is not known. However, it is clear that the descendants of this Madhanjū constituted the saṅgha of this bahī and that since that time there has been a close link between this foundation and Itum Bāhā itself. Itum Bāhā has always claimed certain rights over this foundation. This link to Itum Bāhā is evidently the source of the Sanskrit name which Mary<sub>3</sub> Slusser gives for this bahī: Keśacandra Bahī. and the legend which Hem Rāj Sakya recounts of the foundation of this bahī by the legendary founder of Itum Bāhā, Keśavacandra.<sup>4</sup>

Three generations ago the original saṅgha was reduced to one man who then adopted a boy from Itum Bāhā, had him initiated in Syaṅgu Bahī and thus ensured the continuation of the saṅgha. However, the adopted son in his turn had his own sons and grandsons initiated in Itum Bāhā. This man, Dharmaratna Sakya, is now the only surviving member of the saṅgha. The elders of the saṅgha of the sixteen bahīs have refused to recognise this man's sons and grandsons as lawfully initiated members of a bahī saṅgha. Hence they have ruled that they have no right to the bahī property or the privileges of the members of a bahī, i.e. the right to act as dya-pālās in this shrine. The man appealed the case, but the elders ruled that those initiated in a bāhā cannot be considered members of a bahī saṅgha. He offered to have them re-initiated in Syaṅgu Bahī, but they ruled that the Barechuyegu initiation cannot be repeated. The whole incident appears to be a reaction by the bahī sarva-saṅgha to the control and pretensions of the Ācārya Gūṭhī who have always looked down on members of the bahīs as of lower status. As a result of this ruling, when the present incumbent dies it will be up to the elders and the thāyapā of Makhañ Bahī to decide who will succeed to the rights and the property of Syaṅgu Bahī. The present incumbent performs the usual rituals morning and evening, but the annual festival which used to take place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣ, has now been discontinued. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is the same as that of Itum Bāhā, i.e. 'Vajrayoginī' of Sankhu worshipped at Itum

Bāhā. The bahī no longer has any income.

3. Na Bahī -- Udyotakīrti Mahāvihāra\* [59]  
Na Bahī Tole

This is one of the few bahīs of Kathmandu to retain the characteristic style of the bahī architecture with a continuous building of two storeys right round the quadrangle. The ground floor has open halls and the upper storey the usual lattice-work balcony. The upper storey is supported by short, well-carved struts. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a separate cella placed so that it is possible to circumambulate it. At the entrance to the shrine are two small lions, the door of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torana of the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The torana is dated N.S.790. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Inside of the shrine are also images of the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, Mahākāl and Hanūmān. In the courtyard are one 'Licchavi' caitya and two other votive caityas. Above the shrine itself is a two-storied pagoda style tower, an unusual feature for a bahī which usually has a small cupola of one roof.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of only two initiated Sakyas. This saṅgha and the saṅghas of Nhāyakaṇ Bahī [84] and Cwākaṇ Bahī [85] are closely related, but the origin of this connection has been forgotten by the present incumbents. Informants say that at the present time there are three separate saṅghas at these three bahīs, but initiations are performed for all three communities here at Na Bahī. No initiations are now performed at either Nhāyakan Bahī or Cwākaṇ Bahī. Furthermore, for six months of the year the people from Nhāyakaṇ Bahī act as dya pālās here at Na Bahī, and all three saṅghas have the same lineage deity, 'Vajrayoginī'. At Na Bāhā this deity is worshipped at a shrine within the bahī where the deity was 'brought' from Cwākaṇ Bahī. The people at Nhāyakaṇ Bahī also say that their 'Vajrayoginī' was 'brought' from Cwākaṇ Bahī, but the Cwākaṇ Bahī people say theirs was 'brought' from Na Bahī! No one was able to explain this apparent anomaly, but it probably came about through the 'capture' of an abandoned site by another saṅgha after the disappearance of the original saṅgha. Though informants claimed that Na Bahī is the oldest of the three bahīs (some say the oldest in Kathmandu), this is contradicted by the evi-

dence of inscriptions. The traditional rituals are now performed each morning and evening for six months of the year by the two Sakyas who live here and for six months by the people of Nhāyakaṇ Bahī. With the decrease in the number of the saṅgha most of the other traditional observances have disappeared. The annual festival is no longer held; the only feast is at the time of initiations and this is a feast of all sixteen bahīs. Formerly hymns used to be recited during the month of Guṇlā but this has been discontinued. The saṅgha has one elder. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' only their image of Dīpaṅkara is put on display, though this saṅgha once possessed quite a treasure of other images.

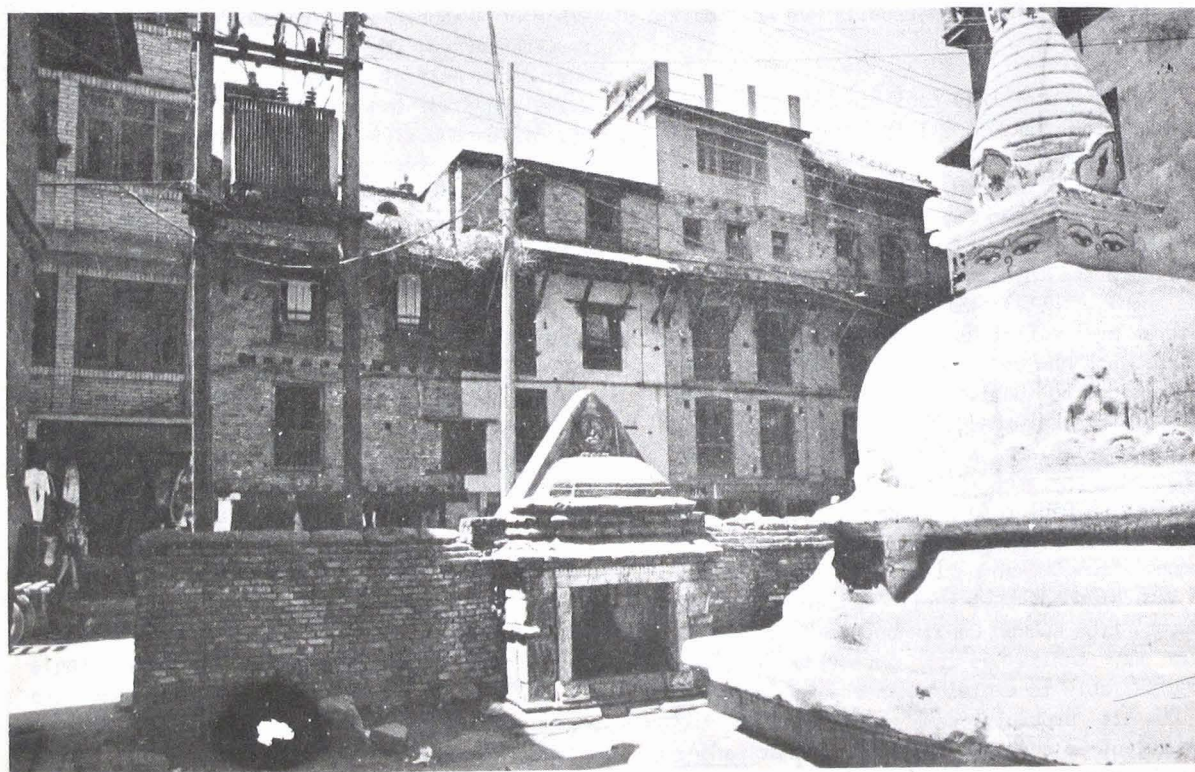
The earliest dated reference to this bahī comes from a copper-plate inscription attached to the front of the shrine and dated N.S.631. This inscription commemorates the construction of a bahī building. On Saturday, the fullmoon day in N.S.628 the foundation was laid and on Friday the fifth day of the month the doorway was installed and consecrated. In 629 a golden image of Akṣobhya and a golden image of Dīpaṅkara were set up. On Saturday the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Mārga in 631 a great yajña was begun. On the ninth the images of Śrī Gandhulī (Akṣobhya), Śrī Dīpaṅkara and Śrī Saṃvara were consecrated. The yajña was completed on the tenth day of the fortnight. The main officiating priest at this ceremony was one Vajracārya Śrī Jīvahaṛṣajū of Sūryacandra Mahāvihāra. The upādhyāya was Vajracārya Jīvacandra of Maṇisaṅgha Vihāra. The donors were Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jyotiraja Pāla, his mother Ulāsa Lakṣmī, his wife Abhaya Lakṣmī, his brother Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Sutra Pāla, Bhikṣu Śrī Kamalaja Pāla, and his mother Śrī Asulalakṣmī, all of Mañjuśrīnaka Vihāra (Bikamā Bāhā). The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the vihāra: Sri Udyotakīrti Vihāra; and several times the foundation is referred to as a bahī, the original form of the current word bahī. The torana is dated N.S.790.

A. Na Bahicā -- Dharmodhyāyana Vihāra [60]  
Na Bahī Tole

At present this shrine is simply a stūpa surrounded by a low wall enclosing a small area which also contains a free standing plastered shrine of Akṣobhya. This is situated just outside Na Bahī. Whether this complex was ever



274. Na Bahī [59]



275. Na Bahicā [60]



architecturally a bahī with surrounding buildings is impossible to say at the present time, but it is included in the bāhās to be visited at the time of the bāhā pūjā, it has a kwāpā-dya shrine and informants claim that it was a branch of Na Bahī. The Neweri name means simply 'Little Na Bahī'. According to an inscription from the time of Mahendrasīmha Malla dated N.S.841 the stūpa was repaired at that time by one Śākyabhiṣku Śrī Cittamuni of Cikamagul[r]i Tole. At the present time there is no separate saṅgha or lineage to whom this shrine belongs. The daily pūjā is performed by the current dya-pālā of Na Bahī.

4. Nhāykan Bahī -- Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra\* [84]  
Lagañ Tole

Nhāykan Bahī is an ancient bahī complex situated in Lagañ Tole across the open space from Lagañ Bāhā [80]. The area of the bahī has been preserved, but no part of the original bahī buildings remain. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a fairly recently renovated structure, probably done in A.D.1888. The whole shrine, except for the cupola on the top is done in the bāhā style rather than the bahī style. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two metal lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a unique wooden torana. The central figure is a standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. Directly above him is an image of Amitābha and above this is a figure of Vairocana. The three are surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas, tantric Buddhist deities and siddhas. The torana bears no date, but the condition of the wood and the carving would indicate a fairly recent date, not more than 100 to 150 years old. The kwāpā-dya is a small standing Buddha image showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā and facing west. On either side of the door of the shrine are two small windows. The first storey has five windows in a row flanked by two tiny windows. The top storey has an unornamented triple opening and comprises living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a typical bahī cupola.

There are three caityas in the courtyard, one of which is absolutely unique: This is a sort of elongated caitya with the four Buddhas mounted on their vehicles, but the iconography is one of the strangest things found anywhere in the bāhās. To the west is Amitābha seated on a peacock; to the north is a figure seated on a garuḍa which should be Amoghasiddhi but is not a

Buddhist figure at all. It is Viṣṇu with the usual four emblems in his four hands: the lotus, wheel, club, and conch shell. To the east is a seated Buddha figure riding on an elephant but showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā instead of the earth touching gesture of Akṣobhya. To the south is a figure seated on a horse which should be Ratnasambhava, but is a Buddha figure made into Siva holding the trident and damaru. This is a fairly recent piece, certainly erected during the Rana period when, according to informants, it was forbidden to build a true Buddhist caitya, it had to be Hinduised, which usually meant placing the caitya on a jaldronī replicating the jaldronī (=yoni) of a Śiva liṅgam. With this image somebody got a bit carried away. In front of this caitya is a pillar mounted bronze image of Mañjuśrī and two other deities surrounded by nāgas, the whole representing the Valley filled with water and being drained by Mañjuśrī.

The saṅgha of this bahī now consists of only two families with only three initiated members. Though the members insist that this is an entirely independent saṅgha, they now perform their Barechuyegu initiations at Na Bahī [59] rather than here and serve for six months of the year as dya-pālās in the Na Bahī shrine. They claim that originally they performed their initiations here, but with the diminishing numbers it has become uneconomical for them to do so, hence they have joined forces with the small saṅgha of Na Bahī. It would also seem that the present saṅgha of Na Bahī came from here, perhaps after the original saṅgha died out. These two bahīs plus Cwākañ Bahī [85] are closely connected, all of the saṅghas having the same lineage deity. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals here morning and evening. The term of service is an entire year. The annual festival is no longer held, since there is no income to support it. At the time of Guñlā there used to be several observances, but they have all been dropped except the offering of one homa pūjā. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' they still show an image of Mahākāl and one of Hanūmān. Informants claim that originally this bahī had a great treasure of images and texts, but these have all disappeared in the past few years. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayoginī' now worshipped at this site, but 'brought', according to informants, from Na Bahī and ultimately from Sankhu.



276. Nāyaka Bahī [84]



277. Cwāka Bahī [85]

There are several copper-plate inscriptions attached to the front of the doorway of the shrine, the oldest of which is dated N.S.508 in the time of Jaya Sthitirāja Malla. At this time one Mānacandra, at the command of his father, had a lakṣya homa performed and had the image of the Buddha seated in vajrāsana consecrated and installed in the Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra. He also had a three-storied wooden temple built and consecrated, with a lakṣya homa and then had an image of Śrī Heruka Devatā installed there. Above this temple he installed a banner and five golden finial. For the benefit of all living beings Mānacandra, the son of Śrī Saṅgacandra of the Sakya lineage, his brother Harṣarām and his son Jñānacandra, being devout Buddhists spent the money which they had earned, to set up and consecrate this golden image of Gandhulī Bhaṭṭā, raka Buddha in the temple of Lagan Vihāra. Later inscriptions speak of further donations and repairs. In N.S.835 a Sākyabhikṣu of 'Śrī Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra' offered and consecrated an image of Akṣobhya in 'Kothu Bahīri in R[L]agan'.<sup>8</sup> In N.S.1008 a gūṭhī was established for the upkeep of the bahī; the endowment consisted of twenty five ropanis of land. This income has now been entirely lost.

5. Cwākañ Bahī -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra\* [85]  
Kothu Bahī Lagañ Tole

All that is left of this bahī complex is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is situated in the corner of a truncated courtyard behind Nhā-ykañ Bahī. The ground floor shrine has a veranda in front of the shrine door, and this is now enclosed with a lattice screen and a door. In front of this door are two small stone lions. The most striking feature of the entrance is a stone toraṇa which is not just a fixture above the door but rather a complete arch rising from the ground and extending right round the entire doorway. The central figure of this toraṇa is Harihariharihari-vāhana-lokeśvara, i.e. Lokeśvara riding on the four Haris: the snake, the lion, the garuḍa and Viṣṇu. Lokeśvara is surmounted by a figure of Akṣobhya, a strange addition as Lokeśvara is always associated with Amitābha and not Akṣobhya. The other figures are an assortment of tantric deities and bodhi-sattvas. The doorway to the shrine itself is at the back of the veranda and unornamented. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

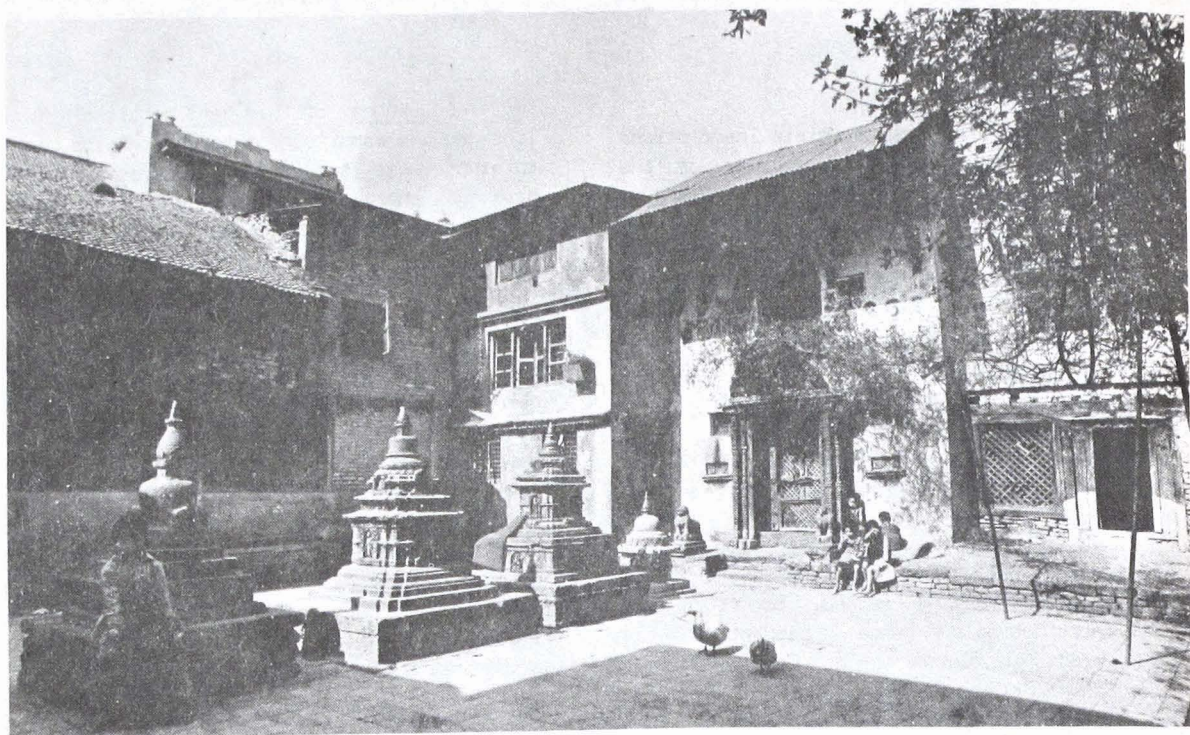
The saṅgha of this bahī consists of two lineages now comprising three households with a total of twenty two initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha act as dya-pālās in the shrine by turns, one year each for the two lineages. The annual festival is no longer held. Initiations are no longer performed here, but in Na Bahī. Informants, however, insisted that this is an entirely independent saṅgha and that Barechuyegu initiations used to be held here. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayogini' now worshipped here but 'brought' here from Na Bahī and ultimately from Sankhu. The saṅgha has one elder. Income of four muris of paddy still comes from the land which the bahī gūṭhī possesses. There used to be quite a program of observances here during Guñlā but that has all been discontinued. There are two images of Lokeśvara and other bits and pieces inside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, but nothing is exhibited now at the time of the 'showing of the gods.'

There are no old inscriptions at this site, and nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī, other than the tradition that the lineage deity came from Na Bahī and hence it is logical to assume that this was originally an off-shoot of Na Bahī.

6. Maru Bahī -- Śākyakeṭu Mahāvihāra [35]  
Maru Tole

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard surrounded by houses and located just behind the public water tap (Maru Hitī) in Maru Tole. Three sides of the quadrangle still exist, but the architectural features of the bahī have given way to a continuous two-storied building adapted for living quarters. The changed architecture dates to renovations after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a narrow, two-storied section of this building. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions and the carved doorway is flanked two small windows and surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting Mahāvairocana surrounded by the other transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form. The torāṇa is dated N.S.802. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā facing east. Above the shrine door is a single large opening covered with lattice work. The corrugated iron roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are five votive caityas. There is little agreement





278. Maru Bahi [35]



279. Khusi Bahi [92]

about the proper Sanskrit name of this bahī. Some informants said the name was Dharmaketu. Mary Slusser gives the names Dharmacakra or Dharma Śrī and Ratna Kāji Vajracarya gives the name Sakyaketu. The members of the saṅgha say they still have some old books the colophons of which, they say, give the Sanskrit name as Śākyaketu Mahāvihāra, and this seems to be the correct name. However, it was impossible to check these manuscripts.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists now of four lineages comprising thirteen initiated Sakyas. The daily worship is performed morning and evening for seven months of the year by the members of this saṅgha and for five months of the year by the members of the Khusī Bahī [92] saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes through the lineages of the saṅgha in turn. Theoretically the current dya-pālā of this bahī must also perform the daily rituals at Gaṇa Bahī [25] whose saṅgha has completely died out. (This is the information given by the members of the saṅgha, and until a few years ago it was true in the sense they they performed pūjā to an image of the Buddha brought from Gaṇa Bahī after the buildings had burned down. Until recently they used to bring the image back to Gaṇa Bahī once a year to worship it at its original site.)

The annual festival is still held here on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. A feast for the entire saṅgha is also held at the time of Barechuyegu initiations. However, this feast has been considerably simplified. Originally whenever there was a feast at Maru Bahī, each of the participants, who included not only the members of this saṅgha but also ten of the 'Vajracaryas' from Makhañ Bahī (plus their families), had to be provided with the following: four mānās of flattened rice, two mānās of rice, a large quantity of ground meat, fried meat, cooking oil and a variety of spices and vegetables. Some twenty years ago one of the members of the saṅgha found when his turn to sponsor the feast came round that to provide this would in fact bankrupt him, so he appealed for some modification. Finally it was decided that the following would suffice: 1/4 mānā of flattened rice, two pieces of meat and quantities of the rest in the same proportion. This has remained the custom up to the present time. This provides a good example of the deterioration of traditional customs at the bāhās resulting from economic constraints.

During the month of Guṇlā they still recite hymns. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' the members of this saṅgha plus people from Sikhamu Bāhā [55] and Khusī Bahī bring images to display. However, this display has diminished considerably in recent years. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of this saṅgha and also for that of Khusī Bahī. This fact plus the arrangement whereby the people from Khusī Bahī come here to perform the daily rituals for five months of the year would indicate a close relationship between these bahīs. One is immediately tempted to conclude that one of these two must be an offshoot of the other, but the two saṅghas claim that they are entirely independent, and their lineage deities are different. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is 'Dharmaketu' who is worshipped at this bahī. They claim the deity has always resided here; if he was 'brought' from some other place this has been forgotten. The saṅgha has one elder. This bahī still has annual income of ten murīs of paddy.

Though Maru Bahī is probably an ancient foundation, the present buildings are very late, and the earliest inscription in the complex is that on the torana dated N.S.802. This date probably marks a major renovation, but at this time there are no datable remains from an earlier period.

#### 7. Khusī Bahī -- Nadisaṅgam Mahāvihāra [92] Tāhāchal

This bahī is situated outside the confines of the old city of Kathmandu across the Viṣṇumatī River on the way to Tāhāchal. Until a few years ago most of the original bahī structure of two storeys with open verandas remained intact. However, within the past ten years most of the original structure has given way to cement boxes. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains and is marked by two stone lions. In front of the door of the shrine is an open veranda. The carved doorway is surmounted by a small wooden torana depicting Akṣobhya. Originally it was possible to circumambulate the shrine but the passageway to the left has now been blocked by a cement building which has been built right up against the cella of the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. Above the shrine can be seen the remnants of the open

veranda which used to run right round the quadrangle of building. The tile roof is surmounted by a modern sort of cupola of two storeys, more of a miniature temple than a cupola. The roof of this shrine is surmounted by single finial. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages, now seven households with twenty three initiated Sakyas. Few of the members of the saṅgha actually live here any more, and most of the buildings of the complex are rented out to itinerant labourers, mostly Tāmāngs. The daily rituals are performed only in the morning by the members of the saṅgha. The term of service is an entire year and passes through the three lineages in turn. This arrangement and the custom of performing only the morning rituals are probably due to the fact that hardly any of the people actually live here any more. The members of this saṅgha also act as dya-pālās in Maru Bahī [35] for five months of the year. The annual festival is no longer held, though the bahī still has an annual income of some thirty murīs of paddy. At the time of Guṇlā hymns are still recited and at the time of the 'showing of the gods' they still put out a few images one of which is called Temāñ Khwā, a deity who must be visited first before one begins the pūjā of all the bāhās. The lineage deity of the saṅgha consists of two images Āju-Ajimā (grandfather and grandmother). Though by right Barechuyegu initiations should be performed here, they are now performed at Maru Bahī jointly with the saṅgha of Maru Bahī. The saṅgha has one elder.

There are two inscriptions at the bahī, one dated N.S.825 and the other undated, but they are both from the reign of Bhāṣkara Malla. They commemorate donations made to the bahī by one Dhanakutu Bhāro of Poḍe Tole. The earliest dated reference to Khusi Bahī, however, comes from a contemporary notation on the invasion of the Valley by King Mukunḍa Sen of Pālpā. After suffering defeat at the hands of the inhabitants of Kathmandu, Mukunḍa Sen's troops retreated across the Viṣṇumatī River and eight times attempted to set fire to Khusi Bahī ('Khusi Bahīrī'); they were unsuccessful and finally gave up the attempt. This was in the year N.S.646.<sup>10</sup> The foundation is surely older than this date, but there are no other firm dates. Later inscriptions speak of repairs undertaken in the late Malla period

## 8. Gaṇa Bahī -- Gaganasaṅgam Mahāvihāra [25] Gaṇa Bāhā

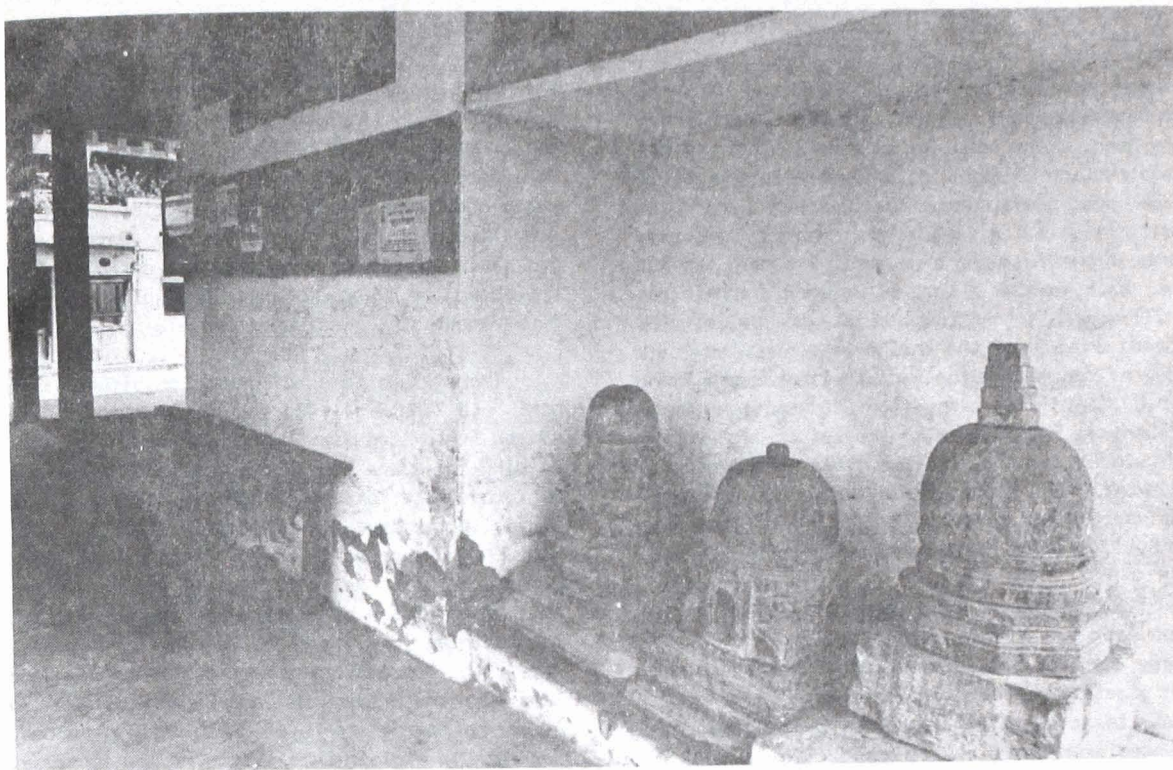
This is an entirely abandoned and ruined bahī, now a Theravāda vihāra. It is included here only because it is active in the sense that the obligations of the saṅgha were assumed by the saṅgha of Maru Bahī [33] and it is still listed as one of the sixteen bahīs. According to informants this bahī had a large amount of property which extended from the present recent foundation all the way to the General Post Office. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the saṅgha had died out and the rights and duties of this bahī had been taken over by the saṅgha of Maru Bahī. Later there was a fire which destroyed most of the buildings of the bahī. After the fire the image of the kwāpā-dya was removed by the Maru Bahī people and taken to Maru Bahī where they continued to perform the daily rituals. They continued to bring the image back to Gaṇa Bahī once a year at the time of the bāhā pūjā so that it could be worshipped by the people there when they visited the bahī. Later all of the property except the small plot of land where the remains of the bahī buildings stood was taken by the government. This happened well before the Rana period as Bhim Sen Thāpā's darbār, the Bhim Sen Tower, and Sun Dhara were all built on this property. People from Maru Bahī claimed the property but were not able to press their claim.

About 1969 the remaining piece of property which contained nothing but ruins was taken over by some Theravāda monks. A new vihāra, called Gaṇa Mahāvihāra was built and today this is a very active centre of Theravāda revival. The present establishment has no connection with the ancient bahī or its community. At the time of the construction of the present vihāra several 'Licchavi' caityas and fragments of two Licchavi inscriptions were discovered, all of which are now preserved at the new vihāra.<sup>12</sup> Hence the site is very ancient and had Buddhist connections in the Licchavi period. Nothing further can be said about the ancient bahī or its community.

## 9. Dugañ Bahī -- Ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra\* [22] New Road-Dugañ Bahī

All that remains of this bahī is a fairly recent kwāpā-dya shrine and a few sculptural





280. Gaṇa Bahī [25]



281. Dugañ Bahī [22]

pieces mounted in front of a shrine in what appears to be a slightly widened alley behind New Road. The complex has been a victim of the construction of New Road after the earthquake of 1934 and the subsequent rise in the price of land in this area. The shrine has preserved some of the features of a bahī. The main door is set back behind a sort of veranda, and it is still possible to circumambulate the cella. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa showing Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara flanked by Maṇidhara on the right and another image of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara on the left. The torāṇa is dated N.S.748. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara facing east. In front of the shrine are three caityas, one of them 'Licchavi', and two pillar-mounted devotees.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages now comprising fifteen initiated Saṅghas. However, the actual number initiated here is greater. One whole lineage takes no active part in the life of the saṅgha and are not counted as members any longer. The daily rituals are performed each morning by the active members of the saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes in turn through the households of the saṅgha. The annual festival is no longer observed, but they do still recite hymns at the time of Gūṇā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the shrine of Bhadrakālī near the Tuṇḍikhel and the saṅgha has one elder. The saṅgha no longer has any income.

This bahī had a place of considerable honour among all the bahīs of Kathmandu. Until about three hundred years ago it was necessary for the elders of this bahī to be present for all Barechuyegu initiations in the bahīs of Kathmandu. Furthermore, the members of the saṅgha received both the Barechuyegu and the Ācālyeyegu initiations and functioned as priests for all the members of the bahī saṅghas of Kathmandu. Toward the end of the seventeenth century this bahī, which had originally been a prosperous foundation, fell on hard times. The members of the saṅgha were no longer able to afford the considerable expense of the Ācālyeyegu. One of the members of the Makhañ Bahī saṅgha, one Dhana Siddhi financed the Ācālyeyegu, was himself initiated a 'Vajracarya', and when the Vajracaryas of Dugañ Bahī finally died out, he and his descendants became the priests for

the bahī sarva-saṅgha. With this transfer of priestly functions went the place of honour which Dugañ Bahī had held. The elder of Makhañ Bahī became the head of the sarva-saṅgha of the bahīs and Dugañ Bahī lost the honor of providing the five official sthavira for the Barechuyegu initiations. Since that time the official five have been the Elder of Makhañ Bahī plus the next four eldest of the sarva-saṅgha.

There is also some connection between this bahī and Jana Bāhā [45] and its worship of the white Avalokiteśvara. Four days before the bathing of Jana Bāhā Dya the people of Dugañ Bahī have to take an earthen vessel, a loin cloth, a coconut and other offerings to Jana Bāhā. They present these offerings and then offer a pūjā to the deity. Until they have done this none of the other rituals connected with the bathing of Jana Bāhā Dya can take place. After the reconsecration of the image of Jana Bāhā Dya the priests of Jana Bāhā must take an offering to the saṅgha of Dugañ Bahī. Nobody was able to explain this custom or how it arose.

The earliest dated piece in the complex is the torāṇa which bears the date N.S.748. Other inscriptions speak of later renovations and donations. The bell to the side of the door is dated N.S.1034 and the lions are recent additions donated in B.S.2034. Four manuscripts, however, give much earlier dates for this foundation. The first manuscript is a copy of the Kṛṣṇa-Yamaritantra dated N.S.500 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was copied by one 'Dharmarakṣita, a disciple of the famous Vanaratna of Śrī Śaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra'. A copy of the Mahākarmavibhāṇa-sūtram was copied in N.S.531 during the reign of Yakṣamalla for a certain Śākyabhikṣu (name illegible) of Śrī Śrī Śaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra in Śrī Gangalage in Śrī Yāmbukramāyan.<sup>14</sup> This is the only viḥāra by this name in the Valley at the present time and in historical records, and both Gangalake and Yāmbukramāyan refer to Kathmandu. The third manuscript, a copy of the Ekallavīranama-canda-māharoṣaṇa-tantram, was copied by Bhikṣu Śrī Jīvarakṣata who lived in Śrī Śaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra in the year N.S.547 for his own use.<sup>15</sup> The fourth manuscript is a copy of the Mañjuśrī-Śrīsādhana Pratimalakṣaṇāma and Lakṣaṇasamucaya, also copied by Śrī Dharmarakṣita residing in Śrī Śaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra.<sup>16</sup> This manuscript is not dated but we know from the first cited document and other sources that this Dharma Rakṣita was a

disciple of the famous Vanaratna of Patan.<sup>17</sup>

10. Kothu Dugañ Bahī -- Śaḍakṣari  
Mahāvihāra(?) [22A] New Road-Duga Bahī

This foundation, which was situated in a compound directly to the west of the present Dugañ Bahī, has entirely disappeared. There is a tiny courtyard left between modern buildings, but nothing is left to mark it as a bahī, not even a caitya. However, the name is found on the lists of the bahīs to be visited at the time of the bāhā pūjā and it is still counted as one of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. Evidently this was a separate foundation with its own saṅgha which performed their initiations here. According to informants, in the days when Dugañ Bahī had 'Vajracaryas', the chief of these Vajracaryas always came from Kothu Dugañ Bahī and his assistant from Dugañ Bahī. This is all that can be said of this foundation at the present time.

11. Arakhu Bahī -- Itālampu Kṛta (Pārāvata)  
Mahāvihāra\* [41] Yatkhā Tole

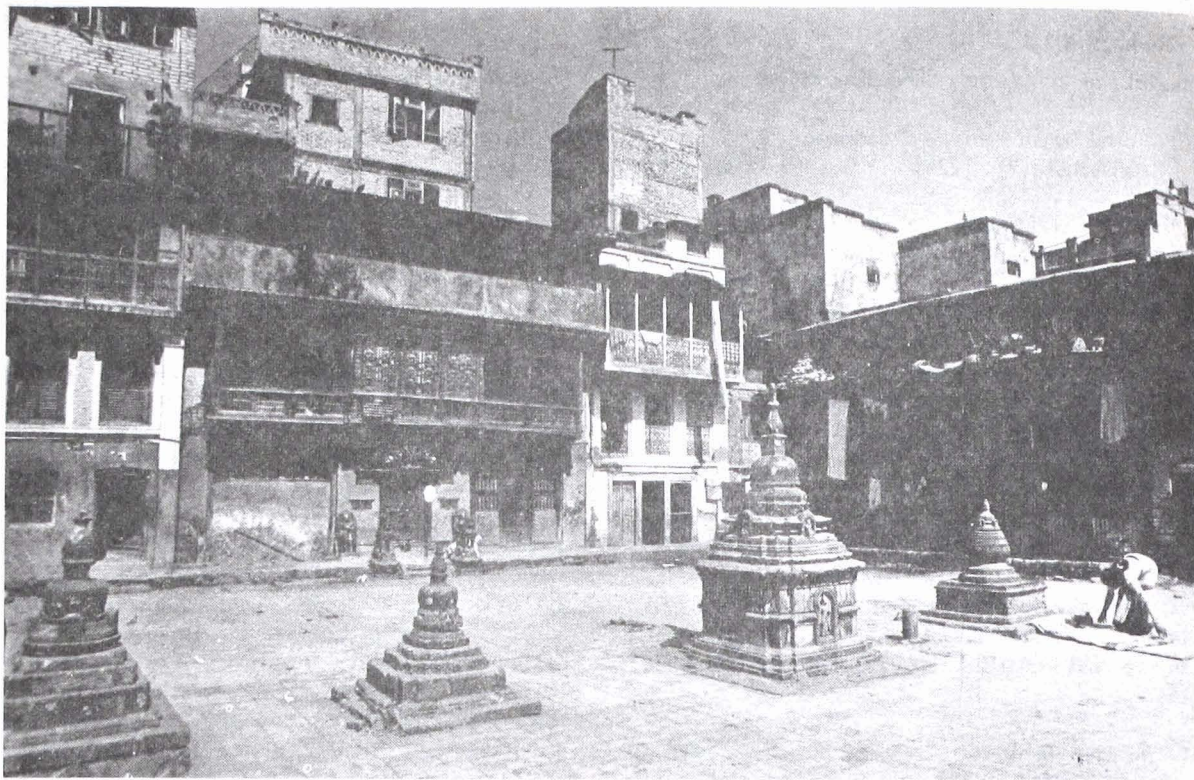
All that is left of the buildings around this large, paved courtyard is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is in a state of total neglect. Everything but the actual cella of the shrine is in ruins. To either side of the cella is an open area that has now been closed with lattice work; above the shrine is an open area also enclosed with lattice work and with corrugated iron sheets laid on top as a roof. Two stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine and there are two tiny, blind windows on either side of the door. Over the doorway is a wooden torana showing Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokēśvara facing east. There are six caityas in the brick paved courtyard in front of the shrine, and nearby are several nearly obliterated Malla period inscriptions.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages of Sakyas now comprising nine initiated members. This saṅgha has actually assumed control of three other bahīs: Mahākā Bahī [41A], Mukūḥ Bahī [36] and Bilāsa Bahī [93]. According to their traditions they are not the original saṅgha of this bahī. At some time in the distant past the saṅgha of this bahī died out completely. Vajracaryas were then called from Itum Bāhā [44] to take over the bahī and insure

the continuance of the customary rituals. Those who came took over this bahī and made it their own thereby giving up their membership in the saṅgha of Itum Bāhā. They also gave up their position as Vajracaryas, 'because there are no Vajracaryas in bahīs'. Hence they no longer take the Ācālyeyu initiation. This migration also explains part of the anomaly in the Sanskrit name. Recorded data refer to Itālampu Kṛta Mahāvihāra, the Pārāvata was added to the name after the Vajracaryas from Itum Bāhā (Pārāvata Mahāvihāra) came here. However Itālampu Kṛta itself makes little sense. Itālampu is a Newari word which can probably be explained in the following way: itā--'west'; lam--'path, road'; pu--a classifier. Hence it is not a proper name as the Sanskrit name ('Made by Itālampu) implies. The members of the saṅgha still perform the nitya pūjā, but only in the morning. The term of service is seven days and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. The annual festival is no longer observed. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' during Guṇlā they display only their image of Dīpaṅkara, though there are several other images in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya including the five transcendent Buddhas, Nāgākanyā, Hiti-maṅga, Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. They also recite hymns at the time of Guṇlā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the saṅgha, and the community has one elder. Their lineage deity is the same as that of Itum Bāhā--'Vajrayoginī' at Itum Bāhā, 'brought' from Sankhu.

Though this is certainly an old foundation there are no legible dated inscriptions from the early Malla period. An inscription at Bilāsa Bahī from the time of Pārthivendra Malla (N.S.800-807) records a donation made by Bhikṣu Śrī Jīnadeva residing at Itālampu Mahāvihāra in Yatakhā Tole in Śrī Yambu in the city of Kāntipur. An inscription from the time of Pārthivendra Malla (N.S.807-21) repairs were made to the caitya and to the shrine of 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Gandhurijū'. The donors were several Śākhābhikṣus of Yatkhā Tole. In N.S.812 further donations were made (mostly illegible). A collection of dhāraṇīs was copied in N.S.860 by one Bhikṣu Śrī Jīnadevdrohara(?) of Itālampu Mahāvihāra. Jagadish Candra Regmi gives two earlier dates, N.S.644 and 744 for Arako Vihāra, but gives no indication of the source for these dates.





282. Arakhu Bahī [41]



283. Māhānkā Bahī [41a]

## 12. Mahānkā Bahī -- ? [49A]

Yatakā Tole

This bahī was situated on a piece of property adjoining Arakhu Bahī but at the present time is not much more than a memory. In the south east corner of the large area of Arakhu Bahī is a shrine of Mahākāl and a tree. According to informants the tree marks the spot where the shrine of the kwāpā-dya once stood. The area of the bahī extended to the south of this tree, but most of this land has been encroached upon by the neighbours. Until recently the image of the kwāpā-dya, a standing Buddha showing the visvavyākaraṇa mudrā, remained; but this has also now disappeared. All that remains is a very unusual image of Mahākāl from which the place evidently gets its name. The image is unusual on several accounts. It is a stone image of about four feet with two arms and a single face. In some respects he does correspond to a two-armed form of Mahākāl but not entirely. In his right hand he holds what may be a chopper, but looks more like a kīla; in his left hand he holds a skull bowl and in the crook of the left arm a trident. His face is not really fierce, but rather benign except for the mouth which has what can be best described as a snarl with the two incisors slightly extended like a vampire. (These are not visible in the photo as the mouth is smeared with rice from a recent offering.) He does not have the third eye. His crown, instead of sporting the usual five skulls is a five pointed crown similar to that of a bodhisattva but surmounted by an elaborate design with an image of Amitābha in the centre! His sacred thread does appear to be a snake. Below his waist hang a string of rounded objects badly abraded (or poorly carved) which probably represent the severed heads usually associated with the multi-armed forms of Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of Arakhu Bahī has taken up the rights and duties of this bahī also; but with the disappearance of the kwāpā-dya there is nothing more to do except claim an extra place on the board of elders of the sixteen bahīs. They still do recite hymns at the site of Mahānkā Bahī at the time of Guṇlā.

13. Mukum Bahī -- Muktipur Mahāvihāra [36]  
Yatkā-Mukum Kewa

pied by the buildings which house the family of the former hereditary Rāj Gurus, the Rāj Pāṇḍeys. According to informants the bahī had an extensive area which covered the entire tole. All of this property, including the bahī buildings and the shrine of the kwāpā-dya was taken over some time before the Rana period. (Informants maintained that the property was confiscated by the Ranas. This is manifestly untrue, because the oldest building on the property is the house of Gagan Singh whose murder precipitated the Kot Massacre which brought Jang Bahadur Rana to power.) By the time of the appropriation of the property the saṅgha had dwindled to a very small number. The members of the saṅgha then built another shrine in Pote Tole which is now in a completely dilapidated condition; what was the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is now a carpenters's workshop. The image of the kwāpā-dya (which is now stored in a room upstairs) is an image of the Buddha showing the visvavyākaraṇa mudrā. About fifteen years ago this saṅgha had dwindled to one old man who had no sons, but only a daughter. The elders of the sixteen bahīs decided that this daughter and her husband could inherit the bahī rights and privileges (including the new shrine) if she married a properly initiated Sakya. However, she married an Udaya with the result that she and her descendants were stripped of all bahī rights. When the old man died the rights and duties of Mukum Bahī were assumed by the elder of Bilāsa Bahī who is in fact a member of the saṅgha of Arakhu Bahī. However, at the time of bāhā pūjā this daughter and her husband are permitted to receive the gifts given to Mukum Bahī. The daily rituals are no longer performed at the present time and this bahī has no income and no annual festivals. The bahī is still listed among the sixteen bahīs and at the time of the bāhā pūjā offerings are made not at the 'new' shrine in Pote Tole but at an image of the Buddha which is enshrined near the entrance to a house up the street and across the lane from the property of the Rāj Pāṇḍe's. Some informants claimed that this image, a standing Buddha showing the visvavyākaraṇa mudrā, is actually the kwāpā-dya from the old bahī. However, others also claimed that the original kwāpā-dya is still enshrined somewhere inside the compound of the Rāj Pāṇḍes.

This bahī was situated at a site now occu-

14. Bilāsa Bahī -- Udayagiri (Nīlagiri)  
Mahāvihāra [93] Bijeswarī

This bahī lies across the Viṣṇumatī river outside the old city of Kathmandu. The complex has been well preserved and renovated over the years because it is the site of a very popular shrine of Viṣeśvarī or Vidyādhari. The quadrangle of buildings is complete and has preserved many of the characteristics of bahī architecture. To the right as one comes into the entryway is a large, four and a half foot image of Tārā that appears very ancient. Directly opposite the entrance to the quadrangle is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Over the doorway of the shrine is a partial torāṇa with Akṣobhya (but painted blue!) in the centre flanked by two monk devotees at the far edge of the piece. In the north east corner of the quadrangle is the shrine of Viṣeśvarī. The shrine itself is actually upstairs; and over the doorway leading upstairs is a wooden torāṇa which depicts Vajradhara with the vajra-humkāra mudrā flanked by two dancing yoginīs. Above this shrine and above the corrugated iron roof of the rest of the buildings rises a double roofed tower topped by a golden finial. Next to the door leading up to the shrine of Viṣeśvarī is another sort of window shrine. Over this is a repousse torāṇa showing Amitābha flanked by two bodhisattvas. The courtyard of the complex is paved and contains twelve votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī died out long ago, and the rights and duties were taken over by the Vajracaryas turned Sakyas of Arakhu Bahī [41], originally from Itum Bāhā [44]. The bahī is evidently an ancient foundation. When the cult of Viṣeśvarī was introduced and how her cult became so important is unknown. The shrine is an important one for Buddhists of Kathmandu and visited frequently. Every newly married couple of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas of Kathmandu make a pilgrimage to this shrine when they begin their married life. At the present time three of the Sakyas of Arakhu Bahī, one from each lineage, take turns acting here as dya-pālās for the kwāpā-dya and the shrine of Viṣeśvarī, by all accounts a lucrative post as there is a constant stream of people coming to Viṣeśvarī. Pūjā is performed at the shrine of the kwāpā-dya in the morning and the evening, but three times a day at the shrine of Viṣeśvarī: once at dawn

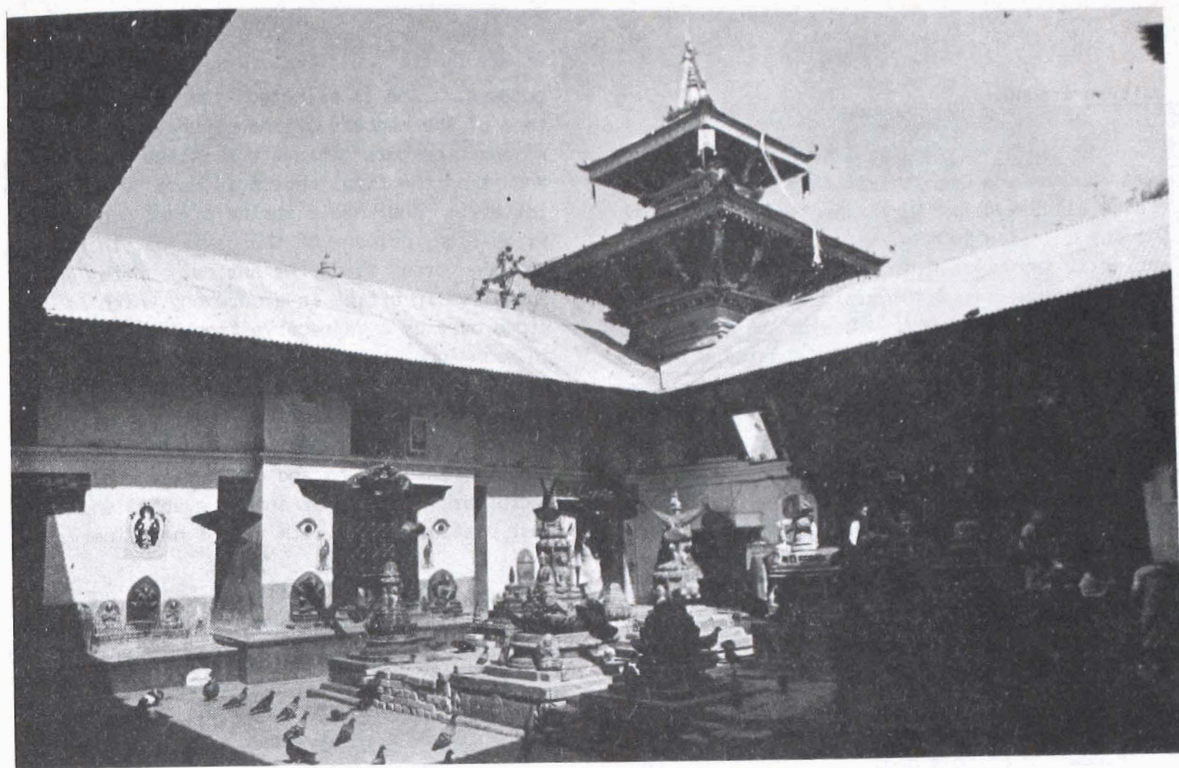
(a ritual bathing of the deity), in the morning (the nitya pūjā) and in the evening (the offering of the ārati). Since the saṅgha is centered on Arakhu Bahī and not here, all of their bāhā pūjās, festivals and initiations are held there.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bahī. Some of the modern writers have given the Sanskrit name as Vidyēśvarī Mahāvihāra or Vijalāṅka Pārāvata Mahāvihāra. Both of these names are later interpolations, the first obviously coined because of the shrine of Viṣeśvarī. The second is a combination of this plus the fact that the present saṅgha which supplies the dya-pālās originally came from Pārāvata Mahāvihāra (Itum Bāhā). The name I have given above is taken from Ratna Kaji Vajracarya.<sup>24</sup> KTMV gives the date 1655 (N.S.775) as the date of the construction of the bahī, but gives no source for this date.<sup>25</sup> This may be the construction date of the present shrine of Viṣeśvarī; the bahī is certainly much older.

15. Thatu Cā Bahī -- Samādhimaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra  
[98] Chābel

Thatu Cā Bahī, which is situated in an enclosed courtyard north of the Chābahāl Stūpa, is a good example of a more or less complete bahī structure. The entire two-storied quadrangle is still standing. The ground floor open halls have been walled in, but the upper storey has preserved the typical open halls behind an overhanging balcony with lattice screens. The shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa which depicts the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahā-akṣobhya in the centre. There is a circumambulation passage round the cella of the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is evidently an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, though the people refer to it as Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara. The image is partially covered but the right hand showing the abhaya mudrā is visible. What can be seen does not correspond to the iconography of Vajrapāṇi. The image faces north. The roof of the entire complex is of tile, and there is no ornamentation above the shrine. In the courtyard are four caityas, one of which is from the early medieval period. To the right of the shrine is a large temple bell. Informants say that the shrine also contains an image of Cārumatī, the supposed daughter of the Emperor Aśoka, plus some other small pieces. There are several 'Licchavi'





284. Bilasa Bahi [93]



285. Thatu Cā Bahī [98]

caityas around.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of seventeen households with thirty five initiated members, all Sakyas. They take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority. The saṅgha no longer has any annual festivals, but takes part in all joint festivals of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. The annual festival used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the large and ancient image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara up near the Cābahīl stūpa, which however they call Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here and the saṅgha has five elders. This bahī and Kotu Cā Bahī are the only two of the bahīs to have more than one elder. This bahī has 'a little' income left.

Nothing is known for sure about the date of the foundation of this bahī or its history. One thing, however, is certain. This is not the ancient establishment associated with the Cā Bahī stūpa. That was situated at the stūpa itself and the shrine that is supposed to have been the shrine of that foundation still exists but is the kwāpā-dya of another saṅgha. Hence the name of this bahī is surely not Cārumatī Mahāvihāra. Ratna Kaji Vajracarya gives the name Samādhimāṇḍapa Mahāvihāra and this is probably correct.<sup>28</sup> Several modern writers use the name Rāj Vihāra and this name does appear on an inscription dated N.S.775 which is situated at the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, but this refers to a donor who belongs to Rāj Vihāra and it is by no means certain that he was from here and that this is Rāj Vihāra.<sup>27</sup> The oldest dated piece at the bahī is this inscription of N.S.775 at which time a final was offered. Allen gives the name Suvarṇapura Mahāvihāra as given to him by an informant, but this name is surely an attempt to coin a Sanskrit name from the Sanskrit name of the settlement which was known as Suvarṇapura.<sup>28</sup> Allen also says that the same informant told him that the bahī was built in N.S.850 by one Gaṅgā Mahārāṇī, a Sakya woman who became queen(?) of Suvarṇapura.<sup>29</sup> This story is surely spurious, and the bahī existed in N.S.775. 850 may well mark the date of extensive repairs or a renovation of the foundation.

This bahī also has its own Kumārī or living

goddess. She is selected from among the daughters of the members of the saṅgha. Usually half a dozen or more girls are selected as suitable and then the final choice is made by a kind of lottery. She has a shrine of her own on the first floor balcony of the bahī just to the side of the area above the shrine. Here she is installed in office in a ceremony which is presided over by a Vajracarya from Makhañ Bāhā [42] in Kathmandu. Formerly rich people of Kathmandu and Patan used to come frequently to worship her, but this has declined considerably. Local people come to worship her privately after marriages, initiations and other life cycle rites. There are four major annual events which she must participate in with all of her finery:

1 & 2 She is taken to Cābahī āgama for disi pūjā on both the winter and summer solstices (the 10th of Poush and the 10th of Jyestha.) The five āju (senior-most elders) of Chabahi together with the Makāmbāhā [Makhañ Bāhā] purohit worship the āgama god and make offerings to Kumārī.

3 On the 3rd day of Baiśākh, known as Akṣhaya Tṛityā, she is brought to the bahī where she is worshipped by the ājus and the purohit. Akṣhaya Tṛityā is a festival during which people offer one another jaqari mixed with water.

4 On the eighth day of the light lunar fortnight in the holy month of Guṇlā, Buddhists perform pañcha dāna, the ceremony of five offerings. Five kinds of food (unhusked and polished rice, lentil seeds, wheat and salt) are offered to the begging monks--Sakya and Vajracharyas who so choose to represent themselves. The beggars, together with Kumārī, line up in the bahī to receive their alms.<sup>30</sup>

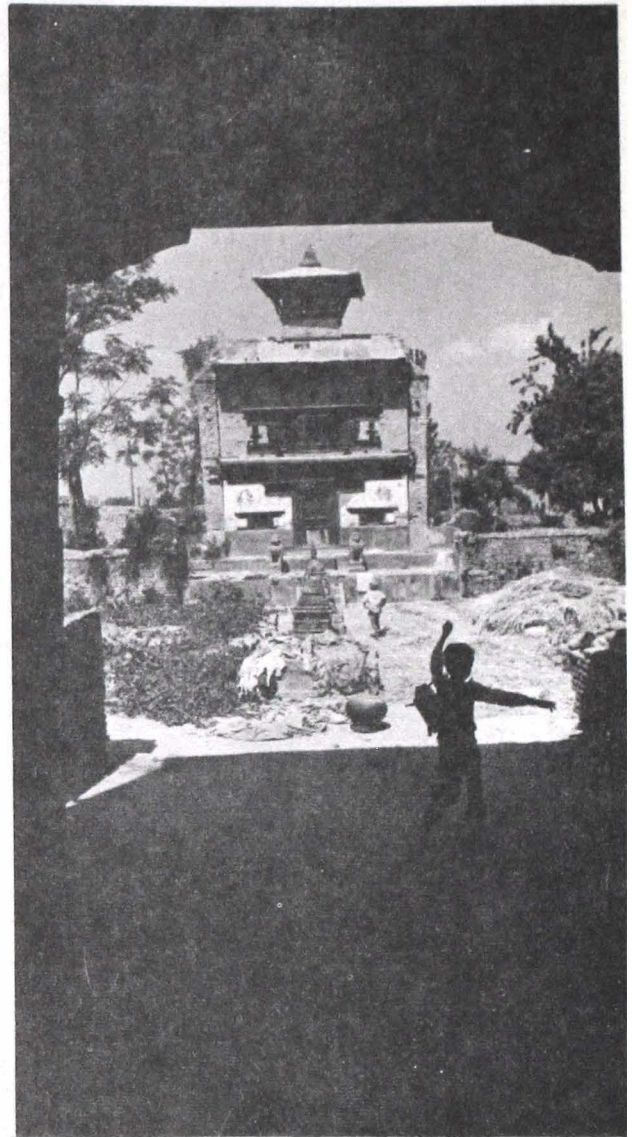
16. Kothu Cā Bahī -- Gaganagañja Mahāvihāra  
[97] Cābahīl

All that is left of this bahī about a quarter mile distant from the Cābahīl stūpa is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is situated on a plot of land that is vacant except for an entryway, this shrine and a low wall. The shrine itself is evidently of fairly modern construction and is more in the style of a bāhā than a bahī. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved door is flanked by two small windows and there is no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya. Inside the shrine are

also five Buddhas and another deity known simply as Ajimā. The upper storey of the shrine has a triple window and the corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a bahī style cupola topped by a single finial. In the courtyard are three caityas, two of them 'Licchavi' caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of two lineages, now seven households comprising sixteen initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals morning and evening, though none of them actually live here any more. The term of service is six months for each of the two lineages. During the six months the members of each lineage take turns acting as dya-pālās. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The annual festival is supposed to be celebrated on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh, but has been discontinued. However, the members of the saṅgha take part in any joint celebrations of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated here in the bahī and is known as Jambu Rājā or Dhwoya Jujū. At the time of Guṇlā the members of the saṅgha still recite hymns. The saṅgha has a board of five elders.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī. Local informants say it was founded by the husband of the Gangā Mahārānī who is said to have founded Thatu Cā Bahī. The two 'Licchavi' caityas would indicate an early date for the site, but there are no inscriptions, and the name of this bahī does not occur in other inscriptions or manuscript colophons.



286. Kothu Cā Bahī [97]





## Other Viharas of Kathmandu

The following bāhās and one bahī still exist and in some sense have active saṅghas, but do not fit the other classifications, i.e. they do not belong to the Ācārya Gūṭhī, they do not fit with the other Sakya bāhās of Kathmandu, and the one bahī is not counted among the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu.

### 1. Syangu Bāhā — Sāmhyeṅgu Mahāvihāra [105] Swayambhū Mahācaitya

Syangu Bāhā is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. In the architectural sense this is not a bāhā at all, i.e. there is no bāhā structure here and no kwāpā-dya shrine as such. However, there is a community of Bare here who are initiated to the west of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and live the buildings to the west and north of the Mahācaitya. The community consists of four lineages, now twenty nine households with a total of one hundred eighty five initiated members. They receive both the Barechuyegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations. They receive their Barechuyegu initiations sitting at the western side of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya in front of the image of Amitābha whom they consider to be their kwāpā-dya. They receive their Ācāluyegu initiation on the hill to the west of the caitya above the parking lot known as the Sāmhyeṅgu hill or Pulān Syangu or Gauḍ Caitya. Despite the fact that these people receive the Ācāluyegu they are not considered to be Vajracaryas but Buddhacaryas. They explain this in the following way: Buddhacaryas are the relatives and descendants of Sāntikar Ācārya. They have no connection whatsoever with Vajracaryas. They have the same powers as Vajracaryas but are not permitted to perform Srāddha ceremonies. They consider the Amitābha image on the Caitya to be their kwāpā-dya and the members of the saṅgha perform the daily rituals there and in the

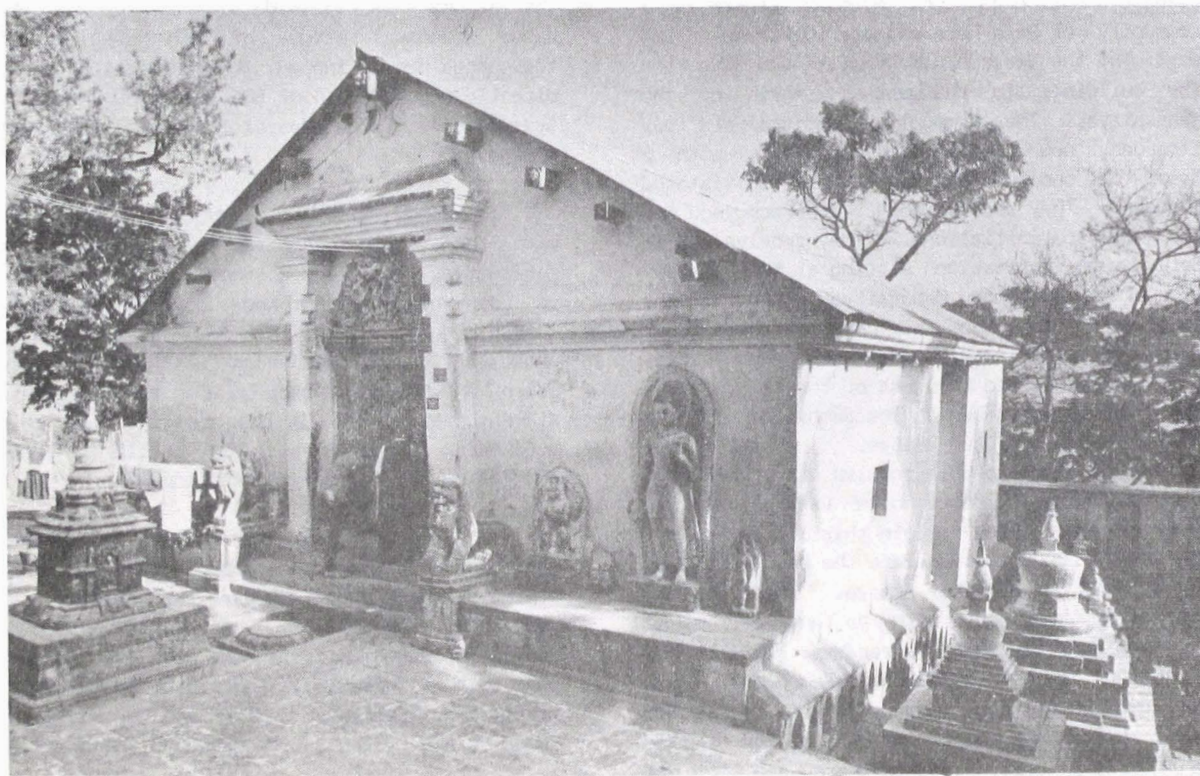
shrine of Hariti (Ajimā) to the side of the Caitya. The kwāpā-dya is worshipped twice a day and the Hārītī shrine five times a day. The term of service is one week and service passes through the lineages by turn. The wives of the members of the saṅgha are also considered to be proper members of the saṅgha and take their turn as dya-pālās of the kwāpā-dya and in the shrine of Hārītī. In addition to the service of the kwāpā-dya and service in the shrine of Hārītī, the male members of the saṅgha also serve as dya-pālās of the stūpa at Pulān Syangu performing the nitya pūjā there each day. This caitya is also their lineage deity, though I have been told that it is actually Yogāmbara. The saṅgha has five elders. They do not observe an annual festival of their kwāpā-dya and the saṅgha has no income. The two-storied shrine directly to the south of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya which contains several images is their agam shrine.

The saṅgha also has a special relationship with the two Yogāmbara enshrined near the mahācaitya. The first of these is the Yogāmbara down near Sāntipur and according to informants of the saṅgha is known as Yogāmbara-Gūhyeśvarī. This Yogāmbara was 'brought' from Sankhu and has no connection with the Gūhyeśvarī at Paṣupati. Hem Rāj Sakya claims that this Yogāmbara is the lineage deity of all of those who follow the Vajrayana tradition.

The second Yogāmbara shrine is between Agnipur and Sāntipur and according to informants of the saṅgha, this Yogāmbara was 'brought' to Swayambhū from Mheyipī. Because of this the Pāñjus of Buṅgamati come here each year to do a pūjā to this Yogāmbara. (According to Buṅgamati traditions Yogāmbara is the lineage deity of Buṅgadya and of the entire saṅgha, though they



287. Syaṅgu Bāhā [105]  
Image of Amitābha



288. Swayambhū -- Śāntipur



usually worship him near a pond in the western part of Patan.) The earth for making the image of Buṅgadya is supposed to have been brought from Mheypī, and whenever the image needs repairing, they must still bring clay from Mheypī to do this. The members of the saṅgha of Syangu Bāhā say that there is an intimate connection between themselves and the Pāñjus of Buṅgamatī. If this saṅgha at Swayambhū should ever die out, its rights and duties in regard to the kwāpā-dya and the Hāritī shrine would be assumed by the Pāñjus of Buṅgamatī and vice versa: should the community at Buṅgamatī die out, its rights and duties would be assumed by this community.

Nothing is known about the history of this community. There was certainly monastery of some sort at Swayambhū from the very earliest times, as it is mentioned in the Gopālarāja-vamsāvalī during the time of the Licchavi kings and the Tibetan Dharmasvamin stayed at the Swayambhū Vihāra when he came to Nepal in A.D. 1226. What the relationship of this present community is to the earlier monastery (or monasteries) is unknown.

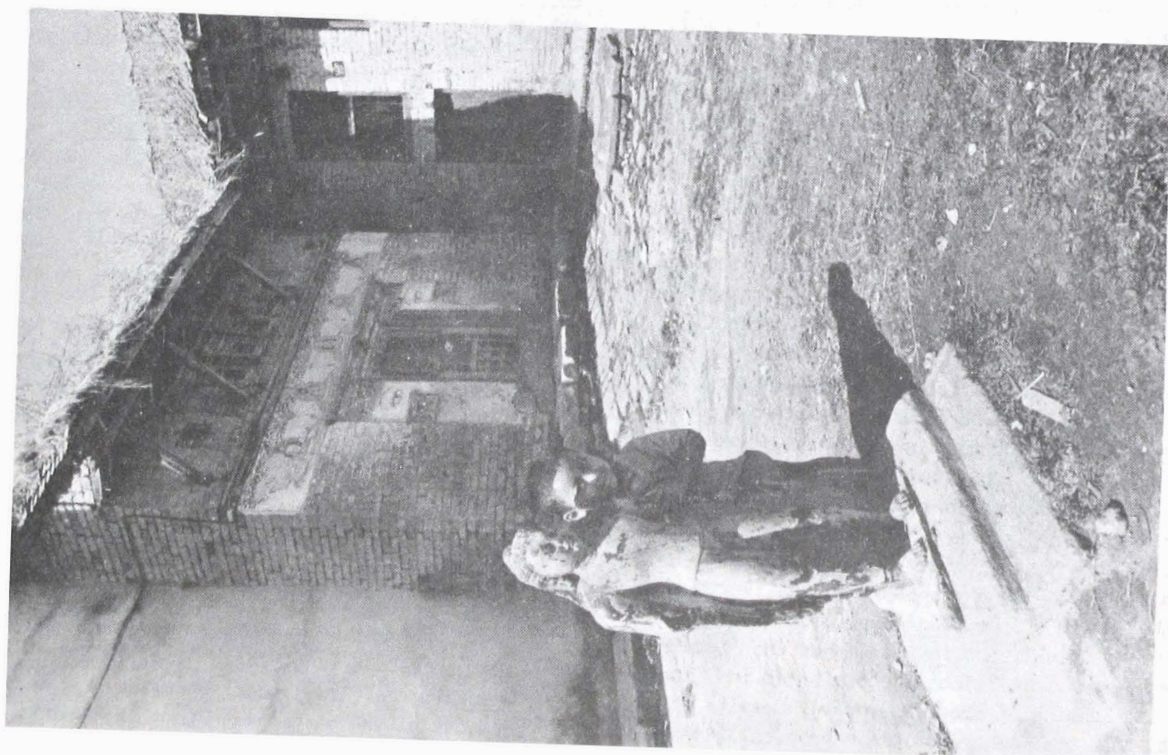
## 2. Cā Bahī-Mañju Bāhā -- Dharmadevacaitya Vihāra [102] Chābahīl

This is the site of the very ancient and very large stūpa at Chābahīl. Architecturally there is nothing remaining of the vihāra but a delapidated kwāpā-dya shrine containing an eleventh-twelfth century Padmapāni Lokeśvara, facing north. The stūpa itself is ancient and around it is a plethora of sculptural remains and ancient votive caityas, many of them definitely dating back to the Licchavi period. At the present time there is a small community of five 'Vajracaryas' attached to this shrine. A few years back the community consisted of some forty members, but most of them have moved away and severed all connection with the community here. This community has no connection with the communities of either of the nearby bahīs. Little Buddhist activity remains here. The members of the saṅgha perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, but there is no annual festival and the bāhā has no income. Barechuyegu initiations are performed in front of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Despite the fact that the members of the saṅgha call themselves Vajracarya, they no longer take the Ācālyegu initiation. Their lineage deity is an

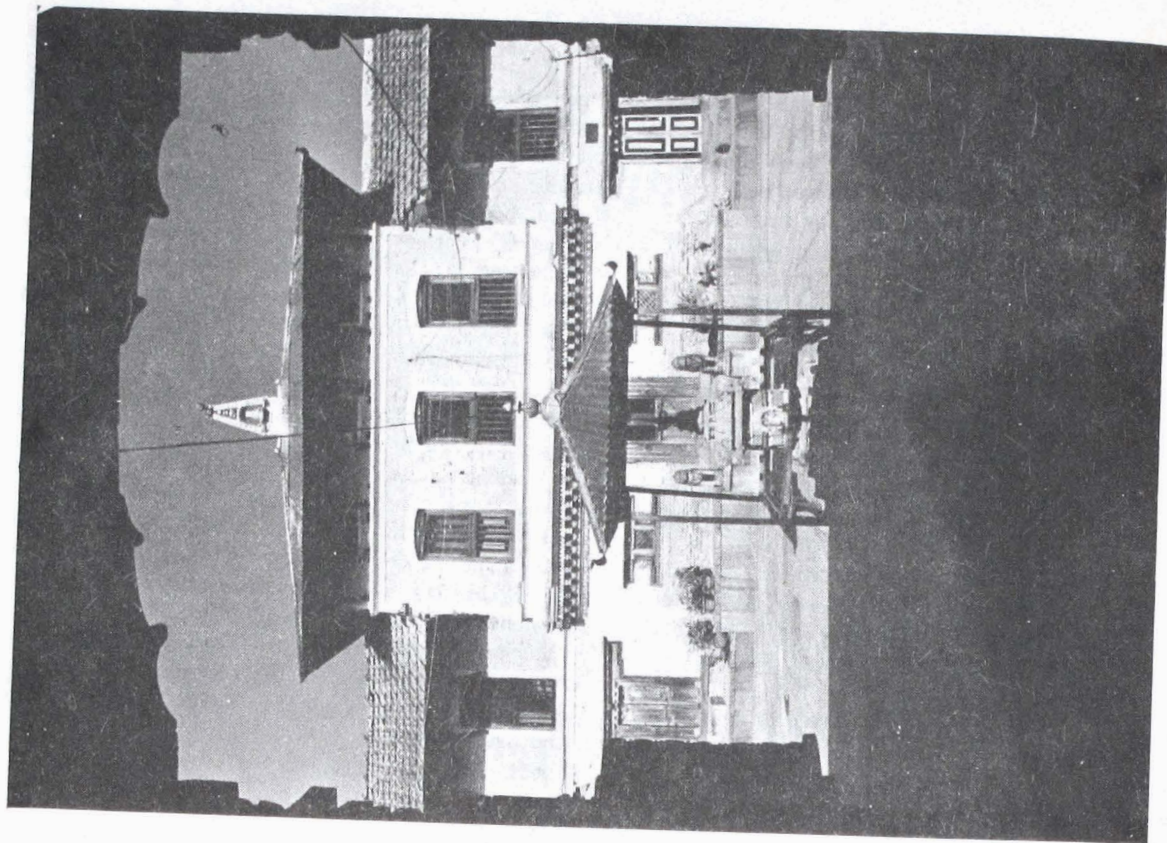
unnamed deity which they worship here at this site. The members of the saṅgha have no traditions about their history or origins. One suspects that they are rather late-comers to this site, perhaps coming from either Patan or Kathmandu to take up the rituals in a previously abandoned site. There are a number of inscriptions from the late Malla period recording donations and resotations at the stūpa. In all of these inscriptions the officiating priest at the installation of the donation is a Vajracarya from one or other of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī in Kathmandu. Perhaps there were no Vajracarya priests at this site or if there were, they really belonged to Kathmandu; or alternately, the donors were all from Kathmandu and hence brought their own priests. In any case there is no reason to believe that the present community has any connection with the ancient Licchavi foundation on this site. There is some reason to believe that the members of the bahī saṅgha to the west (Thatu Cā Bāhā [98]) may be the descendants of an earlier community because their lineage deity is the Licchavi Lokeśvara image at this site.

Legend assigns the foundation of this vihāra to a daughter of Asoka, called Cārumatī who is said to have married a Kṣatriya called Devapāla and settled in Deopatan. In their old age she and her husband decided to retire from the world and spend their last days in a vihāra. Accordingly she built for herself a vihāra on this site. This same legend derives the present name of the area Cā-bahīl from her name. There is, of course, no historical evidence that the Emperor Aśoka ever visited Nepal much less that he married off a daughter to a Kṣatriya of Nepal. There is, however, a good bit of evidence concerning the foundation of this site and the genesis of the name, which evidence gives quite a different story. I quote Mary Slusser in her Nepāl Maṇḍala where she summarises all of the historical data which has so far come to light and draws some conclusions:

One of the set of four stupas, now simply called Chābahīl like the village it dominates, was established about the middle of the fifth century by King Dharmadeva, whose name the stūpa long bore. The Gopālarāja-vamsāvalī affirms that Dharmadeva built Dhamade-caitya-bhaṭṭāraka in Rāja-vihāra. Later chronicles also call the stupa by Dharmadeva's name, associate him with it either



289. Rā Bahā -- Mañju Bahā [102]



290. Kinu Bahā [95]

as the builder or renovator, and attest to the location of his foundation in Deopatan, north-west of Paṣupatinātha. Further, Mañju-vihāra, the derelict vihāra whose courtyard the stupa once glorified, was formerly known as Dharmacita vihāra (Dharmadeva-caitya-vihāra), and nearby Cārumatī-vihāra [Thatu Cā Bahī] was named Mahārāja- or Rāja-vihāra. Even Dharmadeva's name remained attached to the stupa until very recent times. Nearby seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inscriptions, for example, explicitly name it the Dharmadeva-caitya, and, in corrupted form the name lingered on as Dandeo, as Oldfield knew it, or Dhanade (Dhanado, Dhamado), an alternate name now in use by many Newars.

The name Chābīl, now applied to the stupa and to the part of Deopatan in which it is located, is of recent origin. Rather than deriving, as it is alleged, from Cārumatī, the name of a fictive daughter of the Emperor Aśoka, the name seems to have generated the daughter, and in fact to derive from quite a different source. It became a custom from about the middle of the seventeenth century, when trade relations with Tibet were intensified by Pratāpamalla, for Newar traders to break their journey, going and coming, at Mahārāja-vihāra [Thatu Cā Bahī]. On the outward journey the trader's family accompanied him as far as the vihāra, where they spent the night with him. In the morning, before separating, the trader fortified himself with the prasāda of the vihāra's famous Vajrayana deity, Gupteśvarī-yoginī, and with auspicious foods offered by his family. Similarly, the homecoming traders were received here by their families, and after thanksgiving in the vihāra and an overnight rest, were escorted the rest of the way home. Since in Newari cā means "night, overnight," the vihāra began to be familiarly known as Cā-bahīl, the "monastery of the overnight stop," a name at length applied to the stūpa and the surrounding settlement.

That the site of Dharmadeva-caitya and the related royal vihāras has been occupied since early Licchavi times is evident. There are several Licchavi śilāpatras adjacent or attached to the stupa. One of them is considered by some scholars to antedate the Chāngu Nārāyaṇa pillar inscription, a hoard of clay seals found next to the stupa date from Narendradeva's time. There is also the testimony of sculptural remains and votive

caityas. Near the stūpa are images of the Buddha [stolen in April of 1985] and a Bodhisattva that date, respectively from the sixth and eighth centuries, and attached to the drum are several relief plaques of probably seventh- or eight-century date. Numerous Licchavi caityas cluster around the prestigious monument and others--some of early form and with original squat finial in place, are to be found at nearby Mahārāja-vihāra.

That the stūpa was and still is known as Dharmadeva Caitya is beyond question, but I have found no evidence that the vihāra was called Dharmadeva Caitya Vihāra at an early date. In fact there are two rather early references to a 'Cā Vihāra'. A manuscript of the Amarakośa was copied in N.S. 401 in Patan by one Vaidya Śrī Jasarāja of Cā Vihāra. A copy of the Divyauśa-dhīnāmamālā dated N.S. 538 was copied in Cā Vihāra by one Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Madanabhadra. Though the first manuscript was written was written by a man who was living in Patan (maṇi-galasthānādhiवासिना) he belonged to Cā Vihāra which was not necessarily in Patan. The second colophon gives no indication of the place. Both of these may refer to Cā Bahī-Mañju Bāhā. If so this would indicate that the old Sanskrit name was Cā Vihāra, and hence one would have to doubt the etymology given to Slusser by informants and recounted by Bāburam Ācārya.

Dhanavajra Vajracarya has noted two inscriptions both dated N.S. 840 and both found at the Cābīl Ganesh Than near the stūpa. Both of these inscriptions refer to 'Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra at Cā Behālī' ('cā behālī kīrtipunya mahāvihālasthāne'). This is a further indication that over the centuries there have been several foundations at this site. The Ganesh Shrine was perhaps the guardian Ganesh of another monastery located at this site. There is a colophon of a manuscript copy of the Pañcarakṣā of N.S. 250 which mentions a Kīrttipunya Mahāvihāra with no indication of the place. It was indicated above that this might refer to Nhāykhāñ Bahī [84] or Lagañ Bāhā [80] of Kathmandu, but it may also refer to this monastery in Chābīl.

3. Kinnu Bāhā -- Śrī Kirttana Mahāvihāra\*  
[95] Swayambhū--Kindol

This bāhā is situated on a ridge below and to the south of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya in a place which is famed as the seat of a Siddha by



the name of Kindol. The bāhā is situated in an area enclosed by buildings with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya along the west quarter. The building looks like an ordinary house except for the shrine on the ground floor and a golden finial on the roof. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The doorway is plain and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. On either side of the door are two small windows. The first storey, which consists of living quarters, has three large modern windows. The squat top storey has three small openings.

According to an inscription at the shrine this bāhā was built in N.S.807 by one Sākya-bhikṣu Śrī Simha....(the rest of the name is illegible) of Bhāṣkara Deva Saṃskārīta Śrī Keśavacandra Kṛta Pārāvata Mahāvihāra (Itūṃ Bāhā [44]) in Kāntipur. According to the inscription he had a caitya and a bāhā made in this area which was famous as the place where the great Siddha called Kindol used to meditate on Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara. Work was begun in N.S.805 and the consecration ceremonies were held on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The king of Kathmandu, Pārthivendra Malla, was also present on the occasion of the consecration of the bāhā and offered a golden kalasa and a banner. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name Śrī Kirttana Mahāvihāra.

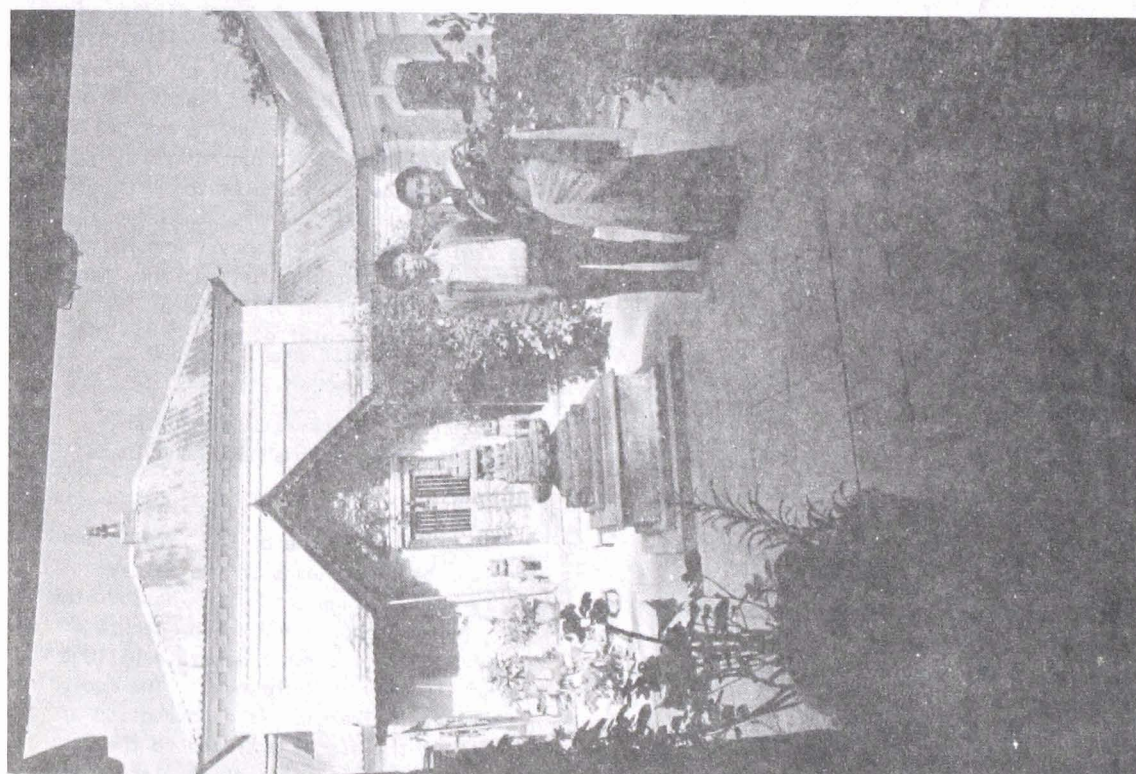
Whether or not there was ever a saṅgha here from Itūṃ Bāhā in Kathmandu is not known. By the early part of this century the bāhā had been abandoned and was falling into ruins. In N.S.1044 (1924) Śrī Guru Dharmāditya Dharmācārya (Jagat Mān Vaidya of Patan) publicised the sad state of this shrine. Donors from Kathmandu came forth and two years later the shrine was renovated. The present buildings date from the time of this renovation. Some of the renovation was done in the style of a Tibetan monastery and fresco paintings are still visible inside the monastery. In addition to the kwāpā-dya Hem Rāj Sakya lists the following images also enshrined in the monastery: Siddha Nāgarjuna, Jambala Kubera, Amoghasiddha (2 images), Amitābha, Nāgānāginī, Prajñāpāramitā, Siddhiṇī, Simhanāda Lokeśvara, Annapurṇa Devī, another Prajñāpāramitā, Sakyamuni Buddha, Tri-Buddha Murtī (i.e. three Buddha figures showing dhyaṇa mudrā, bhūmiśparṣa mudrā and abhaya mudrā), Mañjuśrī with two female deities, Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara with the two Tārās, Dharmacakra Bodhisattva and Śākyaśrī

Lāmā. At the present time there is no saṅgha here, but the usual rituals are performed by a Sakya who lives in a small building nearby.

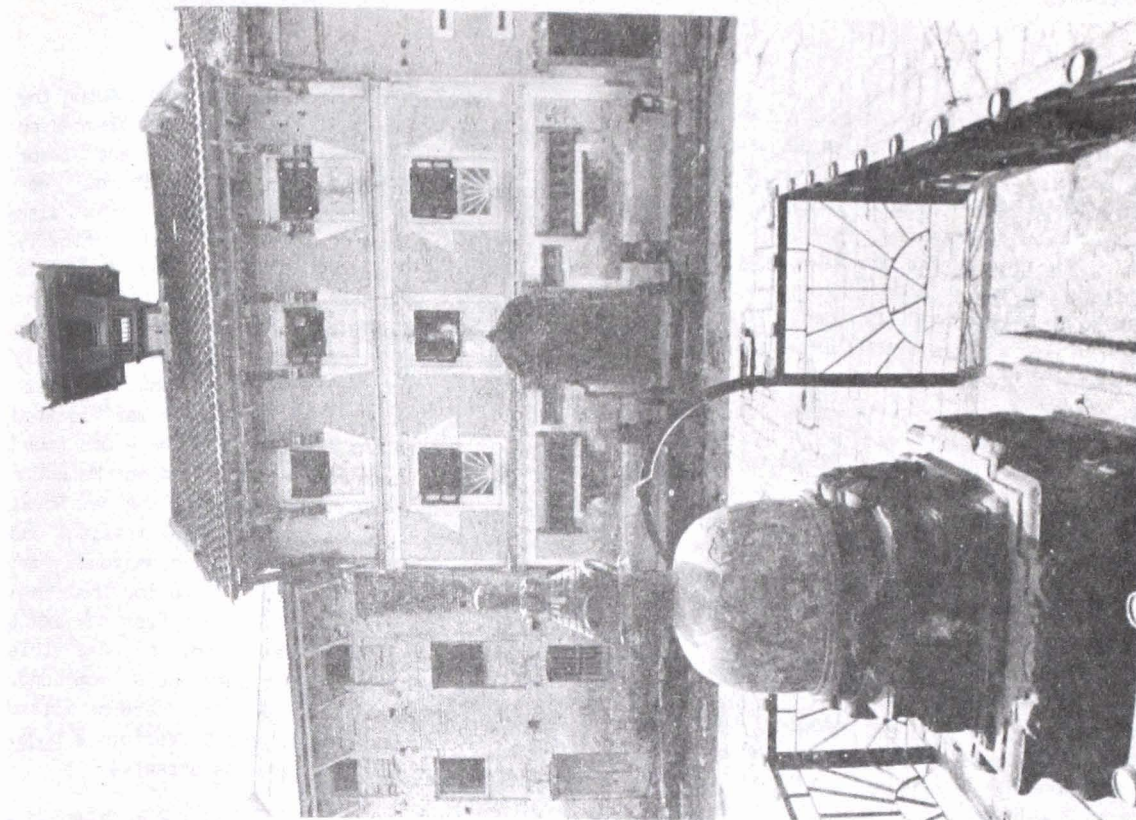
#### 4. Cidhaṅgu Kinnu Bāhā -- Tejakīrti Vihāra\* [103] Swayambhū-Kindol

This is a very modern foundation. The story of its foundation and the circumstances surrounding it perhaps give us some insight into the way these vihāras were founded in the past. A little over fifty years ago a Sakya by the name of Harṣadeva from Rudravārṇa Mahāvihāra (Uku Bāhā) in Patan went to Kindol to meditate and practise tantric yoga. This man became quite well known as a tantric adept and developed a considerable number of followers who refer to him simply as Dharma Gurujū. After some time a donor from Bhimsen Thān in Kathmandu, by the name of Tejnarasingh Maharjan, built a vihāra for Dharma Gurujū. The vihāra consists of a long, one-storied building with a shrine containing an image of the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā (Vairocana). After the building was completed, the consecration ceremonies were performed on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh in the year N.S.1058 (A.D.1938). Seven years later in N.S.1065, on the same day, a caitya and a dharmadhātu maṇḍala were completed and consecrated through the generosity of the same donor. The bāhā was given the Sanskrit name Tejakīrti in honour of the donor. The kwāpā-dya is a seated image of Maṭreya and in front of the image is a large brass maṇḍala done in high relief. The maṇḍala, which is of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, is an unusual and exquisite piece. There was no saṅgha except for Dharma Gurujū who later left the place after which the founder's grandson and his wife moved in. They still live at the site, perform the daily rituals themselves and have kept the whose shrine in a fine state of repair.

Here we have a recent and well documented example of the foundation of a bāhā. The shrine was built by a Buddhist lay person, in this case a Jinnū, for his guru. The monastery was named after the donor and given over to his guru to live in and perform his devotions. The motive for this was certainly to gain merit as is customary throughout the Buddhist world. This is evidently the way many if not all of the bāhās were founded. Donations were given by lay people, sometimes kings, and a monastery was built for an individual monk or for a monastic



291. Cidhāṅgu Kinnu Bāhā [103]



292. Jamo Baha [97]

community. The donor's generosity was often perpetuated in the official Sanskrit name of the vihāra as one can see from the names of so many of the bāhās (especially in Patan) and the legends surrounding their foundation. In the beginning the guru or the community were probably celibate bhikṣus. Later they were a 'saṅgha' of married bhikṣus (Bare) who then in turn passed the vihāra and the duties of worship on to their sons and grandsons.

5. Jamo Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra [99]  
Jamal

At the present time this is an enclosed and paved area with buildings along the southern side and a low wall around the rest. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is located on the ground floor of the central building. The shrine is marked by four lions and an arch of oil lamps. Over the carved doorway is a torana showing the five tantric Buddhas with Mahāvairocana in the central position. The kwāpā-dya is a large image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, a copy of the image of Musuṃ Bāhā (1) which was made at the time of the renovation of this bāhā. The image is of clay faces north. The second and third storeys of the building are living quarters with ordinary modern windows. Above the tile roof is a bahī style cupola. In the courtyard is a single 'Licchavi' caitya of two tiers, the largest caitya of this style seen anywhere in the Valley. Along the eastern wall is a small, free-standing temple which houses a white image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, evidently a duplicate of Janabāhā Dya. Along the northern wall are four of the transcendental Buddhas, all except Vairocana.

This bāhā was evidently an ancient foundation that by the end of the last century had fallen into ruins and had long been abandoned. According to informants it lay within or on the edge of a settlement known as Jamal. This is an ancient site which was known in Licchavi times as Jamayambi.<sup>10</sup> When Bir Shamsheer Rana (+1903) was building his palaces (beginning with Lal Darbār and ending with the mammoth Seto Darbār) he enclosed all of this area within his compound. The settlement of Jamal was razed and the people moved elsewhere.

Jamal had important ritual connections with the White Matsyendranāth of Kathmandu (Jana Bāhā

Dya). According to the legends surrounding the cult of Jana Bāhā Dya, the image was discovered in a field in Jamal by a farmer and later brought to the Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra. Because of this association the deity is also called Jmalesvara (the lord of Jamal), finally shortened to Jana-(Bāhā)-Dya. The image is supposed to have been originally enshrined within a long ruined vihāra. Some claim that Jamo Bāhā is the place where the image was originally enshrined. Informants at Jana Bāhā, however, deny this and say that the vihāra was located where the image was found. The image was found at the spot where the statue of King Mahendra now stands on Darbār Mārg south of the new Royal Palace. For this reason the annual festival and ratha jātrā always begin at the crossroads just south of Mahendra's statue. (During the Rana period it was impossible to begin from the exact place where the statue was found, because this was also enclosed in Bir Shamsheer's compound. Priests from Jana Bāhā, however, were permitted into the compound once a year to perform a pūjā, but the jātrā started down the street.)

Because this was an ancient Buddhist site Ānanda Muni Vajracarya later requested Juddha Shamsheer for permission to salvage the Buddhist ruins on the site and rebuild a vihāra. Permission was granted and the present buildings and paved courtyard are the result of the renovation completed in 1947. For some reason the Vajracaryas of Lāyku Bahī [54] (and hence of Sikhamu Bāhā [55] acquired the right of serving in the kwāpā-dya shrine as dya-pālās and still exercise this right. However, there is currently a dispute raging over these rights, and the property rights of the shrine, between the people of Lāyku Bahī and those of Iku Bāhā [76], where Ānandamuni is the chief elder.

6. Thām Bahī -- Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra\* [96]  
Bhagawān Bāhā Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra

Thamel

Tham Bahī is one of the largest and best preserved bahī complexes in the Valley. It is situated in a lane which runs behind the old Kesar Mahal property and is the centre of what was until recent times a separate village outside of the city of Kathmandu. The modern name of the area, Thamel, is a corruption of Thām Bahī. At the street entrance to the bahī is a fine old entryway and resting place. To the



right of the entrance is a small temple dedicated to Jati Ajimā whose identity will be explained below. Across the lane in front of the entrance are three medieval caityas set into a brick base. Below the caityas are three images: Akṣobhya flanked on his right by Prajñāpāramitā and on his left by Amitābha. To the side is a long rest house and in the grassy area behind the caityas is another larger, and much later, caitya and a shrine of Saraśvatī.

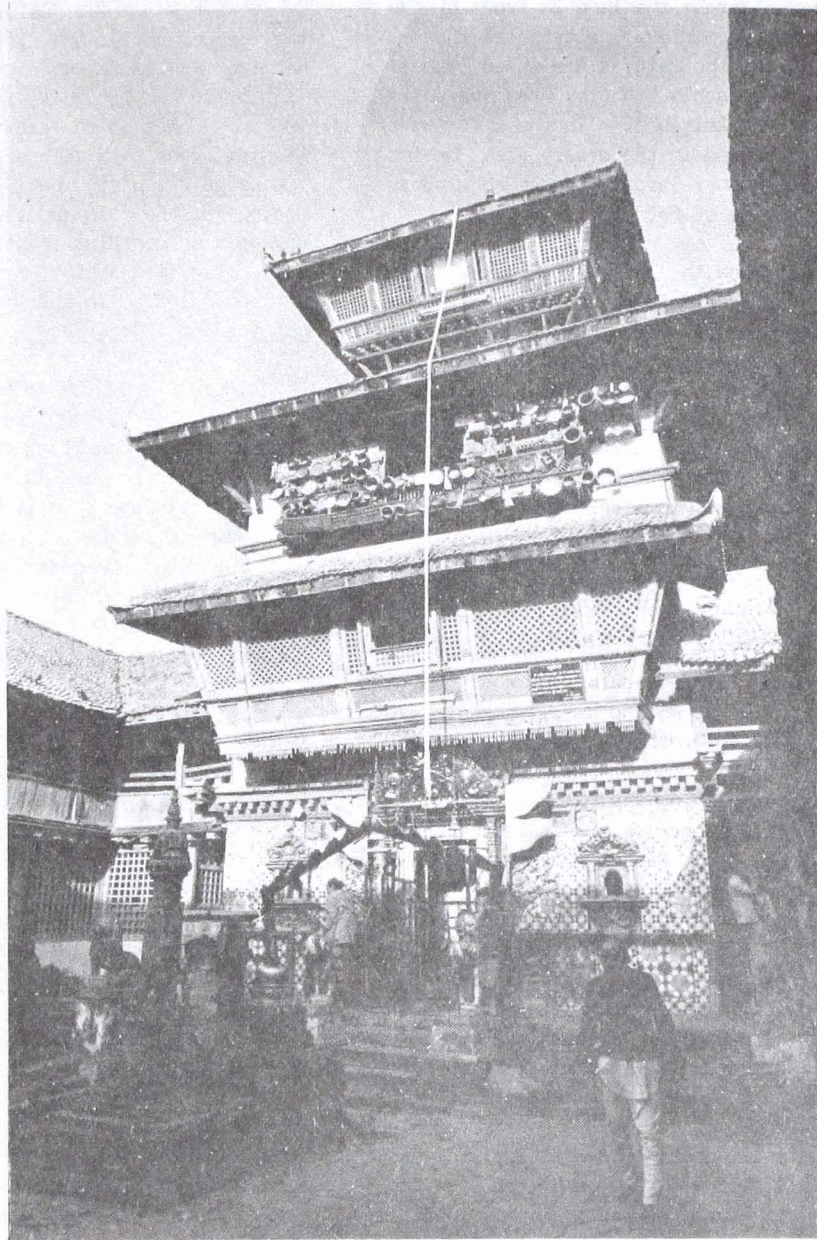
Passing through the entryway of the complex one comes into a vestibule which opens on to the bahī courtyard proper. Over the doorway leading inside is a wooden torana dated N.S.806 which portrays the Buddha (Dharmadhātu . Vāgīśvara) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣari Lokeśvara) on his left. Above these figures are four of the Transcendent Buddhas (minus Vairocana) in their non-tantric form. On the right as one enters the bahī proper is a shrine of Mahākāl. The entire complex of the bahī has been preserved.

The main shrine is directly opposite the entrance and is of three storeys plus a large cupola. The shrine is marked by two sardulas at the entrance and two ordinary lions at the side. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torana depicting the Nāmasaṅgīti. On either side of the door are two small windows. The entire ground floor facade of the shrine has been covered with ceramic tiles. The first storey of the shrine has the usual overhanging balcony covered with lattice screens. Above this is another storey with a single opening flanked by boards to which have been attached an array of pots and pans. The tile roof is surmounted by a large cupola. Into the lattice work of the cupola has been set a large picture of Sakya Muni Buddha. Above the roof of the cupola is a golden finial and a golden mirror (darpaṇa). The cella of the shrine is offset from the rest of the structure so that it is possible to circumambulate it. Though this is the main shrine of the bahī it does not house the kwāpā-dya but an image of Simha Sārtha Bāhu, also known as Guru-jujū, a legendary elder of the bahī whose story will be recounted below. The image is made in the style of the Dīpaṅkara images, i.e. a half image that a man can get inside of (or put on) and carry around. In addition to this image the shrine also contains a red faced Dīpaṅkara image known as Cakandya who is the most well known deity of this bahī.

The rest of the complex is typical of the bahī, a two storied building with open halls on the ground floor and lattice covered, overhanging balconies above. There is one peculiarity to the ground floor though. Along the southern side of the ground floor is a doorway leading back to a recessed shrine which houses the kwāpā-dya of the bahī, an image of Amitābha facing north. In addition to this image the shrine also contains images of Akṣobhya, Kṣetrapāla, two images of Mañjuśrī, Mahākāl, Hanūmān and Ajimā. In the paved courtyard are four caityas and a maṇḍala.

There is another entryway into the complex from the south, and over this doorway is a wooden torana depicting the Nāmasaṅgīti. This doorway opens on to a park-like area containing three caityas and a well. Because of the well it is known as Tuñ Cok, and all water used at the bahī for ritual purposes must be taken from this well. One of the caityas is a stylised caitya with four large Buddha figures. Three of the Buddhas are identical showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and gathering the garments with the left hand below the waist. The fourth Buddha shows the abhaya mudrā with his right hand. All of the Buddhas are given striated garments. Pal dates this monument to the tenth or eleventh century. Along the eastern wall of this area is a rest house where the main image of the bahī is set up on the fullmoon day of Phālgun. This enclosed area is the place where the Pradhāns of this bahī are given their caste initiation (kayte pūjā), and when the two dya-pālās of the main shrine are initiated (Barechuyegu) they must spend four days as bhi-kṣus staying in a rest house to the side.

North of the main bahī structure is a second complex which was evidently also a similar bahī structure. All that remains now are the eastern and northern wings of the buildings. At the western end of the north arm is a typical Nepalese three-storied temple which is the official temple of the Kwā Bāhā Kumārī who is worshipped at the bahī four times a year. The temple has no other image and, unless the Kumārī is in residence, is empty. At the present time, however, the Kumārī is usually worshipped not in this shrine but in the āgam on the first floor of Thām Bahī proper. South of this second compound is another enclosed, grassy area with a plastered stūpa in the centre. This



293. Thām Bahī [96]

stupa is the lineage deity of the Pradhāns attached to this bahī.

The traditions of this bahī are unique. The bahī belongs to a group of Pradhān families, now comprising ten households with eighty six initiated male members. These Pradhāns, cha tharī Shresthas, who belong to a caste that is usually considered to be strictly Hindu, are initiated here in Thām Bahī, are married here and have their lineage deity here. The initiation they receive is not the Barechuyegu but the kayatā pūjā. However, the officiating priest is a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā [1] in Kathmandu. The bahī is theirs and most informants told me that these Pradhāns comprise the saṅgha of the bahī and act as dya-pālās in the bahī shrine. This is incorrect. None of these Pradhāns ever receive the Barechuyegu and none of them ever act as dya-pālās in either the shrine of Simha Sārtha Bāhu or in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Nor do they perform the rituals at their āgam shrine which is situated in the compound behind. However informants say that they could be given the Barechuyegu if they wanted. Instead they appoint two other men, pāñca tharī Shresthas, who are given the Barechuyegu and act as the dya-pālās in the main shrine of the bahī, i.e. the shrine of Simha Sārtha Bāhu. These Shresthas are also of a lineage that is usually considered Hindu. They are of a different lineage from the Pradhāns and have for centuries performed this function. However their succession is not automatic, they have to be appointed by the gūthī of the Pradhāns and they could be removed at any time by the Pradhāns. Their term of service is one month, hence these two serve on alternate months.

Informants from the bahīs of Kathmandu say that Thām Bahī is completely separate from the bahīs of Kathmandu. It is not counted among the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu and the people at Thām Bahī have no rights and privileges in the overall bahī saṅgha of Kathmandu. However, when one of these two Bare-Shresthas dies a new man is selected to take his place, usually his son or, if there is no son, a nephew. He is given the Barechuyegu initiation and for this ceremony the five 'Sthavira' plus the sixteen elders of the bahīs of Kathmandu must come to validate the initiations.<sup>12</sup> The Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā in Kathmandu function as priests at this ceremony. One of the Vajracaryas from Kwā Bāhā also serves as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-

dya. Neither of these Bare-shresthas are ever permitted to perform the nitya-pūjā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. For his services as dya-pālā the Vajracarya receives a house and 32 murīs of paddy each year.

At the time of the Barechuyegu ceremonies for one of these Bare-Shresthas there is always an elaborate feast known as phañ-bway. The expenses for the feast must be born by the family of the Shrestha being initiated. However all of the arrangements for the feast must be made by a group of Jyāpūs known as the Dangu. This sub-caste of Jyāpūs are strictly Buddhist and, according to informants at Thām Bahī, are the highest caste of all the Jyāpūs. In addition to the elders of the sixteen bahīs and the families of the Shresthas, all of the families of the Pradhāns of Thām Bahī must be invited to this feast. Traditionally each guest was given six mānās of flattened rice and other food in proportion, but in recent years this has been somewhat diminished. The initiated Bare-Shrestha must throw this feast before he is allowed to take up his duties as dya-pālā in the shrine of Simha Sārtha Bāhu.

This bahī has connections with five of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī: Kwā Bāhā, Jhwā Bāhā [10], Dhwākā [6] - Gaṃ Bāhā [7] and Lāyku Bahī (=Sikhamu Bāhā [55]). The Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā are the official priests for all regular rituals requiring the services of a Vajracarya. Vajracaryas from Kwā Bāhā, Gaṃ Bāhā, Dhwākā Bāhā and Jhwā Bāhā act as the priests for the āgam deity of Thām Bahī. For their services they are given a feast during Guñlā. During Guñlā and again on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun, the elders from each of these bāhās must come to Thām Bahī to perform a pūjā (done by the senior elder of Kwā Bāhā) and recite the Prajñāpāramitā, an ancient copy of which is preserved at Thām Bahī. The book is divided into four parts and one part each is read by the elder of Lāyku Bahī, Kwā Bāhā and Jhwā Bāhā and the fourth part is read either by the elder of Dhwākā Bāhā or the elder of Gaṃ Bāhā. For their services they were each traditionally given 30 pāthīs of paddy, 3 pāthīs of mustard oil,<sup>14</sup> 2 mānās of salt, 60 paisā worth of fire wood, and 6 pāthīs of rice. However in recent times this has been reduced. On the the fullmoon day of Guñlā the senior elder of Lāyku Bahī (=Sikhamu Bāhā) must come to Thām Bahī to recite a text known as Sṃgaredi and the elder of Kwā Bāhā



comes to perform a kalāśa pūjā.

During Guṇlā at the time of the 'showing of the gods' they still have a display of images, the book of the Prajñāpāramitā written in golden letters and a large banner painting portraying the story of Simha Sārtha Bāhu. Among the images shown are two female wooden images known as the 'Aunties', i.e. the Aunties (father's sisters) of Simha Sārtha Bāhu. These aunts were supposed to have played a big part in his own life and consequently the fathers' sisters of all of the Pradhāns still play a large role in the annual feasts and ceremonies at Thām Bahī. They must be invited to all feasts.

The Kumārī worshipped at this bahī is the Kumārī of Kwā Bāhā whose main function is to serve as the deity of the Kumārī shrine at Thām Bahī. There is little for her to do at Kwā Bāhā itself. She is brought to Thām Bahī four times a year: at the time of the two disī pūjās (Pauṣ and Jyeṣṭha), during Dasain and the day after the fullmoon of the sacred month of Guṇlā. Whenever she comes she is accompanied by the eldest Vajracarya of Kwā Bāhā and a group of musicians. Allen reports that she used to come during the earlier part of Guṇlā for the recitation of the Prajñāpāramitā, but this has been discontinued.<sup>15</sup> This Kumārī is always selected from among the daughters of the Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā, but she is selected by a board consisting of the Rājguru (i.e. the Vajracarya Rājguru of Sikhamu Bāhā), the elders of Kwā Bāhā, the elders of the gūthī of the Pradhāns of Thām Bahī, and the current dya-pālā (Bare-Shrestha) of Thām Bahī. Allen gives a description of the installation and consecration of this Kumārī, a ceremony which takes place at Kwā Bāhā.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of Dasain when the Kumārī is brought to Thām Bahī she is worshipped by the Pradhāns (as Durgā?) in her shrine. They must perform a pūjā to her in her shrine before they perform the usual Dasain sacrifice in their homes. At the end of Dasain the Pradhāns of Thām Bahī take out a Khaḍga Jātrā, a procession of the sword of Durgā.

The annual festival of the bahī is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. For the ceremonies of this day the Vajracaryas from the above bāhās must come again to perform the rituals and recite the text

of the Prajñāpāramitā. For their services they are each given thirty pāthis (of six mānās each) of husked rice by the Pradhāns.

On the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun (the day of the Hindu festival of Holī) the image of Dīpaṅkara (Cakaṇ Dya) is taken out of its shrine and kept for the entire day in a rest house in Tuñ Cok where it is worshipped throughout the day. In the evening it is taken round the courtyard and back to its shrine. On the following day Cakaṇ Dya is taken out in procession from Thām Bahī to Kathmandu. According to informants at Thām Bahī this procession is connected with the recitation of the text of the Prajñāpāramitā which they refer to as the 'Lun Ākha--Wa Ākha'='the (Book Written) in Gold and Silver Letters'.

There is a legend connected with this book and its recitation. The book is reputed to have been written by Mañjusrī himself which he then gave to the Nāgarājas for safe keeping. The nāgas took the book to the land of the gods. It was finally decided that it would be given to a man who had proved himself to be very brave and favoured by the gods. Dīpaṅkara was such a man and this became known to his mother one day when he was a child. One day his mother had sent him to take their flock of ducks out to a nearby pond. While he was tending the ducks he fell asleep. After some time his mother came searching for him and when she found him asleep near the pond she noticed that a five-headed serpent was shading his head from the sun. From this she understood that he was in reality a bodhisattva marked with the cudā maṇi on his head (i.e. the uṣṇiṣa, the excrescence on the head of a Buddha which is supposed to indicate his state of enlightenment). When the Nāgarāja came to know this, Dīpaṅkara was given the book of the Prajñāpāramitā with the command that it be recited each year at the time of Guṇlā. Evidently he deposited this book at the old site of the bahī at Sāmā Khusī.

A certain group of Jyāpūs were later reputed to bring the book to Thām Bahī after a new foundation had been built there by Simha Sārtha Bāhu. A feast was then given to these Jyāpūs and it was determined that each year ten pāthis of rice would be cooked as a feast for these Jyāpūs. These Jyāpūs known as the Walāchimi (the people from Walāchi) are still fed each year at the time of Guṇlā; and at the time of

the procession of Cakan Dya one of these Jyāpus carries the book of the Prajñāpāramitā in the procession. This is the same group of Jyāpūs from whom the Jyāpū Phu Bare of Thatu Puñ is chosen.

The procession of Cakan Dya proceeds from Tham Bahī to Jyāthā Tole in Kathmandu and from there round the following areas: Chusyā Bāhā, Musyā Bāhā, Kamalāchi, Bhotāhiti, Asan Tole, Mahābauddha, Mahamati, back again to Asan Tole to Takse Bāhā, Hāku Bāhā, Jana Bāhā, Indra Chok, Kilāgal and Itum Bāhā, from there to Wotu Tole and Tadhañ Bāhā and from there past Hanūmān Dhōkā round the hole in the street in front of Kumāri Bāhā (which marks the site of an ancient caitya), to the Kot behind Hunūmān Dhokā, Yatakhā Bāhā, Naradevī, Swetakālī, Thāya Madu, Thañ Hiti and finally to Kwā Bāhā. At Kwā Bāhā the procession stops and pūjā is done to the Dīpañkara image and he dances. From there the procession goes back to Tham Bahī. There a pūjā is performed to the image and then the image is escorted round the back to the local public toilet. When he returns Dīpañkara is turned first to the hill to the north known as Nāgarjuna's hill so that he can have darśan of Nāgarjuna and then turned toward the direction of Sāmā Khusī so that he can see what is reputed to be the original site of the bahī. Then the image dances in front of the Ajimā shrine outside of Tham Bahī and is finally ritually welcomed back into the bahī. At this time the women of the Pradhān clan also ritually welcome into their community any new brides who have been married into the clan within the past year. Finally Cakañ Dya is escorted back into the bahī under three umbrellas.

In summary then this bahī and its community do not fit the usual pattern at all. In a sense the sangha of the bahī is comprised of the Pradhāns whose shrine this is and whose gūthī controls all of the land belonging to the bahī. However, they are not Bare and do not act as dya-pālās in the main shrine of the bahī. The dya-pālās are two Bare-Shresthas, Shresthas who have been given the Barechuyegu precisely to carry out this function, but who are not members of a recognised bāhā or bahī sangha and have none of the other duties and customs of the Bare. They perform the daily pūjā morning and evening in the shrine of Cakañ Dya, but the daily pūjā of the kwāpā-dya must be performed by a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā. The Pradhāns them-

selves receive the ordinary kaytā pūjā initiation of Pradhāns, but with a Vajracarya of Kwā Bāhā officiating. Their lineage deity is the stupa to the north of Tham Bahī proper. The bahī (i.e. the gūthī of the Pradhāns) still has a considerable income, about 300 muris of paddy which comes from fields which the gūthī still owns around Sāmā Khusi in the low lying area some distance north west of the bahī and below the British cemetery.

The history of this foundation is as intriguing as its current customs. The Swayambhu Purana and Nepalese chronicles place its foundation back in pre-historic times in the time of Kanakamuni Buddha, one of the legendary Buddhas who is said to have lived before the historical Sakya Muni:

Once upon a time a certain Pandit of Vikram Sil Bihār in Benares, named Dharma Sri Mitra, was reciting some moral traditions from a book, when he came to the mantra of twelve letters, which he could not explain. Ascribing this inability to his not having visited Mañjusri, he determined to go to see him, and for this purpose went to Svayambhu. Mañjusri, having become aware of this through meditation, also went to Nepal, and began to plough a field, having yoked for that purpose a lion and a sardul (griffin). Seeing this strange sight, Dharma Sri Mitra went up to Mañjusri, and asked the way to China. Manjusri replied that it was too late that day to commence his journey, and took him to his house, where he instantly caused a good vihar to spring up, in which he lodged his guest. During the night Dharma Sri Mitra overheard some conversation between Mañjusri and his wife, which made known to him the disguised Mañjusri, and he slept at the threshold of his room. In the morning Mañjusri made him his disciple, and told him the meaning of the mantra. The bihar, in which he lodged, he called Vikram Sil Bihār, and the field which he was ploughing, when met by Dharma Sri Mitra, he called Sāwā Bhūmī; and to this day this is the field in which rice is planted before all the other fields in the valley.

This Sāwā Bhūmī is the land which Tham Bahī still owns at Sāmā Khusi and Wright notes that in his day it was still the first spot where rice was planted each year.<sup>20</sup> There is a caitya there, and people say it is the site of a former

vihāra.

Another legend, even more important for understanding the present traditions, is that of the merchant known as *Simhasārtha Bāhu*, *Simhasārtha Āju* or *Guru-jujū*. The story is a popular one and is contained in several collections of storeys of Nepal. Following is the story as told by Wright's Chronicle:

During the reign of *Simha Ketu*, a Descendant of *Guṇakāmadeva*, there was a virtuous merchant by name *Sinhal*. On a certain occasion he took five hundred *Baniyās* and proceeded northwards to *Sinhal Dwip* (Ceylon). On the way they saw a golden *chaitya*, and, in spite of *Sinhal*'s warning, the *Baniyās* took away the gold from it. After crossing with great difficulty the arm of the ocean, in the passage of which the power of *Sinhal* alone saved them, they were met by five hundred and one *Rakshasis* (ogresses), who, in the form of lovely damsels, enchanted them, and each took one as a companion. The *Lokeswara Āryavalokiteswar*, taking pity on *Sinhal*, appeared in the wick of his lamp, and told him what these damsels were, and that some day they would devour his followers. He added that, if he doubted him, he should go to *Ashaya Kot* and, if he wanted to be saved, he should go to the sea-shore, where on the fourth day he would meet a horse, which, after making obeisance, he should mount and cross the sea. *Sinhal* went to *Ashaya* (or *Ayasa*) *Kot* in the morning, where he saw all sorts of persons who had lost their limbs, which convinced him of the truth of what he had been told. He then collected his five hundred companions, and went to the sea-shore, where they mounted the horse *Balah*, which took them across the ocean. Their mistresses the *Rakshasis* pursued them, calling them by name. The *Baniyas*, in spite of the warning of *Āryavalokiteswar*, looked back, fell from the horse, and were devoured by their mistresses. *Sinhal* was the only one who arrived safely at home, followed by his *Rakshasi*, who remained outside his house, without any notice being taken of her by *Sinhal*. A rumour regarding a beautiful damsel having reached the ears of the *Rājā* of *Sankasya-nagari*, he sent for her, and kept her in his palace. One day the *Rakshasi* flew away to the sky, and summoned her sister *Rakshasis* who came and destroyed the *Rājā* and all his family. *Sinhal*, having

heard of this, went to the *Rājā*'s *darbār*, and, reciting the mantras of *Āryavalokiteswar*, flourished his sword and drove away the *Rakshasis*. The people then elected him to be their king, and he ruled for a long time. He pulled down his own house, and built a *bihār*, and consecrated an image of *Bodhisattwa*. In consideration of the *Rakshasi*, who followed him from Ceylon, having been his mistress, he raised a temple for her worship, and assigned land for its support. He having no issue, the dynasty became extinct on his death. To the *bihar* which he built he gave the same name that *Mañjusri* gave to the one which he caused to spring up for *Dharma Sri Mitra*, viz. *Vikram Sil Bihār*.<sup>21</sup>

This is the story which is recounted on the banner displayed each year at the time of the 'showing of the gods' during *Guṇlā*. The image in the main shrine is supposed to be *Simha Sārtha Bāhu* and the *Jataka Ajimā* shrine outside the *bahī* is the shrine of the ogress-mistress of *Simha Sārtha Bāhu*. The story implies that the *vihāra* supposedly built by *Mañjusri* for *Dharmśri Mitra* was in ruins by this time and that the new one which *Simhasārtha Bāhu* built was not on the same site, but near his *darbār*. The original site is supposed to have been the area where the *bahī* still has its fields. There is a tradition that the area of *Tham Bahī* once had its own king. *Tham Bahī* always lay well outside the city of Kathmandu, and it is entirely possible that it was the seat of some feudatory lord who was considered a local king.

Some of the early history of this foundation is preserved for us in Tibetan records. *Atisa*, or *Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna* as he was known in India, left India in A.D.1041 to begin his journey to Tibet where he eventually revived the *Dharma* after the earlier period of persecution and decay. He spent the year 1041 in Nepal. His biography records his visit to Nepal and it is confirmed by a letter he wrote from Nepal to King *Naya Pala* of Bengal and a work entitled *Cārya-saṁgraha-pradīpa* which he composed in Nepal for a deaf disciple of his. *Atisa* spent some time in the Valley and visited the *Swayambhu Mahācaitya*. Then he set off for another place. "They then reached the plain of *Palpa* called *Palpoi-than*. At this time the king named *Anantakirti* who ruled over Nepal held his court there. He received *Atisa* with much cordiality and reverence." *Atisa* persuaded the king to



build a monastery which was to be called the Tham (sTham) viḥāra and the king even allowed "his son prince Padmaprabaha to be ordained as a monk-pupil of Atisa." It is added that Atisa left Nepal for Tibet after the work on the Tham viḥāra was commenced. The prince Padmaprabha had lessons in Tibetan and Sanskrit and eventually became an adept in Buddhism.<sup>22</sup> The Blue Annals attests to the same visit: 'They spent one year (in Nepal), and built the great temple of sTham Viḥāra, and deposited there provisions (in support) of a numerous clergy. Many were ordained . . . He [Atisa] used to say that at the temple of Stham viḥara, the manner of taking food and the manner of conducting the study of the Doctrine (by the monks) were good.'<sup>23</sup>

The account from the biography has raised more questions than it has answered because of the reference to Pālpā and a king called Anantakīrti who is unknown. In his latest edition Petech has shed considerable light on the whole question by going back to the original Tibetan sources. It is now clear that the translator of Atisa's biography, relying on the earlier interpretation of S. C. Das,<sup>24</sup> has misunderstood the text. Following is the relevant passage from Petech: When Atisa arrived in Nepal

he took up residence at the Śiñ-kun shrine (Svayambhū Nāth), where he found waiting for him the royal monk of Gu-ge with the means necessary for his journey, and where he was received with the utmost reverence by the local Paṇḍits and by his own brother Vīryacandra; they seated him on the throne usually reserved for the mahārāja (rgyal-pa c'enpo). He was supplied with every kind of necessities by the rājā (rgyal-po) of Śiñ-kun. The K'ri-son Bhāro of Nepal too came to visit him and invited him to his home.

After the demise of his companion rGya brTson-'grus-señ-ge, Atiśa spent most of his time at Bal-po rdzong. Then he shifted to Bal-po'i-T'an), where he presided over the funeral ceremonies for his dead friend. He was received there by the mahārāja (rgyal-po c'enpo) of Nepal Grags-pa-mt'a'-yas. The Master presented him with the elephant that had carried him up from India and asked for permission to build a viḥāra at T'an. The king agreed and furnished him with the means for the undertaking. He also entrusted to him his own son Padma-'od, to whom Atiśa imparted the vows of a novice. Then he re-

turned to Bal-po rdzong with the Gu-ge envoys.

The T'an viḥāra was built as a double convent, of which the one section was called Rāja viḥāra and the other, although no name is given,<sup>25</sup> was apparently the T'an viḥāra proper.

Bal-po rdzong means 'the castle of Nepal' and is the Tibetan name for Nuwākot.<sup>26</sup> Bal-po'o-T'an means literally 'the plain of Nepal', but here it seems to be a proper name,<sup>27</sup> i.e. Tañ (or Tañ) in the Valley of Nepal. Hence there is no question of Pālpā at all. The king Grags-pa-mt'a'-yas (Anantakīrti or Anantayasas) is unknown, but this was a time of confusion with perhaps a civil war from about A.D. 1039-1045.<sup>28</sup> It was also a time when local feudatories were looked upon as local kings. The name of the king does not appear in the earlier Tibetan accounts and Petech surmises that it may well be a later invention.<sup>29</sup> It might also be the name of the local feudatory of Thamel.

About A.D. 1200 the abbot of this viḥāra was the famous Vibhūticandra.<sup>30</sup> Vibhūticandra was a prince who had abandoned his inheritance to become a monk. He was first at Jagadalla, the last great seat of Buddhist learning founded by a Pālā king, and was a disciple of Śākya Śrībhadrā. When the Moslems attacked Jagadalla Śākya Śrībhadrā and his two disciples Vibhūticandra and Danaśīla, fled to Nepal and Tibet. Much of the later tantric literature of the Tibetan canon was an outgrowth of the teaching of these two disciples of Śākya Śrībhadrā.<sup>31</sup>

The thread of the history of Tham Bahī is picked up again a little more than a hundred years later by a Tibetan pilgrim to Nepal, Dharmasvāmin. He arrived in Nepal in A.D. 1226 and remained in Nepal until 1234 when he went on to India to visit the Buddhist pilgrimage sites there. While in Nepal he lived at a viḥāra near Svayambhūnāth and studied under Ratnarākṣita. He describes two other Buddhist sites in the Valley: the viḥāra of Bu-kham with its image of Avalokiteśvara (Buñga-dya) and Thañ Viḥāra.

Further, in Nepala there is a Viḥāra called Tham, also called the 'first Viḥāra' or the 'upper Viḥāra.' (In this viḥāra there was a Stūpa on which every evening a light appeared which was observed by the Venerable Lord (jo-bo-re, Atiśa) who inquired of all,

'What was it', but they did not know; only an old woman remarked, 'This must be the coloured dust after the erection of the maṅḍala by the Buddha Kāśyapa.' The Lord (Atīśa) then erected a temple to worship it. In front of this Stūpa, there is a golden image of Sakyamuni. It is called the Lord Abhaya-dāna. The Indians [i.e. the Nepalese] call this sacred place Dharmadhātuvihāra.

In the monastery was an abbot's seat gilded and adorned with pearls, (for the erection of which) eighty ounces of natural gold were used, besides the other four kinds of ornaments. The founder (of the monastery) invited the Guru [Atīśa] to occupy the seat and honoured him. From then till the present time the religious rites are properly observed (in the monastery). The Dharmasvāmin said that he did not stay there, but resided at the Svayambhū-caitya because there was a monastery there.<sup>32</sup>

It is noteworthy that according to Dharmasvāmin's account and the account of the Blue Annals Atīśa did not found the monastery but built a shrine for the light shining from the caitya and possibly renewed the discipline of the monastery.

As mentioned above Tham Bahī has an ancient copy of the Prajñāpāramitā, supposedly written by Mañjuśrī himself. This manuscript is dated N.S.344 and the colophon mentions 'Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra'.<sup>33</sup> N.S.344 corresponds to A.D. 1223-24 just two years before the arrival of Dharmasvāmin in Nepal, and its confirmation of the name given by Dharmasvāmin is significant. Manuscripts, or course, are not permanent fixtures, and Tham Bahī could well have acquired this text at a later date from some other place; but this seems unlikely. The manuscript was certainly in the possession of Tham Bahī in N.S.769 when the monastery was visited by King Pratāp Malla who added a note to the manuscript recording his visit to the monastery at that time with his favourite wife Lālmati. According to the note the queen asked the king to explain the meaning of the book. He replied that it was not possible for him to interpret the thoughts contained in the great book.<sup>34</sup>

In view of the new evidence and the clearing up of the confusion about Pālpā, there seems now no doubt that Tham Bahī is indeed the Tām Vihāra of the Tibetan records which they asso-

ciate with Atīśa. Those familiar with the Tibetan tradition also tell me that the large caitya situated in the grassy area to the north of Tham Bahī is of a particular style which in Tibet is always associated with Atīśa. Thām, as Dharmasvāmin remarks, means upper and can therefore mean northern. It is a common Newari word and could be applied to any vihāra located in the upper or northern sector of Kathmandu or Patan. However, we know of no other Tham Vihāra from that period, and Tham Bahī is situated straight north of Tham Hiti at the northern limits of the old city of Kathmandu. The Sanskrit name which Dharmasvāmin gives--Dharmadhātu Vihāra--is different from the present Sanskrit name of Tham Bahī--Vikramasīla Mahāvihāra. However, the earliest confirmed reference to this Sanskrit name is dated N.S.783. It is entirely possible that the name was changed to commemorate the famous monastery from which Atīśa came or that there was more than one establishment at this site. It is also true, as Regmi remarks, that there are no references in any Nepali source to Atīśa's visit to Nepal, not in the chronicles, nor in inscriptions nor manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> This is not unusual. There are no recollections of any of the famous pandits and siddhas who flourished in the Valley from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries as attested by the Tibetan sources, but they certainly existed.<sup>36</sup>

Dhanavajra Vajracarya informs me that the gūthīyārs of Tham Bahī have a number of palmleaf documents, all of which predate Ratna Malla of Kathmandu (A.D. 1485-1520). So far these have not been made available for study. If they are made available they will perhaps shed considerable light on the later history of Tham Bahī and the question of the two recorded Sanskrit names. In the meantime I would suggest the following hypothesis. Tham Bahī is an ancient foundation which pre-dates the time of Atīśa. Atīśa visited the site and erected here either a caitya (possibly the still extant caitya to the north) or a second vihāra and did much to improve the discipline and learning of the monks resident in the monastery. There were at least two foundations at this site, one a monastery for bhikṣus known as Dharmadhātu Vihāra and the second a sort of chapel or Buddhist shrine for the use of the court of the local feudatory of whom the present Pradhāns are the descendants. This was possibly called Rāja Vihāra, as the Tibetan sources indicate, but was later called Vikramasīla Mahāvihāra to commemorate Atīśa--Dīpaṅkara

Śrījñāna of the famous Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. What has survived is Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. Dharmadhātu Vihāra was situated in what is now known as Tuñ Cok to the south or in the still enclosed area to the north. The southern site is favoured by the presence of the 11-12th century caitya, the fact that the image of Dīpa-nkara (Cakañ Dya) is placed there for the whole day on the fullmoon day of Phālgun, the fact that the newly initiated dya-pālās must reside there for three days living the life of a bhikṣu, and the fact that the Kṣetra-pālā at this site is the place where all sacred refuse from all rituals is thrown (i.e. this is the main Kṣetra-pālā of the whole complex). A further confirmation comes from a tradition recounted by one of the informants at Tañ Bahī. According to this tradition the kwāpā-dya image now enshrined along the southern arm of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra was the kwāpā-dya of another vihāra situated to the south. It is significant that the dya-pālā at Vikramaśīla (an initiated 'Shrestha = lay person) may not perform the nitya pūjā in this shrine, it must always be performed by a Vajracarya from Kwā Bāhā (i.e. a true bhikṣu = a member of a recognised Bare saṅgha).

There are few other early references to Tham Bahī. The earliest reference is found in a contemporary note on a manuscript which lists Thañ Bahīri as one of the places set fire to by the troops of Mukunḍa Sen, the Rājā of Pālpā when he attacked the Valley in N.S.646. In N.S. 752 the gūṭhī of Thañ Vahīri, under the leadership of the Thakālī Candra Sīmha, had телиа bricks made for the seat of the āgam deity and for building a new temple. Ornaments were also offered to the deity at this time. According to an inscription on the steps leading into the shrine of Sīmha Sārtha Bāhu, one Mahā-pātra Kṛṣṇa Sīmha Bhāro repaired the caitya in the courtyard in N.S.78, in memory of his father, Guṇa Sīmha Bhāro of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. In N.S.802 One Hari Sīmha Bhāro renovated the courtyard and installed two images of Mañjuśrī and one of Sarasvati. In the inscription he refers to the bahī as Śrī 3 Gandhulī Bāhāra. This should not be taken as another name for the vihāra. We have seen in several inscriptions that the Buddha image of a bahī is often referred to as Śrī Gandhulī. Hence I would take this not as a proper name of this bahī but as a common name, the vihāra of the Buddha. On the second day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvan in N.S.845, one Hāku Sīmha

of Tañ Vahīra entered the shrine of Gandhulī Devatā (=the Buddha) and offered images of the sun and moon and one set of clothes or the deity plus one set of clothes for the Kumārī. Finally Sānti Pūjā and a yajña were performed to the āgam deity.<sup>40</sup>

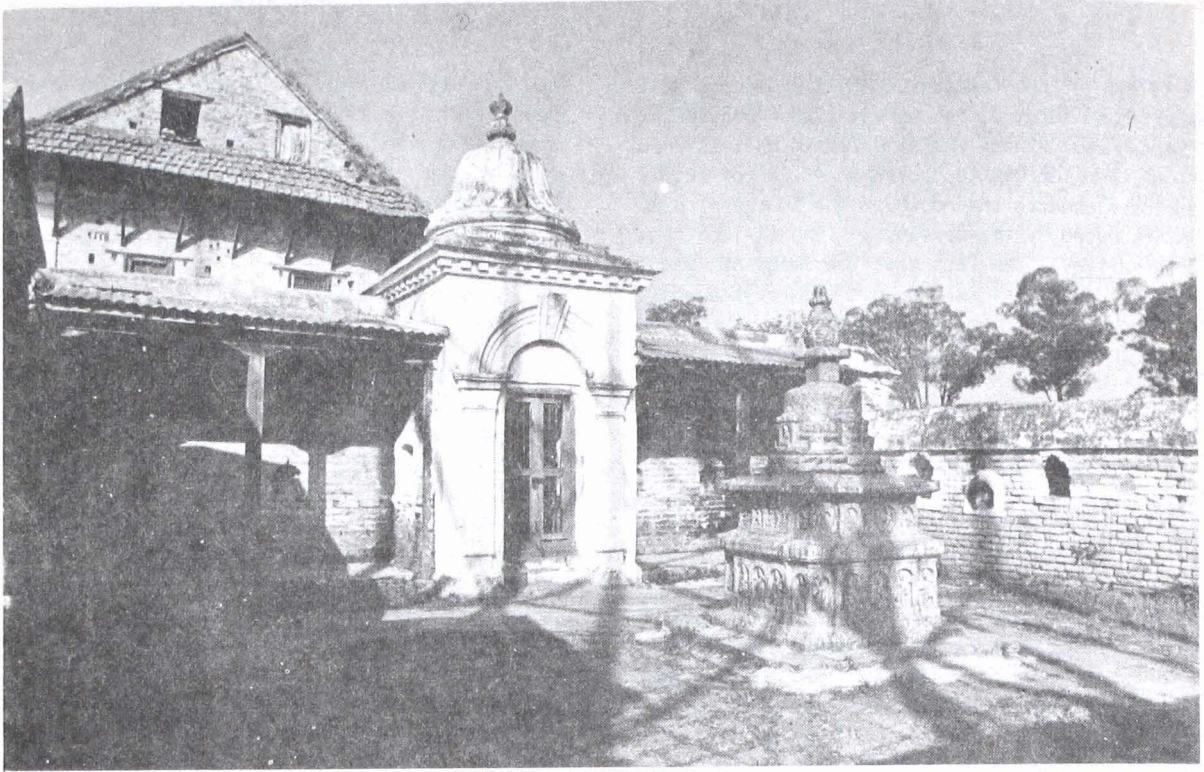
#### 7. Teku Dobān Bāhā -- Cintāmañi Vajradīpa Mahāvihāra [100] Teku Dobān

This is a recent foundation, built in A.D.1941 down by the Bāgmati River near Teku Dobān, the confluence of the Bāgmati and Viṣṇu-mati Rivers. It consists of a small grassy area enclosed by a low wall with a caitya in the centre and a kwāpā-dya shrine set along the north wall. The shrine is a 'modern' shrine, small and enclosed. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. This bāhā has no saṅgha as such but it has become a place for the conferring of Barechuyegu initiations on Sakya boys who are not eligible to receive initiations in their proper bāhā. This is usually so because of an irregular marriage, i.e. the boy's father has married a woman of a caste other than Sakya or Vajracarya with the result that the members of the saṅgha of the father's bāhā refuse to let the boy be initiated there. The whole shrine then would seem to be the result of a growing number of such mixed marriages which are still considered to be contrary to the customs of the Bare community by the elders. The younger people who are less rigid in their approach have chosen this way out of the impasse in an effort to preserve some semblance of their traditional ways and to make sure that their sons get the essential caste initiation. However, caste initiation is all they get. They do not become members of a recognised saṅgha and they have no obligations whatever to this shrine. The usual rituals are performed each morning only by a Sakya of Kusāri Bāhā [27], but it is not a branch of that bāhā.

#### 8. Thāya Madu Bāhā -- Sthāna Maṇḍapa Vihāra [106] Thāya Madu

Architecturally this is not a bāhā at all but simply an unmarked room on the ground floor of an ordinary building off of the square in Thāya Madu Tole. Behind this single room, which has no ornamentation inside or out, is a small recessed area containing an image of Padmapāñi





294. Teku Dobān Bāhā [100]



295. Thaya Madu Baha [106]



Lokeśvara. This is the shrine of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara where the Jyāpu Phu Bare is initiated. (For an explanation of the Jyāpu Phu Bare see the Introduction to the Ācārya Gūṭhī section.) The only saṅgha attached to this bāhā is the Phu Bare himself who performs the usual daily rituals. At the present time he has rented out the little room to some local people who use it as a kitchen for a small open air restaurant. He has to climb over the stove and the pots and pans each morning to perform the nitya pūjā of the image of Lokeśvara. There may well have been a proper bāhā on this site at one time, but no one could give any further information.



296. Image of Lokeśvara  
Thāya Madu Bāhā





## Defunct Viharas of Kathmandu

The following bāhās or bahīs are now defunct. Most of them existed until fairly recent times according to informants, some of whom can remember the bāhās or their remains which are now lost. For a few of them there is some inscriptional or archaeological evidence left.

1. Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa Bāhā -- Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa  
Mahāvihāra [A] Maru Tole

According to a still current oral tradition in Kathmandu there was once a vihāra located on the site where the famous Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa (Maru Sattal), from which the city gets its name, now stands. The informants say the vihāra was demolished to make room for the Maru Sattal. As evidence of this they cite a shrine now located on the southern part of the ground floor of the Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa temple just in front of the Maru Sattal. This shrine, the door of which is directly behind the money changer who is always sitting there to exchange old coins, contains an image of Padmapāṇi which informants claim was the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā. Over the doorway is a torāṇa showing Amitābha. Further along the veranda are images of Mahākāl and Mañjusri. I find it highly unlikely that there was a vihāra on the site of the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa which has been there at least since the eleventh century. Furthermore, the Sanskrit name Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra makes little sense if the vihāra was demolished to make room for the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa. It is much more likely that the vihāra existed on the site where the image is still located. It would make sense to call a vihāra located there Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra.

2. Cikan Muga Bāhā -- Gūhyakukṣa Mahāvihāra  
[B] Cikan Muga

According to informants there was once a bāhā in this enclosed courtyard. Nothing re-

mains of it now, not even a caitya. The only thing in the courtyard now is a well. This was probably a branch bāhā, possibly of Sikhamu Baha [55].

3. Bhonsiko Bāhā -- Vandakṛta Nāma Mahāvihāra  
[C] Dugan Bahī

According to informants this bāhā was situated right on the wall of the old city of Kathmandu on the back end of the property which is now occupied by the Military Hospital. It was a defunct foundation when the remaining buildings were demolished. Informants say that it was a branch Sawal Bāhā [50] and founded by a Vajracarya named Vandakṛta Vajrācārya. When the buildings were demolished the image of the kwāpā-dya was removed and set up near the stupa outside of Te Bāhā (behind the RNAC building) where it can still be seen.

4. Kothu Bāhā -- Gaganagana Mahāvihāra [D]  
Thāya Madu Tole

According to Ananda Muni Vajracarya, the Thakāli of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, this foundation was a bāhā located near the four Nārāyaṇa temples in Thāya Madu Tole. Its saṅgha had long died out, but some of the original buildings still remained when Ananda Muni was a young man. Perhaps the Licchavi Buddha image at the edge of this area was connected to this bāhā.

5. Bakai Bahī -- [E]  
Ikhu Bāhā

According to Ananda Muni Vajracarya this was a bahī situated just outside the present Ikhu Bāhā in the partially enclosed area where a caitya still stands. When it ceased to function is not known.

6. Buddha Bāri -- Dīpaṅkara Mahābauddha  
Mahāvihāra [F] Hyumat Tole

All that remains of this foundation is a free-standing brick shrine of two storeys in the middle of a vacant lot on the edge of Hyumat Tole. The shrine has a plain doorway on the ground floor with no torana and a single ornate carved window above the door itself. The roof is of corrugated iron and is topped by a caitya. From the outside the shrine appears to be of two storeys, but actually it is one storey with a huge seated Buddha figure of clay inside. The right hand of the figure shows the abhaya mudrā and the left the varada mudrā with the second finger raised. All informants identified the figure as Dīpaṅkara Buddha. In the area around the shrine are several 'Licchavi' caityas. All of the surrounding vacant land belongs to the shrine and originally the plot of land extended across what is now the main road leading to Kālimāti and included the land on which the National Trading building now stands.

According to informants this foundation has not been defunct long. Several informants said that the saṅgha of this bāhā moved from here to Kusāñ Bāhā [27] and Tamu Bāhā [28] within living memory. However, the people of these two bāhās were unable to confirm this. According to others it was originally a branch of Iku Bāhā [76]. It is still a much frequented shrine and the members of the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā must come here on the day before they perform Barec-huyegu initiations to present betel nuts to the image enshrined here. This would indicate a close connection with Lagan Bāhā or at least with its saṅgha, as this ceremony, usually performed in the bāhā into which one is to be initiated, is a ritual request for the initiation. This request is usually made of the head of the saṅgha one is about to enter.

7. Wotu Bāhā -- [G]  
Wotu Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is a shrine on the ground floor of a large building right on the road in Wotu Tole. The shrine contains an unusual stone image of Lokanātha, a seated form of Avalokitesvara showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and holding the stem of a lotus with the left. The right leg hangs down from the seat, the left rests on the lotus seat. (Several people identified the image as Mañju-

sri.) The shrine is marked by two stone lions and over the carved doorway is a torana depicting a four-handed form of Mañjuśrī surrounded by the five transcendent Buddhas. The torana is dated N.S.779. The upper storey of this building houses an image of Nāsa Dya: the dancing form of Siva worshipped by Jyāpūs.

According to informants this is the site of an ancient bāhā. Its proximity to Tadhañ Bāhā [49], Cidhañ Bāhā [48] and Pucheñ Bāhā [47] would suggest a connection to these foundations. However, no one was able to confirm this, and the shrine is now looked after by Tulādhar from the Te Bāhā area who own the building and by Vajracaryas from Sawal Bāhā who serve as priests when a priest is needed. Until about 20 years ago they used to have an annual and very elaborate homa ritual here once a year, but this has lapsed.

8. Sawal Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra [H]  
Sawal Bāhā Tole

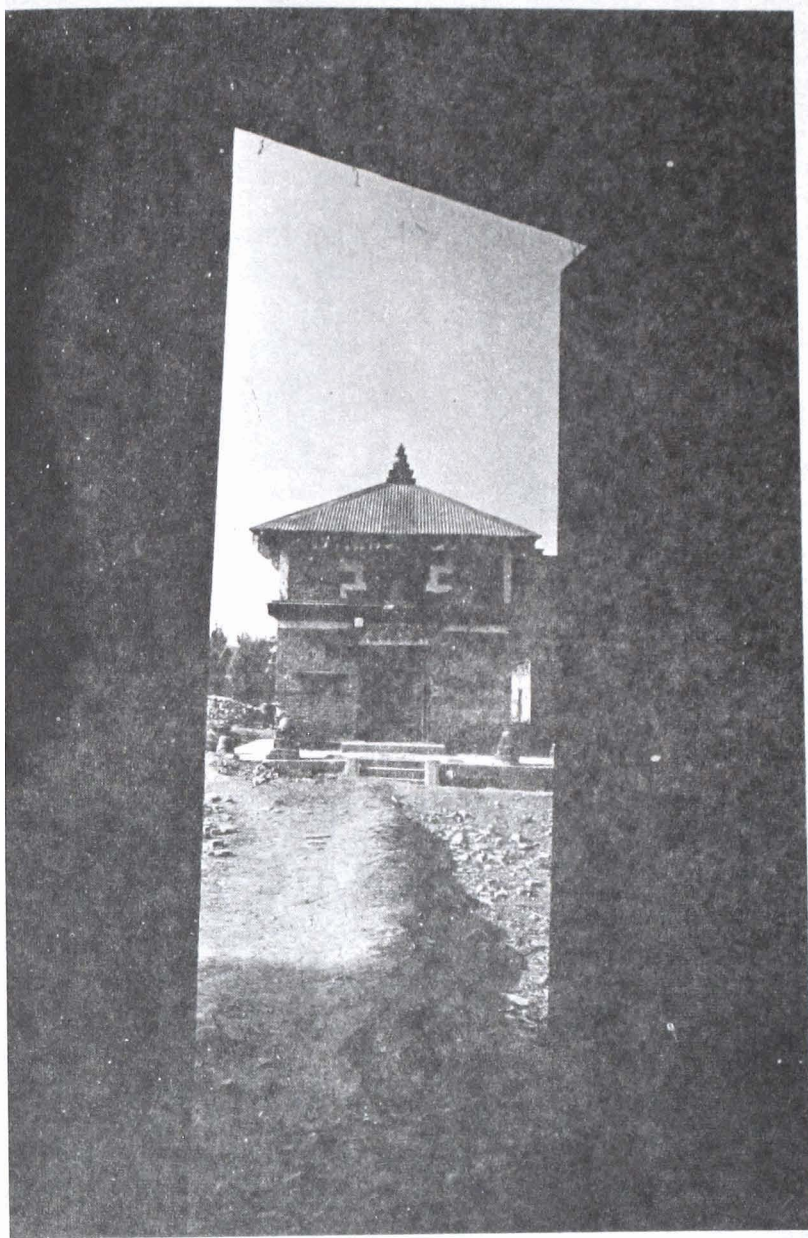
According to informants this is the original site of Sawal Bāhā [50] which at some point in history was shifted from here to its present location. There is nothing here now but a stupa which has been fairly recently renovated. The contention that this was the site of Sawal Bāhā is confirmed by the fact that the whole area is still known as Sawal Bāhā Tole despite the fact that there is no bāhā by this name anywhere near here now.

9. Bakan Bahī -- [I]  
Yangā Tole

Informants say that there was once a bāhā on this site which is now a vacant lot used for selling fire wood with no trace of the bāhā left.

10. Sāmā Khusi Bāhā -- Dharmasrimitra  
Mahāvihāra [J] Sāmā Khusi

The only thing on this site near the stream known as Sāmā Khusi and just below the British cemetery is a caitya which according to tradition marks the original site of the vihāra which Mañjuśrī caused to spring up for Dharmasrimitra back in the age of Krakuchanda Buddha. It would therefore mark the original site of Thañ Bahī and in fact is situated in the middle of the fields which are still owned by the gūṭhī of



297. Buddha Bārī [F]





298. Wotu Bāhā [G]



299. Image at Wotu Baha

Tham Bahī. (See the section on Tham Bahī.) It is not impossible that there was once a vihāra on this site.

11. Sukum Bāhā -- [K]

Lājimpāt

Many informants say that there was originally a bāhā in Lājimpāt and there is still a caitya marking the site. No one knows anything more about it, except that it had some connection with Tham Bahī [96].

12. Lām Bāhā -- Mañjugīri Dharmadhātu  
Mahāvihāra [L]

Digayitu Mahāvihāra

Pakanājole

All that remains of this bāhā is a brick and stucco, free-standing shrine at the edge of a lane in Pakanājole. The present shrine dates to A.D.1938. The bāhā has certainly long been defunct, but several of the saṅghas of Kathmandu, who worship 'Vajrayogini' of Sankhu as their lineage deity, worship here. KTMV gives the Newari name of this shrine as Rām Bāhā, but the people who live in the area and the people who worship their lineage deity here say Lām Bāhā or Lām Bāhā. This immediately raises the question if this might not be the sight of the Hlam Vihāra which is referred in two colophons one of which is dated A.D. 1008 and the other of which was written in the time of Bhoja Deva and Laksmikāmadeva. Neither colophon gives any indication where this vihāra is located.<sup>2</sup> KTMV gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā as Mañjugīri Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra and says that it was probably founded in the time of Mahendra Malla (c N.S.684-694), but gives no indication of a source for either of these statements.<sup>3</sup> Ratna Kāji Vajracarya gives the Sanskrit name Digayitu Vihāra.<sup>4</sup>

13. Pim Bāhā -- Sarvasiddhi Mahāvihāra [M]  
Pasupatināth

Many different sources speak of a vihāra at Pasupatināth. Legends speak of the Buddhists living there and throwing their garbage on the linga of Pasupatināth as a result of which Saṅkaracārya is supposed to have thrown them out. The saṅgha of Mū Bāhā [46] still has a tradition that they once resided in that vihāra and later moved to the city of Kathmandu. (See the section on Mū Bāhā.) There is no agreement on

where this vihāra was situated--some say the site of the Paśupatināth temple (highly unlikely), some say along the river where there is still a sixth century Buddha image set into the stone pavement, some say in the village of Deo Patan, some say up near Cābahīl.

14. Takhā Cheñ Bāhā -- Yogesādhana Vihāra  
[N]

Kel Tole

This was a small branch bāhā situated between Asan and Kel Toles back behind the property of Takṣe Bāhā [15]. The enclosed court still remains but there is no trace of a bāhā at the present time. It was probably a branch of Takṣe Bāhā.

15. Majuya Bāhā -- Siddhinagara Mahāvihāra  
[O]

Itum Bāhā area

This bāhā once existed somewhere near the present Itum Bāhā. The only trace now is a half-remembered name and the recollection that it was somewhere near Itum Bāhā.

16. Kacā Bāhā -- Āśoka Caitya Vihāra [P]  
Mahābauddha

This was a small branch bāhā of Mahābauddha Bāhā [21] which was situated in an enclosed courtyard adjoining the area around the stūpa. The courtyard still exists and has a caitya but there is no further trace of the bāhā at the present time.

17. Vajrabīra Mahākāl -- Buddha Śasāna Rakṣak  
Mahāvihāra [Q]

Tundikhel

This is the famous Mahākāl temple on the edge of the Tundikhel just opposite the Military Hospital. At the present time this is not a bāhā at all but a single, free-standing temple on a high platform. The complex as it now stands is the result of a restoration evidently undertaken at the time of the construction of the military hospital. A double stairway now approaches the temple from the street below. Set into the facade on the north side of the stairway is an image of Viṣṇu and an image of Mahakal flanked by two purna kalaśa. To the south of the stairway are an image of Saraśvati and another image of Mahākāl flanked by two purna kalaśa. The complex above consists of the shrine plus some surrounding rest houses and other buildings which form a courtyard open at

the front. The whole is profusely decorated and the shrine itself which has three gilded metal roofs contains a five-foot image of Mahākāl. The image is of black stone with much silver overlay and a large silver crown. The figure also has large disc-like earrings and a long silver chain as a garland. He holds a cleaver in his right hand and in his left a long scepter surmounted by human skulls. A coiled serpent of silver forms his necklace. Over the shrine is a large repousse torana depicting Mahākāl flanked by two purṇa kalaśa. Mahākāl is, of course, the protective deity of the bāhās and his image is found at the entrance to almost every bāhā. According to informants this Mahākāl was also the guardian deity of a bāhā (or bahī) which lay just outside the walls of the old Malla city. Originally the bāhā had much more property, and caityas which used to be in the courtyard of the bāhā can still be seen across the street in front of the hospital. One of these is a 'Licchavi' caitya now mounted on a four and a half foot cement base. The rest of the property was lost to the building of the road in Rana times and finally the building of the hospital. When this ceased to be a bāhā with its own saṅgha is unknown, but it must have been a considerably long time ago. It has long been known simply as a shrine of Mahākāl. There are, as far as can be determined, no references in inscriptions or manuscripts to this bāhā, but one suspects that the Sanskrit name given now is a name made up on the basis of Mahākāl as a protector (rakṣaka). If one knew what the original Sanskrit name of the vihāra was he might find that there are indeed references to it. The nitya pūjā of Mahākāl is performed by Vajracaryas from Sawal Bāhā [50].

Legends attribute the founding of this bāhā and shrine to the famous tantric preceptor Mañjuvajra who is supposed to have bound Mahākāl with his mantras while he was passing by through the sky, and fixed him to this place. The present temple is widely worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike. Almost everyone who passes by at least gives a nod to Mahākāl, and a surprising large number of people pop up stairs for a short visit to the shrine.



**The Bahas and Bahis**

**of Bhaktapur**



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## Bhaktapur

The Malla city of Bhaktapur has the reputation of having been more of a Hindu city than either Kathmandu or Patan, and this is borne out by the status of the bāhās and bahīs in Bhaktapur. First there are fewer Buddhist institutions in Bhaktapur, less than a quarter the number in Kathmandu and only a fraction of the number in Patan. Secondly, except for Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15] most of them are in a sad state of disrepair and some are no more than ruins. Thirdly these institutions lack the organisational structure found in Patan and Kathmandu. There is no overall organisation such as the Ācārya Guthī of Kathmandu, there are no bāhās recognised as the main or principal bāhās. All bāhās are in fact independent and conduct their own initiations, even in the case of one bāhā which does not have enough members to provide the requisite five elders for initiations. Only Paśu Bāhā [10] has the usual board of elders (in this case ten); all of the other bāhās have a single elder. The Vajracaryas of Paśu Bāhā had at one time some sort of pre-eminence, but whatever this amounted to in the past it has no practical consequences today. Three of the bāhās (Akhañ Bāhā [3], Toñ Bāhā [8], and Paśu Bāhā) are known as ādi-bāhās which means that they are the original or most ancient bāhās of Bhaktapur. Yet one cannot assign any great antiquity even to these three bāhās. The earliest possible date is the date given to Ājudyaya Bāhā [11] (N.S.98), and this is not really a bāhā at all but a shrine of Dīpaṅkara looked after by the saṅgha of Paśu Bāhā. None of the extant bāhās have any Licchavi remains. Furthermore the communities attached to these bāhās confirm the general impression of Bhaktapur as a Hindu city. Only the saṅghas of Toñ Bāhā and Akhañ Bāhā and the Vajracaryas of Paśu Bāhā (the three ādi-bāhās) trace their origin to Bhaktapur. All of the other saṅghas trace their origin to Kwā Bāhā in Patan or to Takṣe Bāhā in

Kathmandu; and the Sakyas of Paśu Bāhā (the majority of that saṅgha) also trace their origin to Kwā Bāhā in Patan. All of these people appear to have come to Bhaktapur in the late Malla period. None of the bahīs have a bahī saṅgha. Of the three bahīs two have no saṅgha at all and one, Tathu Bahī [17], has a saṅgha of Sakyas who perform their initiations either in Tadhicheñ Bāhā or Takhācheñ Bāhā. Both of these bāhās have Gūhyesvarī at Paśupatināth as their lineage deity and trace their origin to Takṣe Bāhā in Kathmandu.

The fact that Bhaktapur is so strongly Hindu in contrast to Patan and Kathmandu may simply be due to the fact that the early Buddhists settled in Patan and Kathmandu rather than Bhaktapur. Yet none of this is so clear. That there was a settlement on the site of the present Bhaktapur in Licchavi times is evident from the few Licchavi inscriptions found in the eastern part of the city. That this settlement pre-dated Licchavi times is indicated by the name Khopin found on the Licchavi inscriptions which is not a Sanskrit name. Though none of the present bāhās have Licchavi remains, the majority of extant Licchavi sculptures from Bhaktapur are Buddhist. Slusser portrays two of these, the first a Buddha Mucalinda image in Talache Tole and the second an image of Sakyamuni Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas in Byasi-tole. This second image, which she dates to the sixth century, is now venerated as a hitvadya (a water fountain deity) and worshipped with blood sacrifices.

I suspect three factors affected Bhaktapur's growth and development as a Hindu city. The most important of these is that from the twelfth century on, when Ānandadeva built his Tripura Palace in Bhaktapur, this became the

seat of the reigning dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The dynasty was always Hindu and from the time of Jayasthiti Malla on exerted a considerable pressure on the population of the whole Valley to conform to the social structure of Hindu society. Bhaktapur became the seat of traditional Hindu orthodoxy. The second factor is the make-up of the Buddhist population in Bhaktapur. In Kathmandu a large percentage of the wealthy traders were staunch Buddhists, either Sakyas or Udāya. Their wealth supported the Buddhist shrines and Buddhist institutions of Kathmandu. In Patan many of the wealthy traders were Sakyas and the supposedly Hindu overlords of the city (by caste Shresthas) were either Buddhist or strongly supported the Buddhist establishment. In Bhaktapur there were no Udāya and it seems that few of the Sakyas or Vajracaryas were wealthy. In one sense, however, the town was composed of a majority of Buddhists. It is clear that until quite recent times, in addition to the Bare, all of the Jyāpūs of Bhaktapur (over sixty percent of the population) and many of the other castes used Vajracarya priests rather than Brahman priests. There were few Brahmans in Bhaktapur and they served the court and the Hindu aristocracy. The jajmāns of the Vajracaryas, however, were not wealthy people. They did not have the resources to build extensive complexes such as one finds in Patan and Kathmandu nor to support a large Bare population. It is evident that a large number of Bhaktapur Bare moved away either to the other two cities or to Newar centers outside of the Valley. The third factor is the two disastrous earthquakes of 1833 and 1934 which by all accounts wreaked greater havoc on Bhaktapur than on the other two cities.<sup>4</sup> In general Bhaktapur was neglected after the Gorkhali conquest when it was no longer a capital city. This coupled with the fact that the Buddhist population of Bhaktapur was not wealthy made it impossible to rebuild many of the Buddhist institutions after their destruction. One still finds piles of rubble around Buddhist sites, even for example around Pasu Bāhā, which date back fifty years to the earthquake of 1934. Akhan Bāhā, one of the oldest bāhās, was totally destroyed and left in a state of ruin for many years. The reconstructed bāhā is a shoddy building with none of the architectural features of a bāhā.

One of the peculiar features of Buddhist life in Bhaktapur is the twice annual worship of the Dīpaṅkaras. There are five Dīpaṅkara images

in Bhaktapur, one each at Ājudyaya Bāhā, Tadhicheṇ Bāhā, Jhaur Bahī, Tathu Bahī, and Kutu Bahī. These images are taken out in procession twice a year, once on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Srāwan (during the sacred month of Guṇlā) and once on the day of Māghe Sankranti. The first procession is connected with the annual pañca dāna. Early in the morning of the day of pañca dāna the five Dīpaṅkaras are brought to Suryamadhi Tole near Akhan Bāhā. The five images are worshipped and then devotees offer pañca dāna to the images and to the Bare from that area. When this is finished the images move off and process from tole to tole stopping in each tole for the pañca dāna ceremony. The procession is always led by the Dīpaṅkara of Ājudya Bāhā who is considered to be the principal (or grandfather=āju) of the five. In this way pañca dāna is given tole by tole and only in the presence of the five Dīpaṅkaras. The procession reaches Taumadhi Tole late in the evening and the five images are placed there on a sort of stage. People then gather for an evening service of lighting lamps and the chanting of bhajans. At the conclusion of this the elder of Tadhicheṇ Bāhā offers a pūjā to the Dīpaṅkara of Ājudya Bāhā in the name of the other four Dīpaṅkaras, and the five move off from Taumadhi Tole to return to their shrines. At the first cross roads the Dīpaṅkaras of Tadhicheṇ Bāhā, Tathu Bahī and Kutu Bahī take their leave of the main Dīpaṅkara by circumambulating him once and paying their respects. At the next cross roads the Dīpaṅkara of Jhaur Bahī takes his leave and is taken back to his shrine. When each of the Dīpaṅkaras arrives back at his own shrine the elder of the bāhā (or bahī) worships him and his wife ritually welcomes him back into the shrine. This is the only time that pañca dāna is given in Bhaktapur at the present time, though it seems that in former days people would give pañca dāna at other times also and for this they would summon the five Dīpaṅkaras. At the time of Māghe Sankranti the images are taken out again for a procession to Surya Madi Tole, but on this occasion there is no pañca dāna though the reason given for the procession is that this marks the traditional day for a Samyak ceremony.

Because of the lack of organisational structure among the bāhās of Bhaktapur I have treated them below simply in the order in which they appear on the map, without separating bāhās and bahīs or main bāhās and branches. In addi-

tion to the bāhās treated, there are several sites which people in Bhaktapur refer to as bāhās but which are not in any sense. They are nanīs or in some cases simply isolated caityas. Only one of these sites has been included. Some of the others may mark the sites of defunct bāhās but no positive evidence is available to support this claim.

# 1. Laskadyayā Bāhā -- Lokeśvara Mahāvihāra [1] Itācheñ tole

Laskadyayā Bāhā is on a road running south from the main thoroughfare leading to the darbar form the west. The complex is best known as the Bhaktapur shrine of Matsyendranāth, but is also in fact a bāhā though it has none of the usual architectural features of a bāhā. All that exists at the present time is the temple of Matsyendranāth (Avalokiteśvara) which is a separate two-storied structure with one tiled roof surmounted by two smaller roofs forming a sort of cupola. The lower of the small roofs is tiled, the upper one is of gilded copper and surmounted by a golden gaḷūra made in the form of a caitya with an image of Akṣobhya Buddha set into it.

The present temple is not connected to any other buildings, but is a separate structure having only one face, i.e. not a free-standing temple with four open sides as at the shrine of Matsyendranāth in Kathmandu, Patan, Chobār or Nālā. The front of the temple, which abuts the street and faces east, has five doors across the ground floor each surmounted by a brass torāṇa of rather recent origin. The torāṇa over the main door is a six-armed bodhisattva with sword, staff, and wheel in his right hands and a noose, lotus and abhaya mudrā in the left hands. Informants identified the figure as Amoghapāśa, and though the iconographic details do not fit perfectly, it is probably correct. The figure of Amoghapāśa is flanked by two Tārās. The other four torāṇas each have a four-armed figure of Lokeśvara flanked by two Tārās.

The first storey of the temple has three windows. Over the central window is a wooden torāṇa of Sahasrabhūja Lokeśvara of intricate detail and probably quite old. The central window itself is screened with gilded lattice-

work set into which is a six-pointed star with a standard figure of Padmapāñi Lokeśvara in the centre. The two side windows are covered with wooden lattice work. There are four wall paintings set between the windows. The two outside paintings represent apparitions of the Buddha. The one directly to the right of the centre window is of Hariharivāhana-lokeśvara and the one to the left is Śrīṣṭikānta Lokeśvara. There are six carved roof supports across the front of the temple. From left to right as you face the temple they are 1. Mañjuśrī (dated N.S. 1045), 2. Lokanātha-Karunāmaya, 3. Jinabala, 4. Makuti (?) (dated N.S. 950), 5. Jambala, 6. Vajrasattva. There are five halampos hanging from the roof. The two at the ends depict the puṇṇa kalaśa (a symbol used to represent prosperity and to portray the goddess Anna-puṇṇa), the centre halampo shows the Buddha Akṣobhya; the two remaining are four-armed bodhisattva figures.

Directly under the lower roof of the cupola is an elaborately carved torāṇa of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara holding the same symbols in his hands as the image on the main torāṇa. Informants say that this is the original torāṇa of the main door. Two large copperplate inscriptions are attached to the small section of wall below this torāṇa. Halampas depicting the puṇṇa kalaśa hang from the four corners of this roof and the top-most roof. Flanking the stairway leading up to the sanctum are two bronze guardian lions installed in N.S. 1027 in honour of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. The lions are flanked by the usual brass flags and at either end of the veranda is a bell, the one on the right dated N.S. 1000 and the one to the left dated N.S. 1020.

Immediately in front of the temple, almost completely blocking the road, are clustered seven caityas and a dharmadhātu maṇḍala. It is difficult to say whether this temple ever formed part of a proper bāhā complex. Certainly it has not within living memory, and at present the members of the saṅgha of the bāhā are scattered in different parts of the tole.

The image in the temple, and kuāpā-dya of the bāhā saṅgha, is a metal image of Padmapāñi Lokeśvara about two and a half feet high. The face is painted red. According to informants the hands are in the usual posture of showing the varada mudrā and holding the lotus, but it is impossible to check this as the image is





300. Laskadyayā Bāhā [1]



301. Nī Bāhā [2]

entirely covered with a metal decorative cloak and ornaments. The most commonly used name for the deity is Annapurṇa Lokeśvara, and this name is found on two recent inscriptions in front of the temple. They also use the names Karuṇāmayā and Lokanātha for the deity and recognise him as Matsyendranāth.

The saṅgha of the bāhā consists of four lineages of Vajracaryas who now make up 20 households and have 50 initiated members. Members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the temple of Lokeśvara. Terms of service pass through the four lineages, each lineage serving in turn for an entire year. Few people actually take their turn in the temple any more so that four or five members of the saṅgha in fact rotate the post. Both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha no longer has a proper governing body, the eldest member of the saṅgha serving as de facto leader and administrator of whatever business comes up, an arrangement common to most of the bāhās of Bhaktapur.

The annual festival of the saṅgha centres on the main deity Annapurṇa Lokeśvara. Theoretically there should be an annual bathing ceremony of this Lokeśvara as there is of the ones in Buṅgamatī-Patan, Kathmandu, Chobār and Nālā, but it is seldom held any more. Informants say that they try to have it once every twelve years but this is often postponed for a year or two. The reason given for this is a lack of funds. There are no gūthī funds to finance the annual ceremony, and hence it is held only if someone provides the means. In place of the annual bathing ceremony, they have a ceremony on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh consisting simply of the pañcopacāra pūjā and a sprinkling of the image with water. This is the day when Lokeśvara is said to perform his dewālī pūjā, or the pūjā of his lineage deity. When they do have the bathing ceremony, it is not necessarily on this day but on any convenient, auspicious day. Even if the bathing is not held, there is always an annual jātrā of Annapurṇa Lokeśvara held on the second day of the dark half of the month of Bhādra, i.e. on the day after Gāī Jātrā. On the morning of this day they remove a duplicate image of the deity from storage, place it on a khat and take it in procession from the temple in Itā Cheñ Tole to Pasu Bāhā and back again. They always take the

duplicate image; the main image is never removed from the temple. The jātrā lasts for only one day and seems to be rather a local festival whose observance is confined to the Buddhist community.

There are two other annual observances of note at the temple. The people of Bhaktapur look on the Lokeśvara of Bhaktapur and the one of Nālā as sisters (sic). Hence on the day of pañca dāna during the sacred month of Guṇlā a Vajracarya comes from Nālā to bring flowers to Annapurṇa Lokeśvara. The other festival is connected with the name Annapurṇa which means "full of grain". Lokeśvara is considered to be a patron of the harvest, so in the month of Bhādra, when the rice is growing in the fields, there is a special pūjā. This pūjā, however is not performed to Lokeśvara, but is considered to be performed by Lokeśvara to Basundharā who is the main patron of the harvest. The priest draws the mandala of Basundharā on the pavement in front of Lokeśvara and performs pūjā to her in the name of Lokeśvara.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogā-mbara,' now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu, but brought from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. Though the annual worship of this deity is always performed at Siddhi Pukhu, the members of the saṅgha keep the link with Kwā Bāhā active by going each year to Kwā Bāhā to perform another pūjā. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Local legends connect this Lokeśvara and his cult with Buṅga-dya (the Patan-Buṅgamatī Matsyendranāth). According to the story, King Narendradeva who brought the deity to Nepal was disappointed when the old man from Patan determined that Matsyendranāth should be housed in Patan. His capital was in Bhaktapur and he wanted the temple there. Finally Lokeśvara appeared to him in a dream and said, 'Don't grieve. You are a great devotee of mine, you can set up another image of me just like the one in Patan, here in Bhaktapur.' This, local legend claims, is the origin of the Red Matsyendranāth of Bhaktapur.

There is nothing, however, at the temple itself which would permit us to date the structure and the presence of the saṅgha here earlier than the late Malla period. The earliest date is on the strut dated N.S. 950. However there are two copper-plate inscriptions high up on the

temple which are certainly Malla period but inaccessible. Since the lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' from Kwā Bāhā in Patan and the people return there each year for a pūjā, it is clear that the saṅgha came from Patan, but it is impossible to put a date on this migration.

## 2. Ni Bāhā -- Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra [2]

Techāco Tole

Ni Bāhā is situated in a small courtyard in Takhāco Tole surrounded by ordinary houses. The kwāpā-dya, which is a standing image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, resides in an open, plastered shrine in the centre of the courtyard. Next to this shrine is a small image of the Buddha Akṣobhya and to the right of this is enshrined another Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and with the left hand holding the stem of a lotus on which is a caitya. The kwāpā-dya image was identified by some of the inhabitants as Maitreya, but others insisted that it is 'Devatā Lokeśvara'. In front of these images is a plastered caitya surrounded by oil lamps. The shrine has no proper torāṇa but the figures of the makaras, the nāgas and the chepu encircle the opening to the shrine.

At the present time the saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty-two households of Sakyas comprising one hundred and fifty members. They perform the nitya pūjā of the kwāpā-dya morning and evening in rotation by seniority of initiation for a month at a time. They also take turns performing the nitya pūjā at Kutu Bahī [18]. They hold the annual festival on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, at the time of the Siṭhi Nakha festival. As at other bāhās in Bhaktapur the governing body of the community consists of one elder. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', now residing at Siddhi Pukhu, but brought from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. Many of the members of the saṅgha now live in Kathmandu or Patan and perform the annual pūjā of the lineage deity at Kwā Bāhā itself. The bāhā has one elder and no income.

According to the oral tradition preserved by the saṅgha the residence of this community in Bhaktapur dates to the end of the Malla period when King Raṇajit Malla (N.S. 842-90) called one

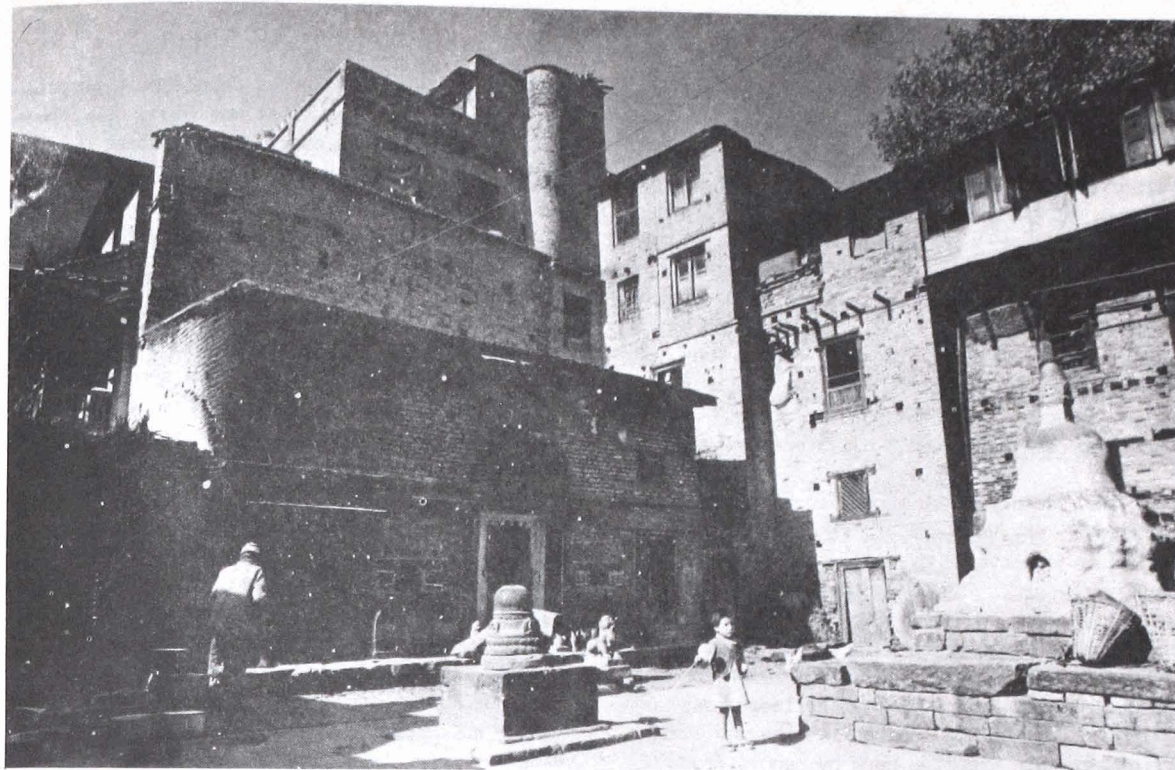
Guṇasimhadeva Śākya and his family from Kwā Bāhā in Patan to Bhaktapur because of their great skills as metal workers. They are credited with making the golden torāṇa of Durgā over the gateway of the Bhaktapur palace. They also made an image of Viśvakarma which is dated N.S. 874, so they must have come to Bhaktapur some time before this date. Guṇasimhadeva is also credited with the foundation of this bāhā. The community also has a connection with Kutu Bahī [18], and I was given two different stories to explain this. Some claimed that when Guṇasimha and his family came to Bhaktapur, they first resided at Kutu Bahī which was constructed in N.S. 868 and had no saṅgha. They made this their base, performing the nitya pūjā there and performing their initiations there also. However, since people generally look upon a Bare initiated in a bahī as of a lesser status than one initiated in a bāhā, they built Ni Bāhā for themselves and began to perform their initiations there. Others claimed that when they came to Bhaktapur they were given land by the king and there they built for themselves a bāhā (Ni Bāhā) where they lived and performed their initiations. Later the Vajracaryas of Tadhichen Bāhā [15] built (or restored?) the two bahīs Thatu [17] and Kutu [18], and invited some of the Bare from Ni Bāhā to reside at Kutu Bahī and make it their own. They did so, took up the performance of the regular rituals and began to perform their initiations there. Because people looked down on Bare initiated in a bahī, they abandoned the latter practice and began again to perform their initiations with the rest of the community at Ni Bāhā. That the community originated from Patan is clear and confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity is at Kwā Bāhā in Patan, and those who find it convenient still perform their annual pūjā there. Certainly Ni Bāhā does not predate the time of Raṇajit Malla.

## 3. Akhañ Bāhā -- Akhaṇḍasīla Mahāvihāra [3]

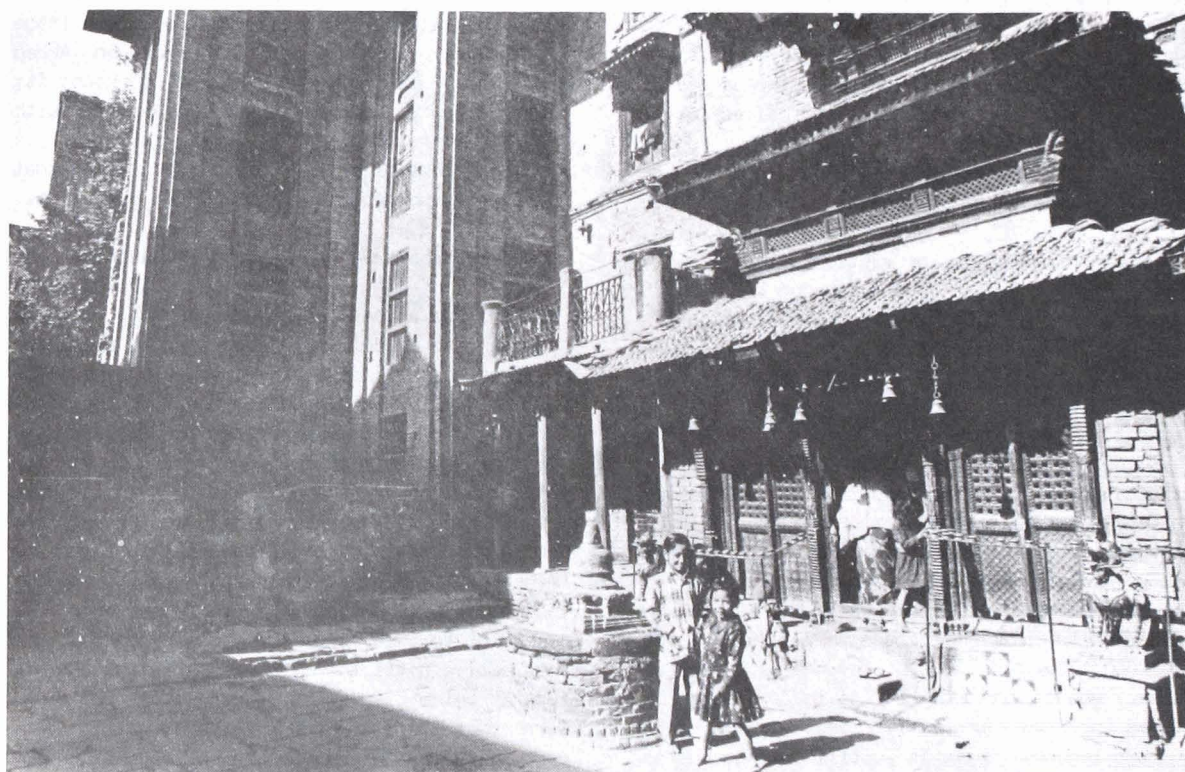
Nāsamanā Tole

All that remains of this bāhā in Nāsamanā Tole is a recently rebuilt kwāpā-dya shrine. According to informants the original bāhā was destroyed in the earthquake of 1934 and long left in a state of ruin. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows and these in turn by two doorways leading to storerooms and a stairway. The facade of the ground floor is plastered with unpainted cement.





302. Akhañ Bāhā [3]



303. Luñ Bāhā [4]

The doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing a standing figure of Mahāvairocana and is dated N.S.757. The kwāpā-dya is a stone, seated image of Buddha in the bhūmisparṣa mudrā (Akṣobhya). Informants, however, identified the image as 'Devatā Lokeśvara'. The first storey is of plain and cheap brick with three small, crude, lattice-work windows. The top storey consists of a blank brick wall surmounted by a galvanised iron roof. Next to the doorway of the shrine is one Malla period inscription, badly defaced. In the courtyard is one large plastered caitya and one small stone caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten households of Vajracaryas comprising thirty members, who serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The pūjā consists only of the morning nitya pūjā; and the term of service which passes by rotation through the households, is for a whole year at a time. The annual festival takes place on the fullmoon day of Kārtik. During the sacred month of Guṇlā, scriptures are recited here by people from Ni Bāhā [2]. Many of the members of the saṅgha have moved to Kathmandu or Patan and no longer take an active part in the life of the saṅgha. Both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayoginī' situated at a place called Bhutī Pākā. The saṅgha has only one elder. Though they once had one hundred twenty ropanīs of land, they have no income at the present time.

According to an inscription at the site, construction of the bāhā was begun in N.S.775 and completed in N.S.777 by one Deva Jyoti Vajracārya. At the present no trace of this structure remains. Furthermore, it is almost certain that this date marks a reconstruction of an old foundation, as consistent tradition in Bhaktapur says that Akhañ Bāhā is an ādī bāhā, one of the original or most ancient institutions in Bhaktapur. According to tradition this bāhā existed at the time of the king Narendradeva who brought Buṅga Dya (Avalokiteśvara--Matsyendranāth) to Nepal; and it is in this bāhā that the king intended to place the image but was foiled, according to the legend, by the old man of Patan, who determined that the image should be housed in Patan--Bungamati. Whatever the truth of the legend, there is a still curious custom which harkens back to the claim of the legend. The final stage of the ratha jātrā of Buṅgadya,

from Pode Tole in Patan to Jawalākhel, usually takes place about the first week in June. However, the auspicious date for this stage of the jātrā must be determined each year. In 1976 this was delayed until 11th September because of a long series of unauspicious months in the summer. When the ratha was finally moved it veered off the road and became stuck in a drainage ditch. The next day there was feverish activity to get the ratha moving and to Jawalākhel by that evening. The rush seemed rather incongruous. After a delay of three months what difference would another day or two make? The explanation given was that if the ratha could not be taken to Jawalākhel on that day the image would have to be taken to Bhaktapur. If it should happen that the Pāñjus of Buṅgamati cannot get Bungadya back to Buṅgamati by the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvin, the image must be taken to Bhaktapur, where by rights it should have been enshrined, and it must be kept there until the autumn when it is taken as usual to the temple in Patan at Ta Bāhā. During this time the dya-pālās of Bungamati have to go to Bhaktapur and stay there to perform the customary rituals. Subsequent questioning of people in Bhaktapur confirmed the custom. Some informants said that when the image is brought to Bhaktapur it is placed in Akhan Bāhā where Narendradeva intended to keep it; others, however, denied the connection with Akhan Bāhā and said that the image is set up at any convenient place. Informants claimed that this last happened about one hundred years ago.

#### 4. Lum Bāhā -- Lumbavarṇa Mahāvihāra [4] Sukul Dhokā

This is an entirely abandoned bāhā which is now a shrine of Bhimsen. According to available information the shrine of Bhimsen was established in A.D.1592 and gradually became the most important shrine in the complex. However, some informants said that the shrine of Bhimsen predates the bāhā and the bāhā was founded because Bhimsen was a fearful deity who caused the people much trouble. To offset his influence an image of the Buddha, the great giver of peace, and a bāhā were established within the compound. According to informants the bāhā remained intact and active until the time of the earthquake in 1934 at which time the remaining bāhā buildings were destroyed and the site eventually abandoned. After the earthquake an image of Buddha in dhyaṇa mudrā was set up at the site where the old kwāpā-dya shrine existed, and for some time

the members of the saṅgha continued to perform the nitya pūjā there and to conduct initiations there. Now the site seems to have been completely abandoned by them as I could find no one in Bhaktapur who performs such rituals any more or has any connection with this shrine. The shrine of Bhimsen is tended by a Jyāpū priest.

5. Jhaur Bahī -- Maṅgaladharmā Dvīpa Mahā-vihāra\* [5] Golmadhi Tole

According to informants this bahī was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. From the remains of the original buildings a small kwāpā-dya shrine and a rest house were constructed, and this is all that remains today, plus a fronting of shops on the road at the end of which is a shrine of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. The two storied shrine stands along the eastern wall of the enclosed area of the bahī. It is of simple unadorned brick. The finely carved doorway is marked by two small stone lions. There is no torāṇa but a carved entablature above the doorway has five small Buddha figures carved on it. The first storey has three small windows, and plain wooden struts support the roof. In the courtyard are one large caitya and two smaller caityas. The rest house along the western side of the area has an image of Ganesh and one of Mahānkāl. The kwāpā-dya of the bahī is an image of Amitābha facing west. At the end of the rest house and opening on to the street is the shrine of Dīpaṅkara, one of the five 'brothers' of Bhaktapur.

There is no saṅgha attached to this bahī, and the nitya pūjā of the kwāpā-dya and the rituals surrounding the cult of Dīpaṅkara are performed by seven Vajracaryas from Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15]. Theoretically these seven take turns performing the rituals, but in fact, it is always done by one man now. The shrine of Dīpaṅkara is still quite an active shrine, but except for a brief pūjā each morning the image of the kwāpā-dya is neglected, and he shares the shrine with a store of badminton racquets and ping pong paddles. The only annual festivals at the shrine are in connection with the jātrā of the five Dīpaṅkaras.

According to KTMV there is an inscription here bearing the date N.S. 770<sup>1</sup>, but nothing further is known about the foundation or history of this bahī. Samyak Ratna in his account of the bāhās of Bhaktapur surmises that this foun-

dation was built about the same time as Thatu [17] and Kutu [18] Bahīs and Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15], but he offers no proof of this. Thatu Bahī is certainly much older than Kutu Bahī and Tadhicheñ Bāhā is probably a hundred years older than either of them.

6. Ināco Bāhā -- Indravartta Mahāvihāra [6] Ināco Tole

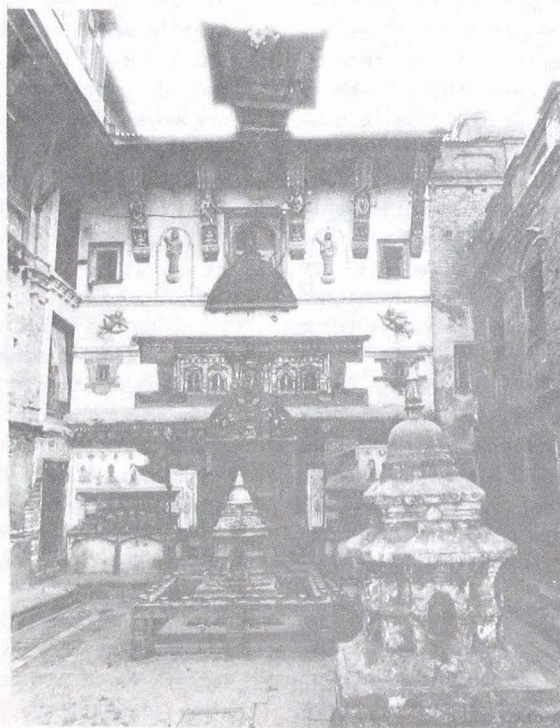
This bāhā, situated just off the road in Ināco Tole possesses one of the few well-preserved, typical bāhā shrines left in Bhaktapur. The partially enclosed courtyard is paved in stone and the finely carved doorway of the shrine is marked by two stone lions. Near the lions is also a bell dated N.S. 1020. The doorway is surmounted by a metal torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣarī Lokeshvara) on the left. On either side of the doorway are two small windows which each hold a set of prayer wheels. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and whitewashed, and there are several frescoes on the ground floor. The kwāpā-dya in the shrine is Akṣobhya, facing west. The first storey has the customary five-fold, carved window flanked by two smaller windows, and two incongruous, clearly western-inspired, angels with banners in the upper corners. Above this storey is a second torāṇa depicting the five Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. The top storey has living quarters. Carved struts depicting the five Buddhas support the roof. In the centre of the courtyard are three caityas, the central one of which has a ring of oil lamps around it.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of about three hundred members who call themselves Bauddhacārya rather than Sakya, though they say the only initiation they receive is the Barechuyegu. The members of the saṅgha who still live in Bhaktapur take turns as dya-pālās, the term of service being one month and passing by rotation through the lineages. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, and this is the only initiation they take. The annual festival of the bāhā is held on the fullmoon day of Kārtik, and there are two other festivals for the entire saṅgha, one at the time of the Bisket Jātrā and the second during the sacred month of Guṇlā. There is also a festival at the time of the disī pūjā. The





304. Jhaur Bahī [5]



305. Ināco Bāhā [6]

saṅgha is governed by one elder. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyesvarī, now resident at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from the Gūhyesvarī shrine at Paśupatināth. The only income which remains is a small amount accruing to the gūthī which sponsors the disī pūjā rituals. Though this bāhā has no official branches, many of the members of the saṅgha have in times past moved away to Pālpā, east Nepal and Darjeeling. Until recently all of these people used to bring their sons back here for initiations. However, the people in Pālpā now have a bāhā there where they perform initiations. People from Darjeeling still come for the initiations of their sons. Nothing is known about the date of the foundation of this bāhā. There are two metal inscriptions high on the wall of the facade of the temple. Informants say that one of these is of silver and the other of gold, and that neither of them is more than a hundred years old. Nothing else in the complex is dated, but the style of the shrine and the caityas would suggest a late Malla period date. Members of the saṅgha were not able to give any data about the history or foundation of the bāhā.

7. Muni Bāhā -- Dharma Uttara Mahāvihāra\* [7]  
(Munivārṇa Vihāra)

Ināco Tole

As it stands now this establishment is a Theravada vihāra which was established on the site of an abandoned and crumbling bāhā. Nothing remains of the original bāhā or its saṅgha. The shrine is a modern plastered building with a terazzo floor and tiled walls. The shrine contains three modern and gaudily painted Buddha images--Buddha in dhyāna mudrā in the centre flanked by a Buddha in bhūmiśparśa mudrā on the right and another Buddha in dhyāna mudrā on the left. In front of the shrine is a paved courtyard and a rather recent, but undated, caitya. To the side of the shrine is another long building where the bhikṣus live. The bhikṣus, who came to Bhaktapur to occupy this place in B.S. 2009, have renamed the place Munivārṇa Mahāvihāra, a sanskritization<sup>13</sup> of the original Newari name of the old bāhā. According to informants there were still some members of the original saṅgha living at the time the bhikṣus came, and for some time they continued to come to the bāhā at irregular intervals for rituals. Whether this was a separate, indepen-

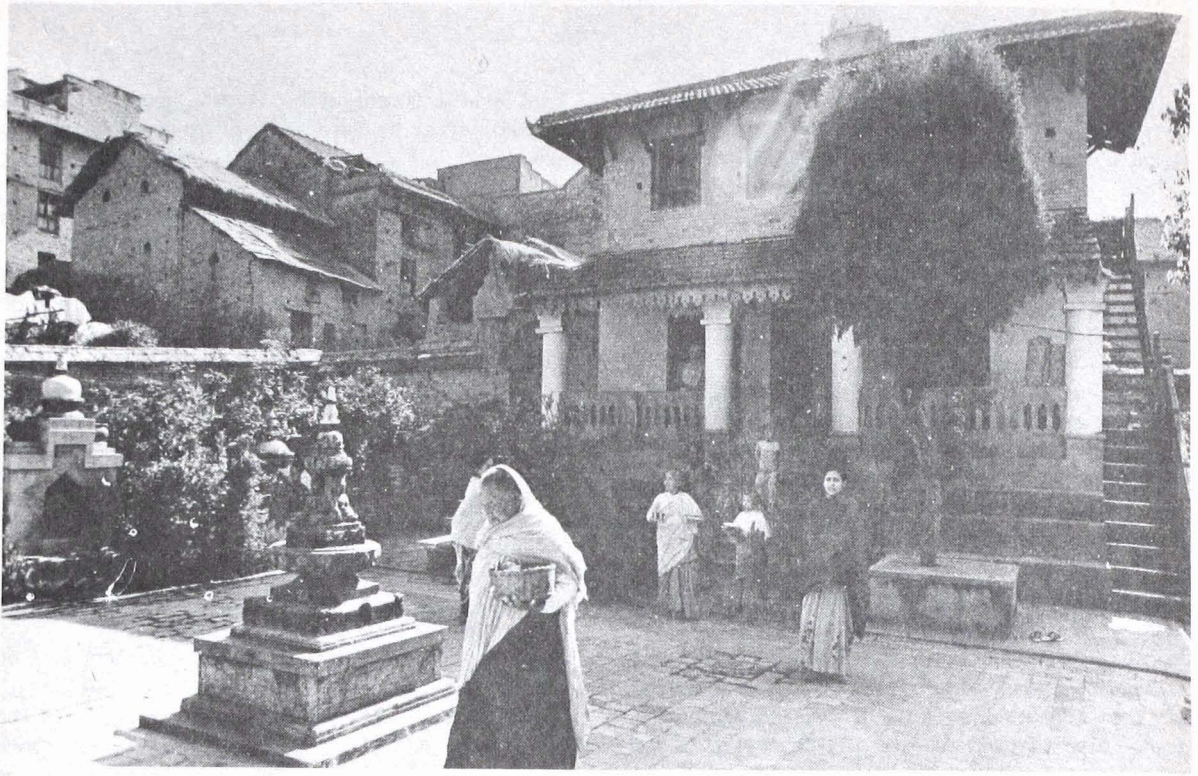
dent establishment with its own saṅgha or it was looked after by Bare of some other bāhā is now unknown.

There is still an inscription at the site which tells of the founding of the original bāhā. In N.S.776 a Tibetan monk by the name of Jñāron (Gyaron) from 'Tasirumbu' (=Tashilhunpo) and one Padmadhvaja built this monastery in memory of the father of the latter. Work was begun in N.S.776 and the inscription put up in the year N.S.778 marks the completion of the building and consecration rituals. The following images were installed in the monastery and consecrated: Sakyamuni Buddha, Śrī Dharmadhātu, Śrī Dīpaṅkara Buddha, Śrī Cakrasaṃvara, Śrī Mahākāl and Ganesh. In addition to this a copy of the Pañcarakṣā was offered. Thirty-two ropānis of land were given as an endowment for the upkeep of the monastery and the continuance of the prescribed rituals.<sup>14</sup> The inscription is instructive as it gives us some insight into the circumstances of the founding of at least some of these old bāhās. The inscription gives no hint about the caste status of this Padmadhvaja; but evidently he was a wealthy man, probably a trader with connections in Tibet, and not a Bare or he would have surely indicated on the inscription that he was Śākyaabhikṣu or Vajracārya. Whether it was built for the Tibetan monk in question or was turned over to Bare from Bhaktapur is unknown, but it was not built by the Bare themselves, nor does it seem to have been built to meet the needs of an already existing, overcrowded bāhā. Rather, it is an example of the common Buddhist practice of wealthy laymen building a vihāra to obtain merit (in this case for his deceased relatives) and then turning it over to the saṅgha.

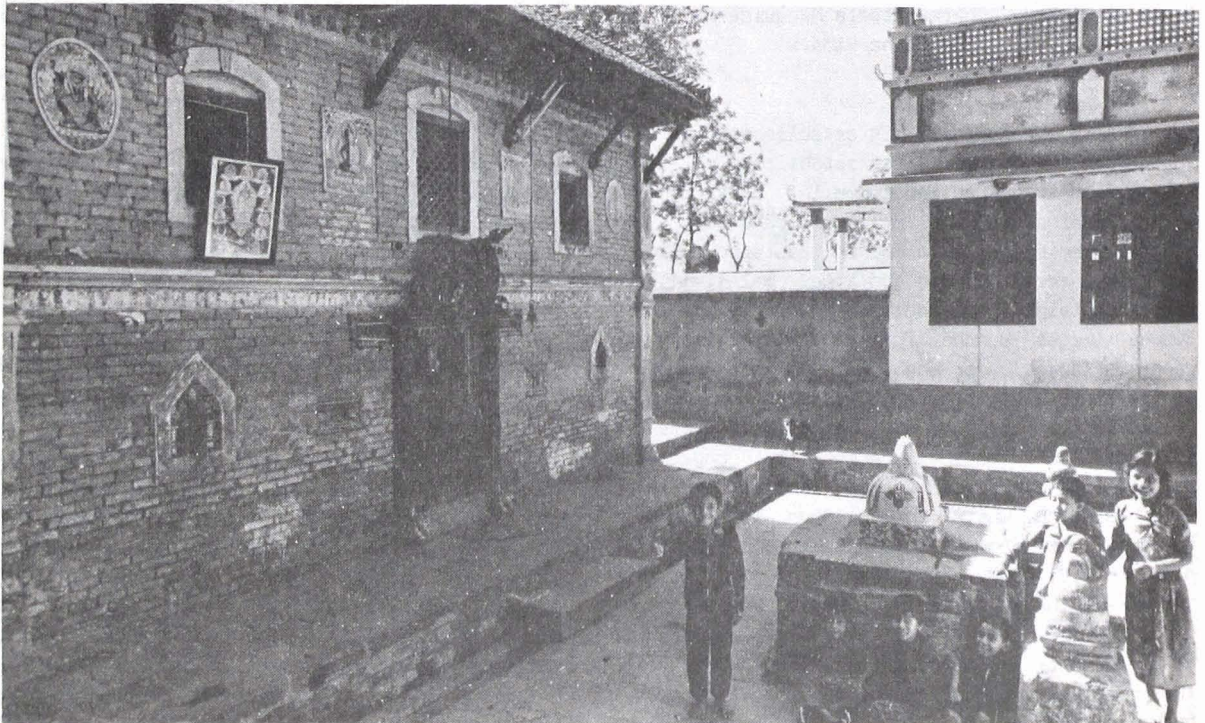
8. Toṃ Bāhā -- Ādipadma Mahāvihāra [8]  
Suryamadhi Tole

The buildings of this bāhā in Suryamadhi Tole were completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. The shrine of the kuāpā-dya was rebuilt but has lost the architectural characteristics of a bāhā. The present building is a plain brick shrine of rectangular shape and without ornamentation. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two tiny, stone lions. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torāṇa showing an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is flanked by two bodhisattva figures and above him are four of the five Buddhas, Vairoca-





306. Muni Bāhā [7]



307. Toṃ Bāhā [8]



na not being shown. The torana, showing Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara flanked by two other bodhisattva figures, is of repousse metal and appears to be of the late Malla period except for the figure of Padmapāṇi which is a new and most unusual figure. The figure has a short, heavy body more like that of a wrestler than a bodhisattva and the headdress is not the usual crown but a sort of Egyptian or Sumerian headdress. The first storey of the building has three ordinary windows, and six plain struts support the tile roof. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the paved courtyard are four votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten families with a total of thirty initiated members calling themselves Bauddhacarya. However, the only initiation they take is the Barechuyegu. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya for one month at a time, the service passing by rotation through the ten families in turn. At the present time they perform only the morning rituals. The saṅgha observes two festivals in the year, one on the fullmoon day during the sacred month of Guḷā and the second in Paus at the time of the Disī Pūjā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but they may also perform their Barechuyegu in Paśu Bāhā [10]. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is situated at Kamal Pokharī to the east of Bhaktapur and was identified by the members of the saṅgha as either Candamahārōṣana or simply 'Dharmapāla'. The saṅgha has one elder and used to have some income, but all of this has been lost.

This bāhā is called an ādi-bāhā, which means that it is considered to be one of the oldest or one of the original bāhās of Bhaktapur. It also implies that the members of the saṅgha have 'always' been in Bhaktapur, unlike most of the saṅghas of the other bāhās which have moved to Bhaktapur from either Patan or Kathmandu. Samyak Ratna assigns the date N.S. 103 for the foundation of this bāhā, but this is based on speculation that it was founded shortly after the Dīpaṅkara Bāhā [11] which he has dated to N.S. 98<sup>15</sup>. The members of the saṅgha say that the present site is not the original site of the bāhā. It was originally situated at Kamal Pokharī where the lineage deity still resides. There are ruins of a bāhā at Kamal Pokharī which tend to confirm their tradition. They say that

at one time there was a separate king ruling that part of Bhaktapur (then called Tomaco). The wife of this king, one Tolā Rānī used to come to the pond to gather lotuses. It was during her time that they moved the bāhā from its old location to the present site, perhaps due to some disagreement with her or because she wanted the property to build something else. They say that the present Newari name Tom or Tum is a corruption of Tomaco. The oldest dated inscription in the present compound is that of N.S. 734 found on a caitya in the courtyard. The fact that the members of the saṅgha may still perform their initiations at Paśu Bāhā [10] if they wish would indicate a close connection to Paśu Bāhā. The most logical conclusion would be that this saṅgha is an offshoot of the saṅgha of Paśu Bāhā, however the lineage deity of this saṅgha is different from either of the two lineage deities worshipped by the people of Paśu Bāhā.

#### 9. Biku Bāhā -- Viśva Vihāra [9]

Kwāthandau Tole

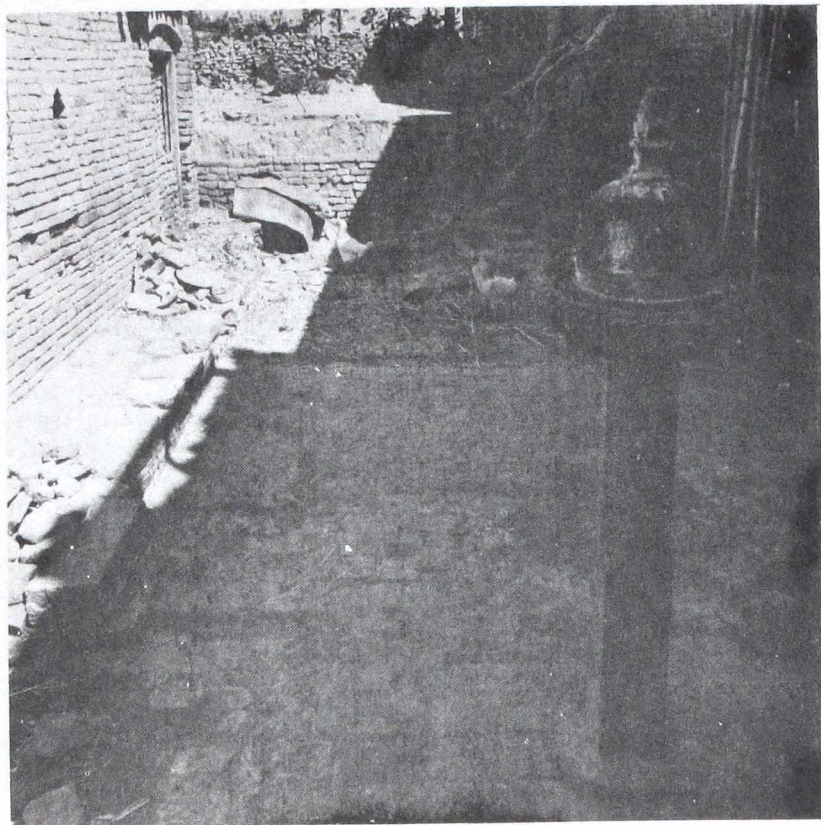
This is a totally ruined and nearly abandoned bāhā. According to informants the bāhā was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934 and never rebuilt. Later they did enshrine an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara in the remains of a courtyard between new buildings, really nothing more than a dark hole behind the new structures. This image has disappeared within the past two years. The saṅgha of this bāhā was evidently a branch of Paśu Bāhā [10], and the members of the saṅgha simply transferred all of their observances and rituals back to the mother bāhā. However, someone used to come each day from Paśu Bāhā to perform the nitya pūjā of the image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. Whether the ones who came were descendants of the saṅgha of this bāhā or just someone from Paśu Bāhā who comes to keep up the traditional rituals is not known. There is a small caitya here which bears the date N.S. 875, but there are no other dated inscriptions at the site.

#### 10. Paśu Bāhā -- Paśupati Mahāvihāra\* [10]

Prasannāśīla Mahāvihāra

Kwāthandau Tole

In many ways this bāhā in Kwāthandau Tole is the most important of all the bāhās in Bhaktapur, though nothing remains of the original bāhā architecture. The shrine is situated in



308. Biku Bāhā [9]

(Site of Stolen Image)



309. Pasu Bāhā [10]

a courtyard partly surrounded by buildings and partly by the rubble of ruined structures. The shrine is on the ground floor of a building which resembles an ordinary town house more than a bāhā. The other buildings in the courtyard are ordinary houses. Many of the houses were damaged in the earthquake of 1934 and never repaired. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal toraṇa showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on the left. The toraṇa is dated N.S. 1033. The kwāpā-dya is a standing Buddha image showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. The panels to the side of the doorway and the entablature above it have been whitewashed and painted with various figures including Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana; and there are three more paintings on the wall above the first storey, one of them of Samantabhadra painted half white and half blue, seated holding a begging bowl in his hands. The first storey has three rather crude lattice windows, the second storey has a single ordinary window. Above this is a series of six short, carved struts supporting an overhanging, partial roof which protects the facade. Above this is another storey having ordinary living quarters. In the courtyard are two caityas, one of them dated N.S. 1021.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of about one hundred twenty households, twenty six of them Vajracarya and the rest Sakya, with a total membership of between six and seven hundred. It is impossible to give accurate figures as many of the members of the saṅgha no longer live in Bhaktapur and take no active part in the life of the saṅgha other than to bring their sons back to Bhaktapur for initiation ceremonies. The officers of the saṅgha have not been able to keep any accurate record of these people. The nitya pūjā is performed in the morning and evening and is always done by one man, the head of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has four festivals during the year, one on the full moon day of Maṅsir, one at the time of the pañca dāna in the sacred month of Guṇlā, one in Baisākḥ and one in the month of Pauṣ. Both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha.

Initial informants told me that there were two separate saṅghas attached to this bāhā, one Vajracarya and one Sakya. However, subsequent

interviews with the Thāypājū, Mān Jyoti Vajracārya, and Jñāna Vajra Vajracārya of Tadhičheñ Bāhā have revealed the following. There is only one saṅgha whose affairs are looked over by a committee of ten Thāypā. They hold their positions on this committee strictly by seniority of initiation irrespective of whether or not they are Sakyas or Vajracaryas, with one exception. Since the saṅgha is composed partly of Sakyas there is a Vajracarya Cakreśvara whose duty it is to perform the tantric rituals that can only be performed by a Vajracarya. The Cakreśvara, who is always the senior-most Vajracarya, is also ipso facto the head Thāypā. This man is also considered in some sense to be the head Vajracarya of Bhaktapur. At present this is merely a position of honour and has no practical consequences; the present incumbent says that he has no connection with the other bāhās of Bhaktapur. Whether, in the past, this position was something like that of the Rāj Gubhājū of Kathmandu or not is unknown. Granted this basic unity of the saṅgha there are divisions. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas is Vajravārahi, now worshipped at a small shrine outside the city near the present trolley bus stop, but brought there from Vajravārāhi beyond the village of Chapāgāoñ south of Patan. These are the only Vajracaryas in the Valley who have their lineage deity there. The lineage deity of the Sakyas is 'Yogāmbara', now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought from Kwā Bāhā in Patan, where they still occasionally go to do the annual pūjā. Surely the Sakyas came from Patan; and the Vajracaryas are probably the descendants of an earlier group which had settled in Bhaktapur. There is another division among the Vajracaryas, who have two āgam shrines. The deity is the same in both shrines and the division seems to be the result of some long-forgotten dispute. The two deities are popularly called Rām-Lakṣman, i.e. they are the shrines of two separated brothers. As mentioned above there is also a connection between this saṅgha and the saṅgha of Toñ Bāhā [8], whose members still have the right to be initiated in Pasu Bāhā if they so wish. No information is available on the income of the bāhā.

There is nothing at Pasu Bāhā today that would suggest a great antiquity for this foundation. However, there is some evidence that the Dīpaṅkara Bāhā [11], which is looked after by the members of this saṅgha, can be traced back to the beginning of the Nepal era. In this



connection it is interesting to note that these two bāhās and Tom Bāhā, which has some connection with them and some claim to a great antiquity, all lie in the eastern, and by all accounts, the older section of the city. The earliest definite reference to this bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript of the Pañcarakṣā which was copied in N.S.655 for Śākyabhikṣu Jitadeva, his wife Kīrti Lakṣmī, and his two sons, Śākyabhikṣu Jīvateja Rāma and Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Bitujū of Paśupati Mahāvihāra in Kwānthaṇḍu Tole in the city of Bhaktapur. An inscription of N.S.724 in Dīpaṅkara Bāhā refers to Paśupati Bāhāra. A manuscript copy of the Saptavara Dhāraṇī was copied by one Bauddhacarya Śrī Deva, son of Bauddhacarya Śrī Cakranātha of Śrī Paśupati Mahāvihāra in Kwānthaṇḍu Tole in Bhaktapur in the time of Jaya Jagat Prakash Malla (N.S. 767-793).<sup>16</sup> It is interesting that all of the Malla period references to this bāhā give the Sanskrit name Paśupati Mahāvihāra and not the name Prasannaśīla Mahāvihāra, which the present incumbents claim to be the Sanskrit name. The name Prasannaśīla is not found on any inscription or historical document. The current Newari name, Pasu Bāhā, is clearly a corruption of this earlier Sanskrit name.

11. Ājudyayā Bāhā -- Dīpaṅkara (Ādibuddha)  
Mahāvihāra [11]

Dya Nana Bāhā

Kwānthaṇḍu Tole

Strictly speaking this complex is not a bāhā either in the architectural sense or in the sense of having a separate saṅgha with its separate kwāpā-dya shrine. It is rather a shrine of Dīpaṅkara tended by the saṅgha of Pasu Bāhā [10]. This image of Dīpaṅkara is considered to be the principal or Grandfather (Āju) of the five Dīpaṅkaras of Bhaktapur. The shrine is similar to an āgam cheṇ rather than a bāhā. It is of three stories with an open varanda on the ground floor leading into the shrine. In the centre of the first floor facade is a gilded lattice-work window in the centre surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and flanked by two other lattice windows. The top storey has three ordinary wooden windows. There are several metal plaques attached to the facade of the building showing various divinities. The tile roof is supported by a series of carved struts depicting the Pañcarakṣā deities, Bhairava, the five Buddhas, the four Maharājās (guardians of the directions), and others. Above the roof rises a pagoda type tower similar

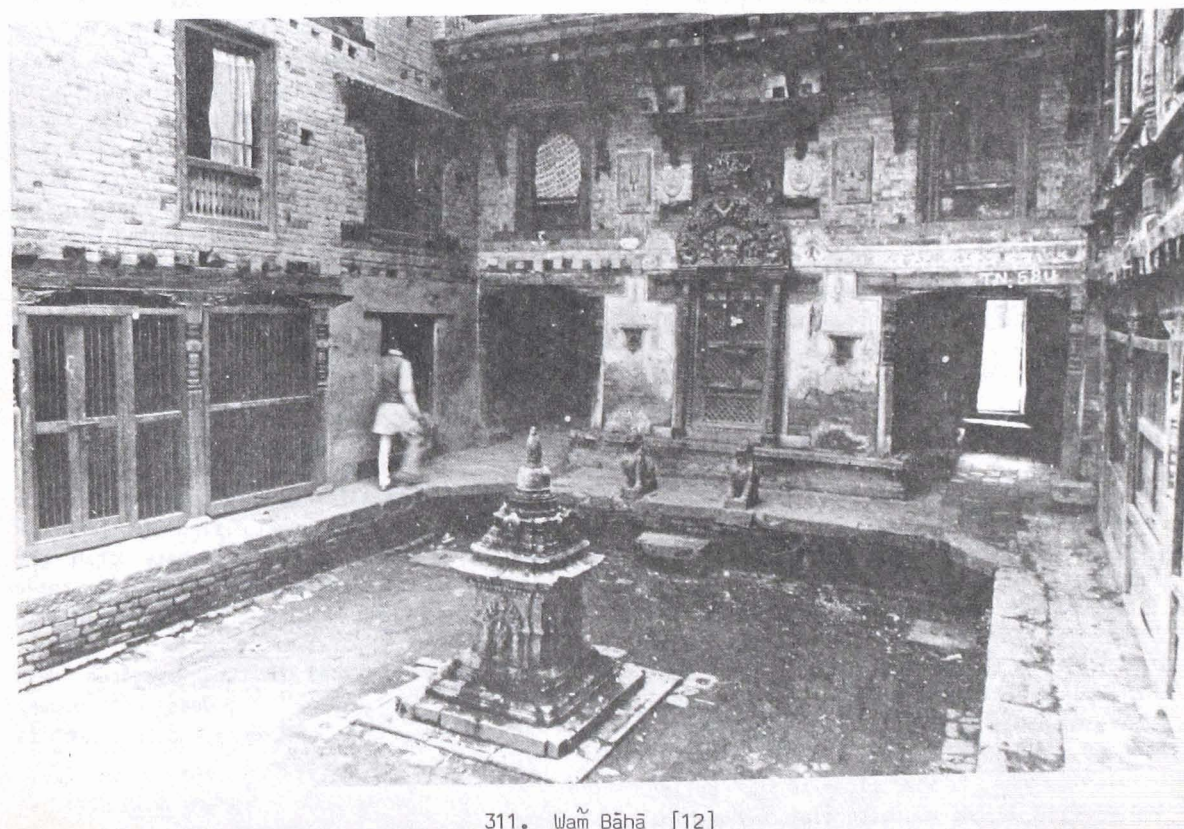
to that found on bahīs. The image of Dīpaṅkara is enshrined on the ground floor to the right as one enters the shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a triple metal torana of recent origin. The central panel depicts the Buddha (Akṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Śadakṣarī Lokeśvara) on the left. The right and left panels both depict Akṣobhya Buddha flanked by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over a doorway opposite to the shrine is a wooden torana dated N.S.779 depicting Akṣobhya Buddha. Inside is also a shrine of Nāmasaṅgīti with three gaudy images of recent origin and one image of Vajrasattva which appears old but bears the date B.S. 2031.

The ten elders of Paśu Bāhā [10] form a gūṭhī whose function it is to perform pūjā to Dīpaṅkara and see to the annual festivities. In practice though, only the Thāyapājū performs the daily rituals, three times a day. The gūṭhī still has an annual income of thirty-five murīs of paddy, though they complain that they only get twenty-two and that the gūṭhī used to have some two hundred ropanīs of land which should yield much more than this. In addition to the usual rituals the Nāmasaṅgīti is recited daily.

By all accounts this is one of the most ancient Buddhist sites in Bhaktapur. According to Samyak Ratna Vajracarya the gūṭhī has a copper-plate inscription dated N.S. 98 which records a grant of land for the worship of the deity. Where this land was and who gave it is not known.<sup>19</sup> Another copper-plate inscription of N.S. 723 records the gift of a golden jewel (cudāmanī) to the deity given by Kamala Sima Vande, Manika Sima Vande, Kita Vande, Jivana Rāja Vande, Jaya Vande and Vinu Sima, all of Kwānthaṇḍu, in the time of King Trailokya.<sup>20</sup> A copper-plate inscription of the following year, N.S.724, records the offering of a new door for the shrine by one Udaya Simha Vande.<sup>21</sup> A stone inscription of the same year records the donation of the guardian lions by Vajracarya Mahāpāla, Daku Vande, Vandhavakita Vande, Jira Simha Vande, Pala Vande, Bhima Simha Vande, and Puraṇa Simha Vande.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting that in all three of these last inscriptions the donors use the original Sanskrit form of the Newari bare--vande-- as their surname. A copper-plate inscription of N.S.769 records the donation of a stone pillar offered by Haku Bhāro, Kinara Simha Bhāro and Gopi Rāma Bahāro of Yacheṇ Tole.<sup>23</sup> An inscription of N.S.835 gives the names of the ten



310. Ājudayā Bāhā [11]



311. Wām Bāhā [12]

Thāyapājūs of that time: Sūrya Jyoti (the head), Jaya Muni, Ratna Jyoti, Siddhi Muni, Śrī Jaya Chanadima, Śrī Jaya Dhana Rāja, Śrī Cakra Jyoti, Śrī Siddhi Rāja, Śrī Caitya Rāja, Śrī Cakra Rāja [sic, i.e. the first four names do not have the prefix 'śrī'].<sup>24</sup> Samyak Ratna notes that before this time it seems there was only one man in charge of the shrine.<sup>25</sup> The shrine was repaired with the help of the West German Government in A.D.1976.

Bhaktapur has three Kumārīs plus the Gaṇa Kumārī, i.e. a group of eight girls who take the parts of the Aṣṭamātṛikas. Of these the most important is the Royal Kumārī or Ekanta Kumārī whose official residence is in a section of the buildings attached to this shrine.<sup>26</sup> The girl must be from a Sakya or Vajracarya family and is selected in the same way as the Royal Kumārī of Kathmandu, the selection being made by the Thāyapā of Pasu Bāhā (who is the dya-pālā of Dipaṅkara). After he selects the girl he summons the senior-most men of the Joshi, Ācāḥjū and Rajopādhyaya Brahman families who must be present at all her principal pūjās. Unlike the Kathmandu Kumārī, this girl usually lives at home and comes to her official residence only at the time of festivals or when someone wishes to perform a pūjā to her. The building of her shrine is permanently occupied by a family which has the hereditary right to act as her dya-pālās. In addition to the living quarters the building has two āgams, one where the Ekānta Kumārī is worshipped and another where one of the other Kumārīs is worshipped. If someone wishes to perform a pūjā to her, he first goes to the dya-pālā who then arranges for the girl to come to her āgam fully dressed as a Kumārī. The greatest event of the year for the Kumārī is the festival of Daśāin when she is worshipped in a manner similar to that of the Kathmandu Kumārī. Allen describes the ritual thus:

Each morning during the main period of Dasain (from the morning after ghaṭasthāpanā to daśamī) two Ācāḥjū priests come from Taleju to Kumārī-chē where they worship the Ekānta Kumārī in her āgama. A little later she is taken in a formal procession preceded by two men holding her silver staffs and followed by another carrying her big ceremonial umbrella over her head, to Catuvarṇamahāvihāra [Tadhicheñ Bāhā]--a beautiful bāhā located close to the palace and which still has a substantial membership.

If big enough the girl will walk all the way with her bare feet directly touching the ground, but if very small then she will be carried some or all of the way by her dyapālā. All along the route passers-by stop and briefly worship her by offering a coin and by touching their foreheads to her red-painted toes. At Sankhota she is taken upstairs to the āgama where she is first worshipped by the senior-most female palace attendant, who also brings her the prasād of Taleju, and then by anyone else of the bāhā or locality who wishes to do so. On her return to Kumārī chē she is again worshipped by many of those who pass her along the road. On her return she first sits on her impressive downstairs throne where she is briefly worshipped by a local Ācāḥjū priest . . . and then goes upstairs to her āgama where she is worshipped by her Dyapālā.

On navamī the people of Wala Lakhu come and take their Kumārī to her local āgama where she remains for some hours to receive homage--I was told that originally she went there to be seen and worshipped by the King's concubine. Also on navamī, usually late afternoon or early evening the Gaṇa Kumārī and the Ekanta Kumārī are taken from Kumārī che to Tebuk chē. When the locals have finished their offerings a group of palace officials, accompanied by a band, arrive to take the Gaṇa Kumārī to Mūlchowk. They are brought to an upstairs room where they are worshipped by the current deo pālās of the Ācāḥjū, Joshi and Deo Brahman families who still share important hereditary duties connected with the worship of Taleju and other palace deities. A few hours later the officials and band return to Tebuk che where they collect the Ekanta Kumārī and bring her through Mūlchowk to the inner Kumārī chowk. She is seated on a large throne placed in the centre of the courtyard, and as in Kathmandu she is surrounded by the heads of many of the animals that have been killed in Mūlchowk earlier the same day. She is here worshipped in a secret and lengthy manner by the three Taleju dyapālās. Taleju herself, possibly in the form of a metal śrī yantra, is brought down to Mūlchowk on the two previous days (saptamī and aṣṭamī)--she does not appear during the visits of Ekānta and Gaṇa Kumārīs on navamī.<sup>27</sup>



12. Wañ Bāhā — Mañjuvajra Mahāvihāra\* [12]  
 Mahāmañjuśrī Mahāvihāra  
 Kwāthandau Tole

This small bāhā is situated in a cramped courtyard adjoining Paśu Bāhā. The Shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small cella on the southern side of the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Mahāvairocana), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right, and Saṅgha (Śaḍa-kṣarī Lokeśvara) on the left with the five non-tantric Buddhas set into the outer circle (Vairocana in the central position). The kwāpā-dya is a light brown, stone image of Mahāmañjuśrī, the only ease of a trantric image serving as the kwāpā-dya of a bāhā. The first floor has three lattice windows. The facade of both the ground and first floors shows traces of frescoes. The top storey has a varanda and living quarters. There is one votive caitya in the centre of the courtyard.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one family of Vajracaryas comprising four initiated members. The daily rituals are performed in rotation by these four, and both Barechyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for their sons, despite the fact that the saṅgha does not have enough members to provide the requisite five elders traditionally required for valid initiations. The saṅgha has four festivals during the year, one on the fullmoon day of Āśvīn, one on the fullmoon day during the sacred month of Guṇlā, one at the time of the Pañcaḍāna during Guṇlā, and one in Baiśākh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara,' now residing at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. The bāhā has no income.

According to the members of the saṅgha of this bāhā they were originally Sakyas attached to Paśu Bāhā. Their ancestor who founded this bāhā was a priest of Mahāmañjuśrī, a deity or an image of the deity, whom they call Lasa-pa. They do not know where this image was situated, but because of his great fame as a pandit and pūjārī, one of the last Malla kings by royal fiat had him raised to the status of a Vajracarya. He was given the Ācāluyegu and then founded this bāhā where his descendants have continued to reside and receive their initiations.

Since he was a devotee of Mahāmañjuśrī he named the bāhā Mahāmañjuśrī and set up an image of Mahāmañjuśrī or Mahāvairocana as the kwāpā-dya of the bāhā. There are no inscriptions in the courtyard. The sole reference to this bāhā comes from a manuscript copied in N.S. 1017. It was copied at the behest of three sons of a lady from Mañjuvajra Mahāvihāra in Kwāthandau Tole in Bhaktapur. The names of the sons were Swayambhū Vajra, Surata Vajra, and Sweta Vajra.<sup>28</sup> Though contemporary informants and Samyak Ratna have given the name of the bāhā as Mañjuvarna or Mahāmañjuśrī, the manuscript gives Mañjuvajra.

13. Yeñ Bāhā -- Yaṅgalavarṇa Mahāvihāra [13]  
 Kwāthandau Tole

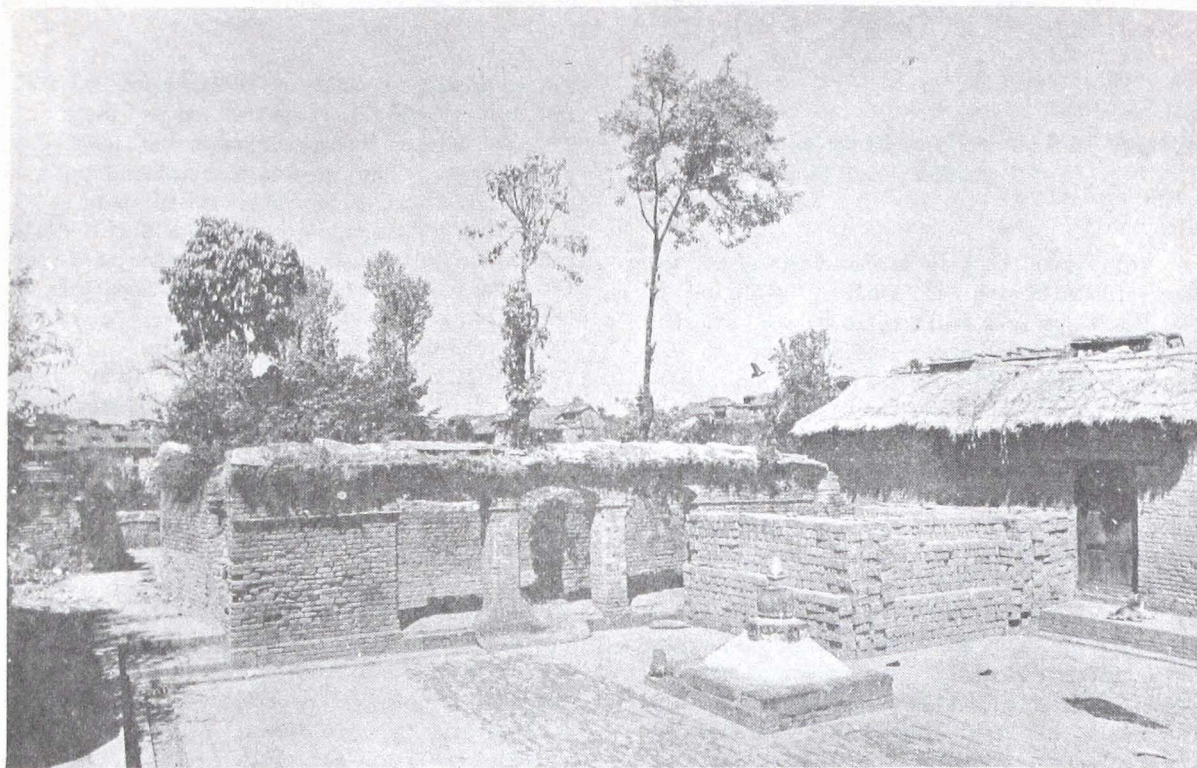
This is merely the remains of a totally ruined and abandoned bāhā in the northern part of Kwāthandau Tole. The buildings round the courtyard have all crumbled and there is nothing left but a caitya in a sunken and water-filled courtyard. The site of the kwāpā-dya shrine is still recognizable but nothing remains. Several informants told me that the shrine was originally a bahī. One, however, claimed that it belonged to a family from Pasu Bāhā [10] but was abandoned after the earthquake of 1934. There are no inscriptions here and nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā.

14. Ka Ma Bāhā — Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra [14]  
 Ināco Tole

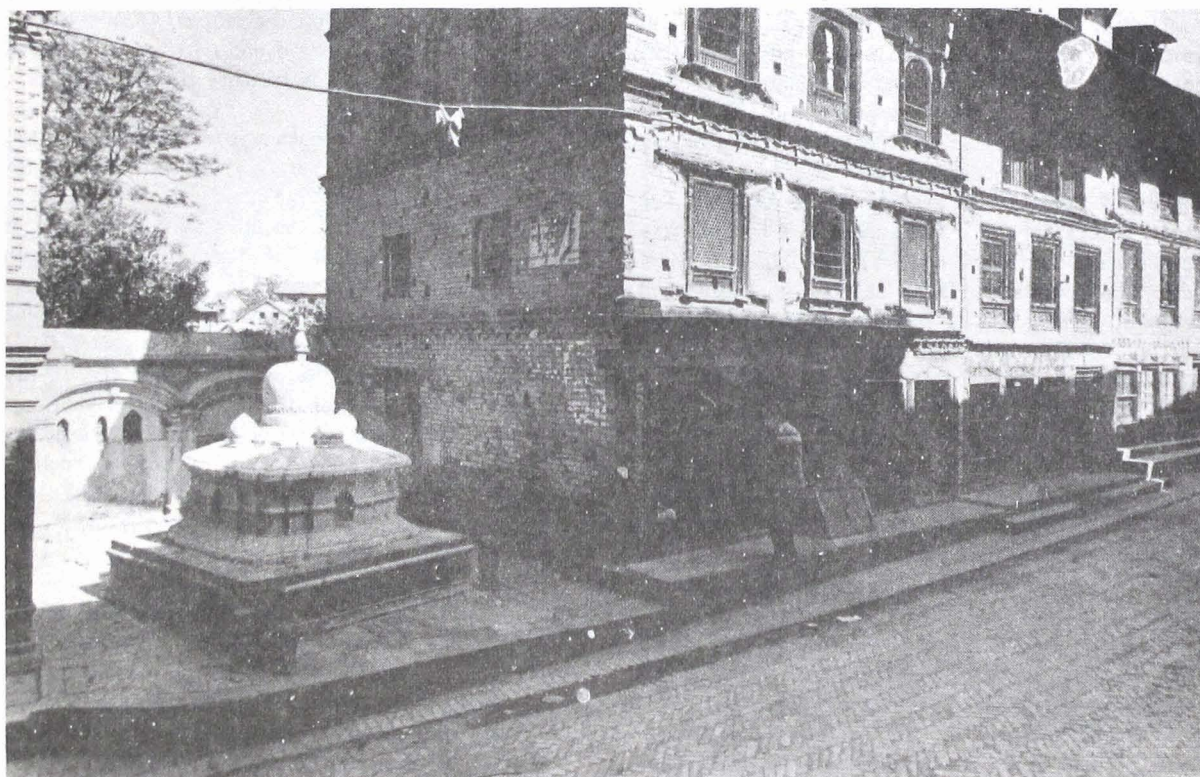
At the present time this is nothing but a caitya set into a sort of niche off the road in Ināco Tole. It is, however, called a bāhā and informants say that originally there was a bāhā here which was a branch of Ināco Bāhā [6]. People from Ināco Bāhā still perform the daily rituals here each morning, and once a year on the fullmoon day of Kartik they gather here for a homa pūjā. Nothing is known about the foundation of this 'bāhā,' but it is surely a fairly recent foundation, i.e. within the past two hundred years.

15. Tadhicheñ Bāhā -- Caturbrahma Mahāvihāra\* [15]  
 Lāyaku Tole

This bāhā, which lies just off the area of the Bhaktapur Darbar, is the only example of a complete bāhā structure left in Bhaktapur. It is one continuous building around a small courtyard. Opposite the main entrance is the shrine



312. Yeñ Bāhā [13]



313. Ka Ma Bāhā [14]

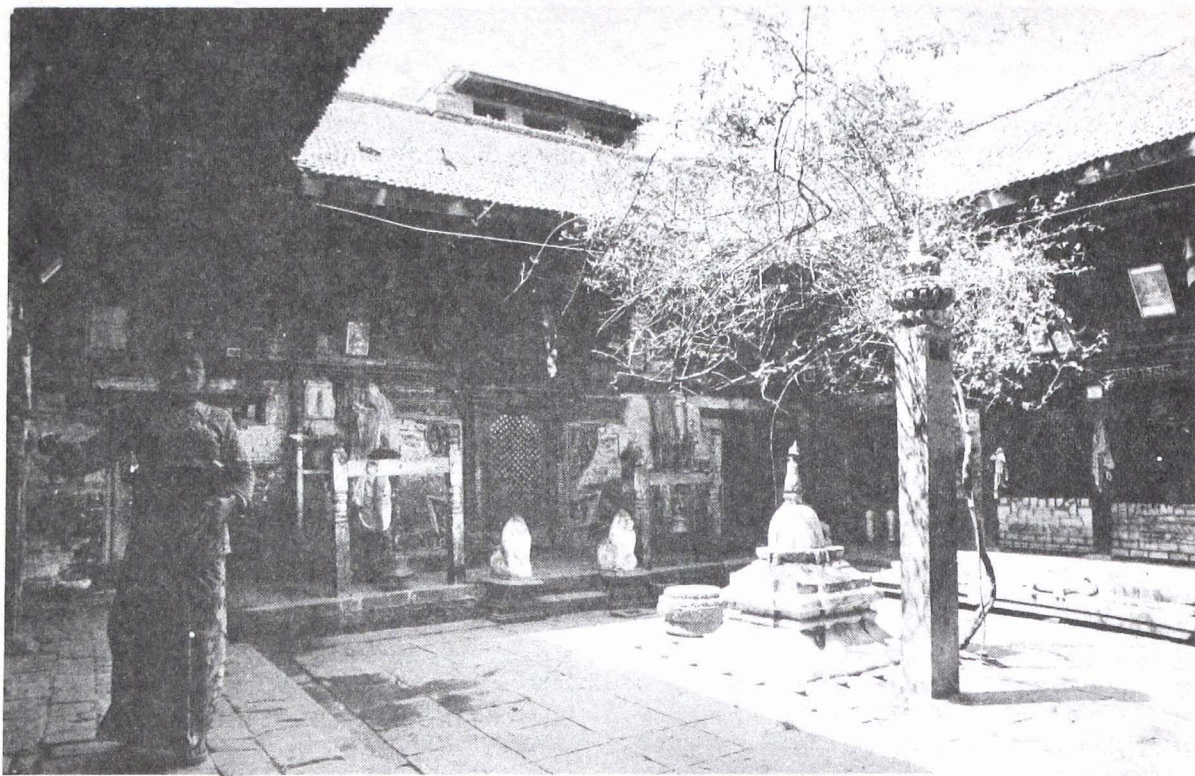
of the kwāpā-dya, who is Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and surmounted by a new torana of Sahasrabhūja Lokeśvara. The old torana showing the same form of Lokeśvara has been placed over the entryway to the complex. In the northwest corner of the complex is a shrine of Dīpaṅkara, one of the five brothers of Bhaktapur. The tile roof is supported by a series of carved struts depicting twenty-four forms of Lokeśvara, the five Buddhas and forms of Heruka. In the courtyard is one stone caitya, a small caitya on a pillar and a maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eighty two householders of Vajracaryas, comprising between five and six hundred members. It is difficult to get accurate figures as many members of the saṅgha have moved away from Bhaktapur and take little active part in the life of the saṅgha other than to bring their sons back here for initiation. The customary rituals are performed morning and evening. Terms of service are by rotation through lineages in an incredibly complicated system which has arisen since so many have moved away and others have assumed their rights and duties. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival takes place each year on the third day of the dark half of the month of Māgh (four days after the fullmoon of Paus). During the sacred month of Guṇlā they recite hymns. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyeśvarī, now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from the shrine of Gūhyeśvarī at Paśupatināth. According to informants the saṅgha at one time had a considerable income but this has dwindled to one muri of paddy. (This statement is suspect, as there is keen competition among the members of the saṅgha to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and the shrine of Dīpaṅkara. This may be because of the popularity of Dīpaṅkara whose shrine is frequented by a lot of people who leave offerings, but one suspects that there is still a considerable income accruing to the dya-pālās.)

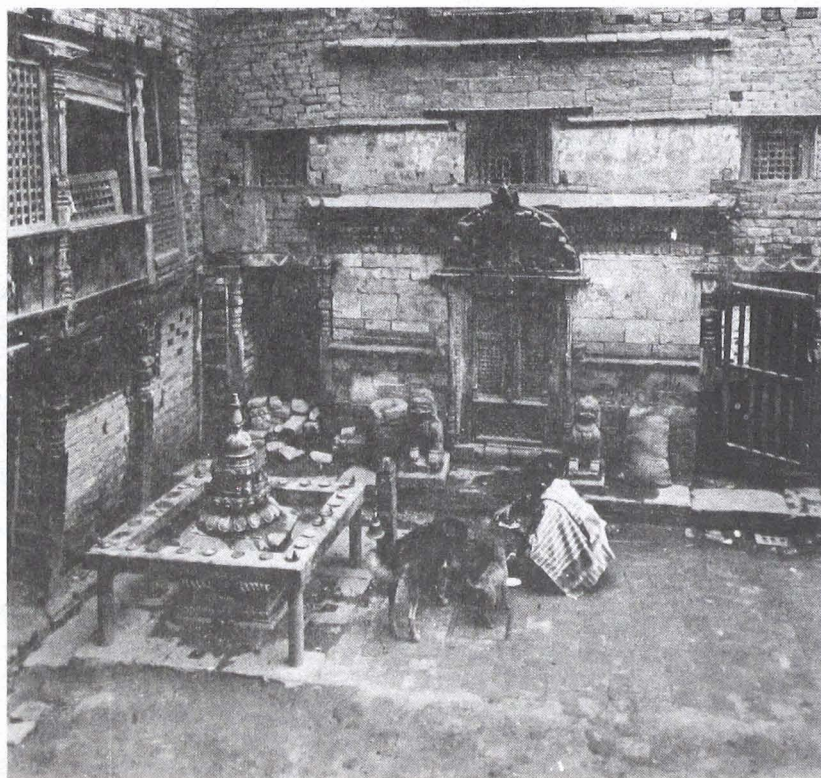
The history of this foundation is fairly well documented. The oldest date in the complex is N.S. 610 which is found on one of the struts.<sup>29</sup> There was in the possession of Asakaji Vajracarya, one of the members of the saṅgha, a copy of the Pañcarakṣā which notes that the ancestor of the members of the saṅgha came to

Bhaktapur from Takṣe Bāhā in Kathmandu in the time of King Rāya Malla. This man, called Jiva Candra, was the son of Surata Vajra. The date given in the manuscript is N.S. 611, the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Aswin, but it is not clear from Samyak Ratna's account whether this is the date of the manuscript or whether this date refers to Jiva Candra's coming to Bhaktapur.<sup>30</sup> Rāya Malla was one of the sons of Yakṣa Malla who ruled jointly with his brothers and a cousin after the death of his father in N.S. 602. He was the last surviving member of the group and continued to rule alone from N.S. 616 until his death in 624 or 625. What is clear is that Jiva Candra came to Bhaktapur in the time of Rāya Malla and that the present community dates from that time. Whether he founded a new bāhā or was invited to take over an existing but abandoned foundation is not known, but there is nothing here to suggest an earlier date. The document in a later note gives the following genealogy for other members of the saṅgha some of whom are known from inscriptions: Surata Vajra, his son Jīva Candra (who went to Bhaktapur), his son Jaya Ratna Muni, his son Jaya Deva, his son Jaya Ratna. Whether or not this Surata Vajra is the famous Surata Vajra of Kathmandu is not known. Informants in Kathmandu assign a much earlier date to him, but there is no firm evidence for any of these early dates. It is not impossible that Surata Vajra indeed belonged to this period. It is evident from extant evidence that various repairs and renovations have been carried out over the years. The old torana bears the date N.S. 739 and a torana over the western entryway bears the date N.S. 775 and the name Jayadeva Vajracarya. In N.S. 873 one Sri Vajracarya Tawadhika and his family repaired the bāhā. In this inscription he also published regulations forbidding the keeping of goats and ducks in the bāhā, the weaving of yarn and the cleaning of pots and pans.<sup>31</sup> (The prohibition needs renewing.) A copper-plate inscription of N.S. 878 throws light on some curious social customs. Ihi ceremonies, initiation ceremonies ('cudākarma') and ear piercing ceremonies should not be performed in Bhaktapur without the permission of the Kumārī ('Kumārīmā'). It seems that some were performing the ceremonies without calling the Kumārī (and hence without giving her the customary stipend). The inscription forbids anyone, even the king and the gods, from performing such ceremonies without informing the Kumārī. If anyone contravenes this regulation





314. Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15]



315. Tekhāco Bāhā [16]

he is to be fined. Rs.100.<sup>32</sup> The bāhā was last renovated by HMG in A.D.1971, at which time the new torāṇa was made and consecrated.

16. Tekhāco Bāhā -- Jeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra [16]  
Tekhāco Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is a small kwāpā-dya shrine in the corner of a rectangular courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torāṇa depicting Akṣobhya Buddha flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyāna. The facade on either side of the doorway has been plastered, whitewashed and painted with various figures. The kwāpā-dya is a standing image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, facing north. In front of the shrine is one caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of six households with twenty initiated members who call themselves Bauddhacarya, but who take only the Barechuyegu initiation. The initiations are performed here. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the members of the saṅgha. There is no official dya-pālā, but somebody always does the pūjā. There are two annual festivals for the members of the saṅgha, one on the fullmoon day of Āśvin and the other on the fullmoon day during the sacred month of Gunla. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, and the saṅgha has one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyeśvarī now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from the shrine near Paśupati. This fact might indicate that this community is a branch of the community at Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15] and therefore ultimately from Takṣe Bāhā in Kathmandu, but nothing definite is remembered by the present members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has no income of its own.

Nothing is known of the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there is nothing here to suggest a great antiquity.

17. Tathu Bahī -- Jayakīrti Mahāvihāra\* [17]  
Itācheñ Tole

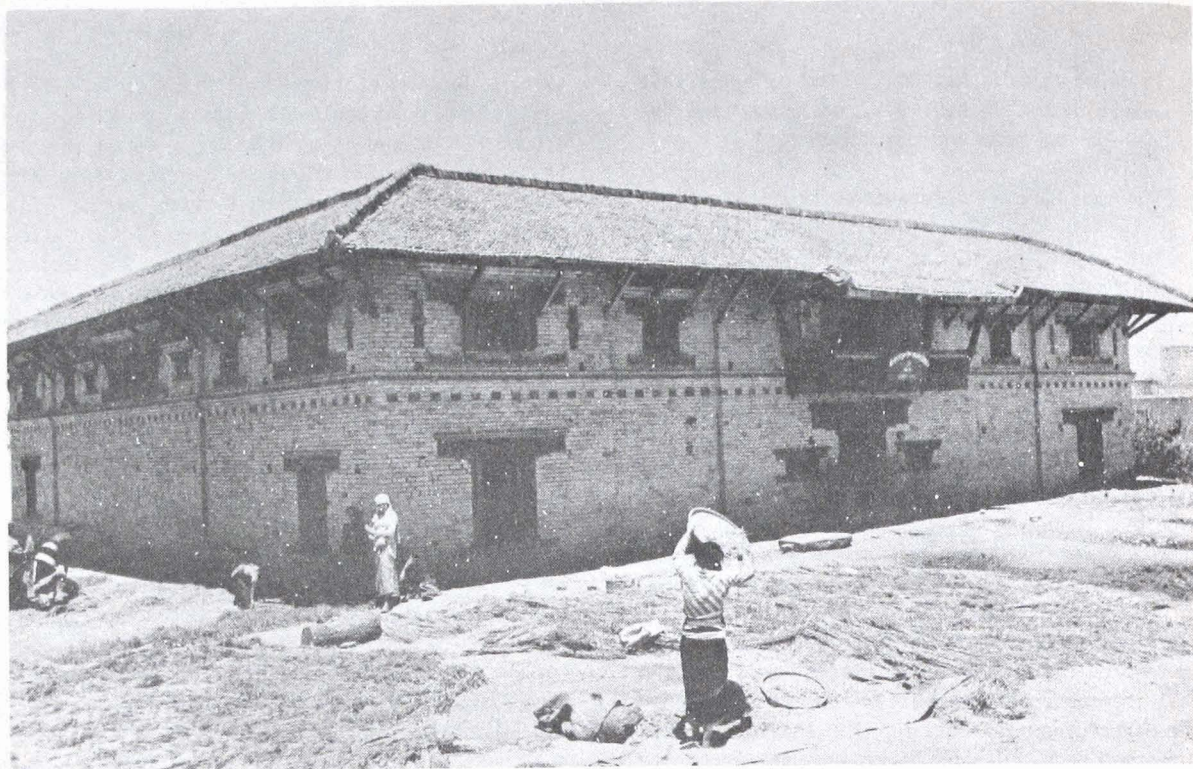
This very large complex is one of the best examples of the bahī architecture left in the Valley. Some efforts have been made in recent years to renovate the structure, but at the present time the building houses a school, which does not augur well for its long-term preserva-

tion. The two storied structure running right round the quadrangle has open rooms on the ground floor and an overhanging veranda on the top storey behind which are a series of open rooms, some screened with lattice work. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is marked by two stone lions and a fine carved doorway. The cella, which houses a standing, clay image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, is so situated that it is possible to circumambulate it. The shrine also contains interesting images of Lokeśvara and the Buddha. The entire roof is tiled and there is a simple, plastered finial above the shrine. In the courtyard directly in front of the shrine is one large caitya.

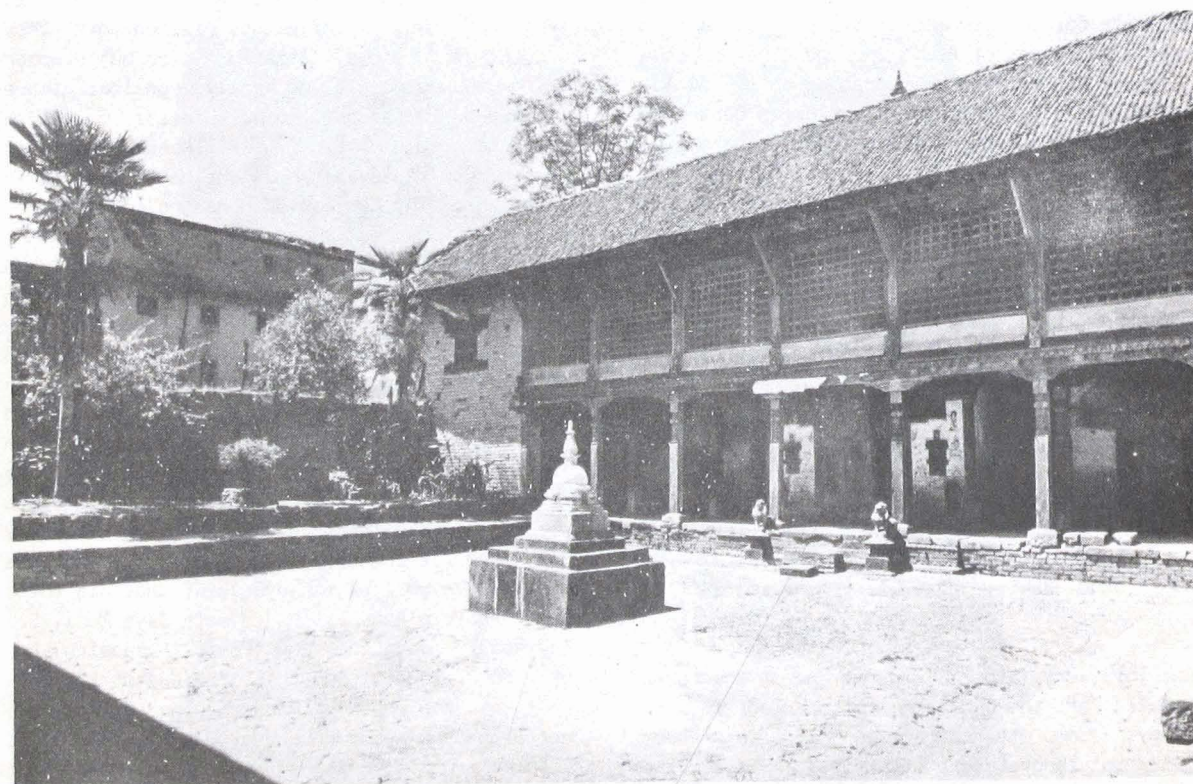
The saṅgha of this bahī consists of thirty Sakyas, none of whom any longer actually live here. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening for six months by these Sakyas and for six months by the Vajracaryas of Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15]. The saṅgha is governed by one elder and the only annual festival is at the time of the festival of the five Dīpaṅkaras, one of whom is housed at this bahī. The Sakyas who are attached to this bahī do not perform their initiations here but at either Tadhicheñ Bāhā or at Takhacheñ Bāhā. Informants claimed that they used to perform the initiations here but stopped doing so as people generally consider those initiated in a bahī to be inferior to those initiated in a bāhā. Their lineage deity is Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara whose shrine is located at this bahī. The bahī as such has no income.

Little is known about the history and foundation of this bahī. There is an oral tradition which says that both this bahī and the one nearby (Kutu Bahī) were built by people of Tadhicheñ Bāhā and then turned over to Sakyas to ensure the performance of the prescribed rituals. The fact that the Vajracaryas from Tadhicheñ Bāhā still perform the nitya pūjā here for six months of the year tends to confirm this tradition. Furthermore, in the year N.S. 794, when the bahī had fallen into ruin, it was renovated by Śrī Vajrācārya Jayaratna, his three wives and his sons Śrī Vajracarya Jaya Muni, Śrī Vajrācārya Jayananda and others. Repairs had been completed when on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Pauṣ a homa ritual was performed and a golden banner was offered. This information is contained in an inscription near the door of the kwāpā-dya shrine, and it also gives the Sanskrit name of the bahī--Jayakīrti





316. Tathu Bahī [17]



317. Kutu Bahī [18]



Vihāra.<sup>33</sup> There is one brief reference to this bahī from a thyāsaphū dated N.S. 832. The document was written by one Vajracārya Jayakalyāṇa and it mentions Thatwa Bāhāla Cheñ. However, it is not clear from the reference whether this Vajracarya lived there or the book was written for use there.<sup>34</sup>

18. Kutu Bahī -- Sukravarṇa Mahāvihāra [18]  
Bharvacho Tole

Like its companion, Thatu Bahī, this complex is an example of the bahī architecture, but only the entryway and the section of the quadrangle containing the kwāpā-dya shrine have been preserved. This shrine is almost identical to that of Thatu Bahī, the upper storey being different only in that it has wooden lattice work running along the edge of the veranda. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya Buddha, facing east. In the courtyard is a single caitya. In recent years some renovations have taken place, and recently some Theravāda Bhikṣus have taken up residence here.

This bahī has no separate saṅgha of its own but has always been looked after by the Sakyas of Ni Bāhā [2]. It seems to have been built by Vajracaryas from Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15], who in turn asked these people to assume the responsibility of the usual rituals. No initiations are performed here. There is one annual festival on the full moon day of Kārtik, however this is not the busā dāñ but the annual festival of the ārati gūṭhi. During the sacred month of Guṇlā hymns are recited. The only income left is Rs. 20 per month which comes as rent for the land outside the bahī which they have let as a bus park.

According to an inscription inside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya this bahī was built in the year N.S. 868 and consecrated on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. It seems that it was constructed by Vajracaryas from Tadhicheñ Bāhā.<sup>35</sup> Another inscription of the same year speaks of the offering of a golden kalaṣa for the roof.<sup>36</sup> I have serious doubts about the tradition of the foundation of these two bahīs by the Vajracaryas of Tadhicheñ Bāhā, especially in regard to this foundation. N.S.868 (just a few years before the fall of Bhaktapur to Prithvinārāyan Śhāh) seems entirely too late for the foundation of this or any bahī. I suspect that both of these bahīs are much more

ancient foundations which had been abandoned by their saṅghas, perhaps originally celibate monks. Later the abandoned foundations were repaired by the prosperous and influential Vajracaryas of Tadhicheñ Bāhā who then provided for the regular performance of the prescribed rituals.

19. Gacchi Bāhā -- [19]

Lamgaled Tole

According to informants there was once a bāhā at this site which now has only an old public water tap and two large, unusual lions. Nothing remains of the bāhā, not even a caitya and the area adjoining the water tap is occupied by a high school.

20. Khwanhe Khusī Bāhā -- Śakravarṇa Mahāvihāra [20]  
Hanūmān Ghāṭ

At Hanūmān Ghāṭ below the city of Bhaktapur are an array of ancient images and ruins, some Hindu some Buddhist. Among these are a seated image of Akṣobhya Buddha over six feet in height and several other Buddha images plus the remains of a caitya. According to tradition there was once a vihāra here known as Sakravarṇa Mahāvihāra. Nothing is known about the history of this foundation or when it ceased to function as a vihāra. There are no references to the Sanskrit name in published inscriptions or manuscripts.

21. (Thoñ Bāhā) [21]

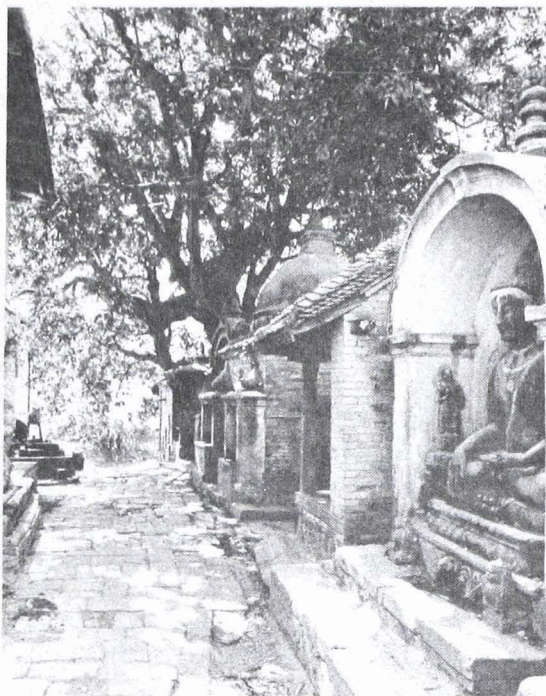
Kamal Pokhari

This is the place which informants claim was the original site of the present Thoñ Bāhā. There remains a large pond in a well-kept enclosed area. To the side of the pond are several Buddhist images. Nothing further is known about the history of this site.

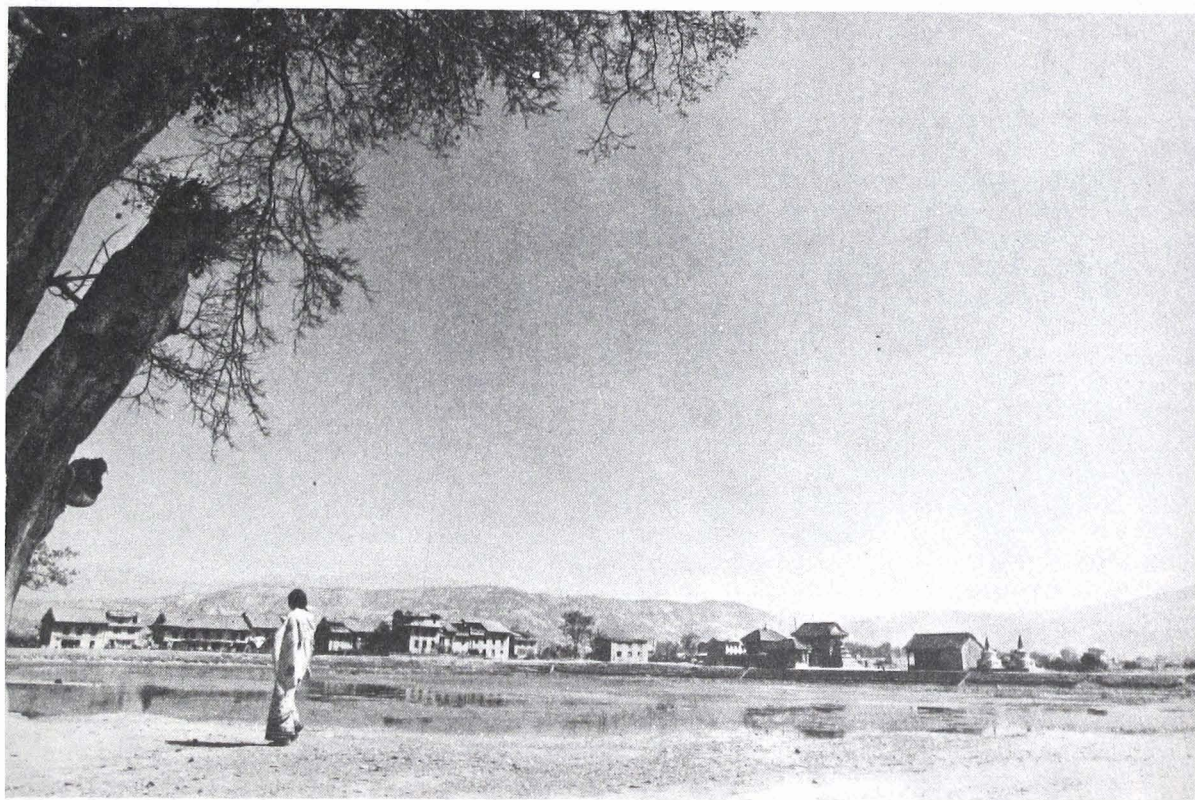
22. Nāsamanā Bāhā [22]

Nāsamanā Tole

A bāhā is listed on some published lists at this site. At the present time there is nothing here but a stone platform used for rituals and for the showing of dramas and dances. Even the name Nāsamanā Bāhā is unknown to most people in Bhaktapur today. Only one old man, over eighty, even recalled that the place was known as a bāhā and he says that, if there was a bāhā at this site, all traces had long disappeared before his time.



318. Khwanhe Khusī Bāhā [20]  
Image of Akṣobhya at Site of Former Vihār



319. Reputed Former Site of Toṃ Bāhā

## 23. Karunāmaya Cūk [23]

Kwāthaṇḍau Tole

This is not a bāhā in any sense but a nani with a golden caitya in the centre. I mention it here only because so many informants insisted that it was a bāhā. The courtyard is inhabited by people from Paśu Bāhā and is their private nani, but not a bāhā as it has never had a kwāpā-dya shrine nor a separate saṅgha as such.





## Villages Near Bhaktapur

### Thimi

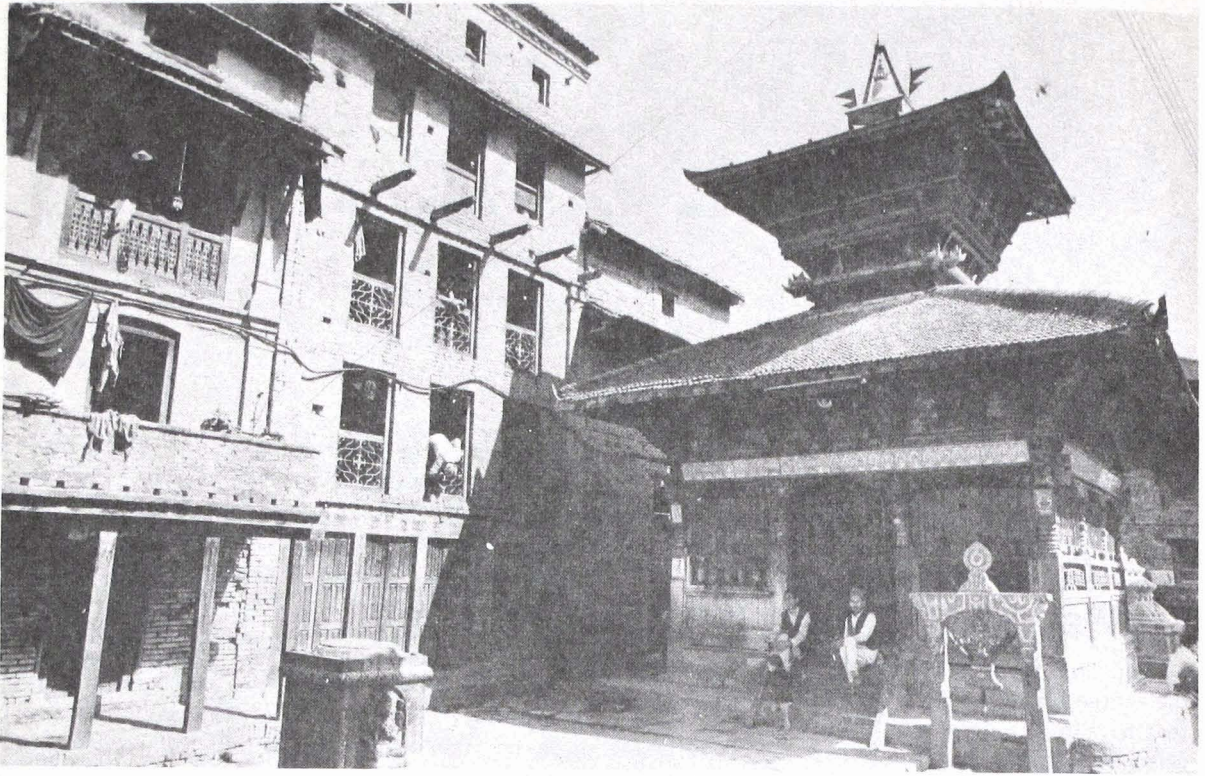
Thimi, the fourth largest town of the Valley, is situated in the centre of the Valley between Patan-Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. Because of its position it served as a bulwark between Bhaktapur and Patan-Kathmandu during the late Malla period when there were often battles among the three kingdoms of the Valley. Legend says that because the people of Thimi so successfully defended Bhaktapur, the kings of Bhaktapur called them 'chemi' meaning 'capable people'. The official name of the village in those days was Madhyapura or Madhyapuri and the common Newari name was Themi. According to a vamsāvali preserved in Thimi the town was founded in N.S.633 by the king of Bhaktapur, Survarṇa Malla. Land grants and land deeds from Thimi have been found from as early as N.S.670, but there is at least one Licchivi inscription in the village. So there was some sort of settlement there in ancient days. Thimi at the present time has nine bāhās, and though Thimi's main contact seems to have been with Bhaktapur, all of the members of the bāhās of Thimi, except one, trace their origins to Patan where their lineage deity still resides. There are four images of Dīpaṅkara preserved in Thimi, one each at Yāchin Bāhā, Ta Bāhā, Dathu Bāhā, Jiswān Bāhā, and Pāṭi Bāhā. The one at Yāchin Bāhā is considered to be the main one.

1. Ta Bāhā -- Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra [1]  
Maru Tole

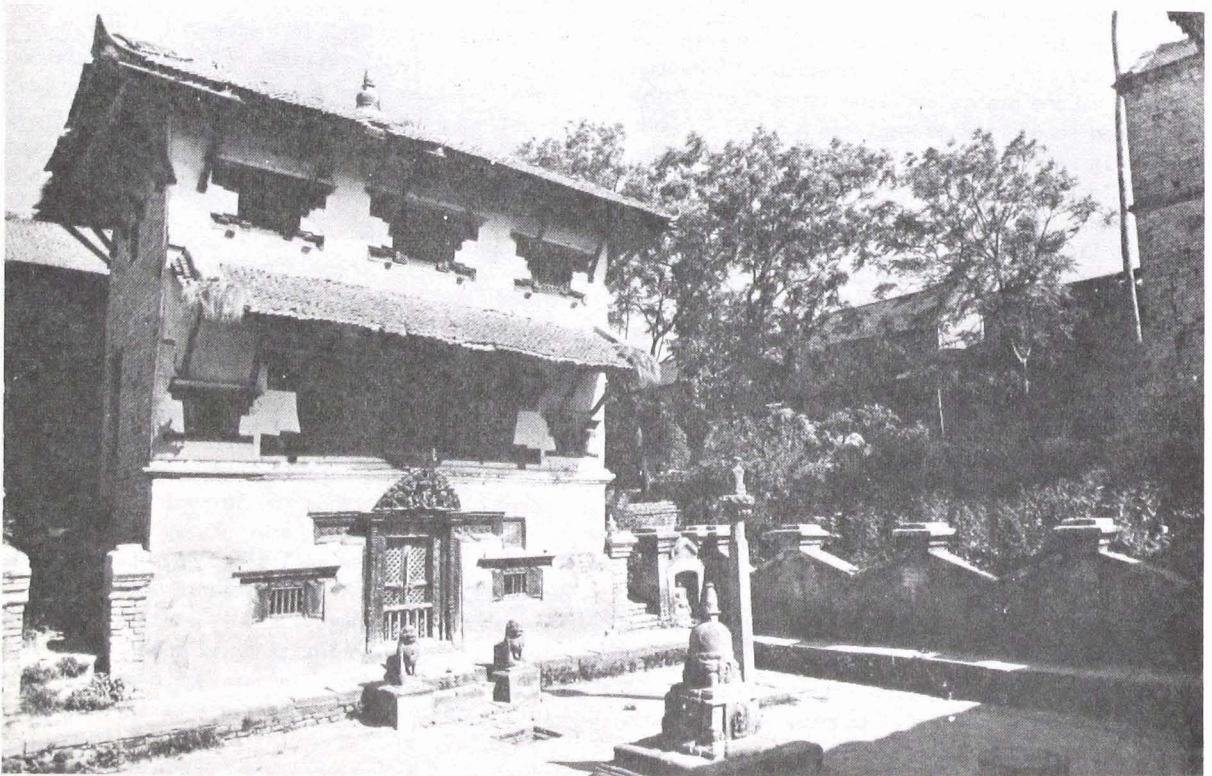
Architecturally this is not a bāhā but a free-standing temple of Lokeśvara which stands almost in the middle of the street in Maru Tole. The lower storey of the temple, which faces north, consists of a small tiled sanctum surrounded by a wide veranda enclosed by a rail-

ing surmounted by prayer wheels. Steps lead up to the veranda, and over the veranda is suspended a torana showing the Buddha Amitābha flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. In the outer circle of the torana, instead of the usual garuḍa or cepu, is set a caitya with the makaras below it. There is a single door into the sanctum surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha (Amitābha) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñā-pāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara). Round the sanctum are a series of pictures of one hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara. These pictures erected in the summer of 1976 and commissioned by local people, were painted by an artist from Bhaktapur in imitation of the similar set at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu. The kuṇḍā-dya is a small, red-faced image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara less than a foot high and almost identical to the one in Bhaktapur. Informants say that he is also called Matsyendranāth by some people, but they do not use that name themselves.

There is one large bell on the veranda dated N.S.1050. Both roofs are tiled. The lower roof is supported by short, unpainted struts depicting various deities, most of them two-armed, dancing figures. The second roof is supported by decorated struts interspersed with wooden lattice work. The brick work between the two roofs appears quite old, the rest of the temple has been renovated in recent times. The ceramic tiles on the lower storey were put up in 2028 B.S. There is a small four-faced shrine directly in front of the temple which was repaired in the same year. Set into the south face of this shrine is a six-inch high stone image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara which appears quite old. On the east face is a four-armed image of Mañjuśrī; on the north face is an inscription which is almost entirely illegible, but not



320. Ta Bāhā [1]



321. Digu Bāhā [2]



older than the late Malla period. The present temple is entirely free-standing, set almost into the middle of the street. If it ever formed part of a proper bāhā compound it is impossible to see the traces of it now.

The saṅgha consists of one hundred and twenty five Vajracaryas from four lineages and now divided into thirty households. None of them actually live at the shrine but are scattered in houses in this section of the town. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the temple and the terms of service pass through the four lineages in turn. The saṅgha is governed by four elders (thāypā). According to informants this is the original bāhā of Thimi and all of the others, including those which are now main bāhās, are off-shoots of this bāhā. Consequently, only this bāhā has a body of four elders called thāypā; at each of the other bāhās the saṅgha is governed by a single elder called thakālī. Both the Barechuyegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the saṅgha, and though members of the other main bāhās now perform their initiations in their own bāhā, they retain the right to be initiated here if they wish.

The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the day of Siṭhī Nakha, the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, and is connected with the worship of Avalokiteśvara. Each year on the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha the annual bathing ceremony is performed for the image in his own temple by the members of the saṅgha of Ia Bāhā. The image is then shut up in the temple until the fourth day of the fortnight when it is taken in procession on a khat up to Jiswāñ Bāhā [7]. There it is shut up in the bāhā for two days during which time the 'guphā rākhne' ceremony and the repainting are done. On the sixth day of the fortnight, the image is reconsecrated by the Vajracaryas of Jiswāñ Bāhā who perform this duty as a hereditary right. On the eighth day is the annual procession. Early in the morning after the usual morning worship, the image is set up in a rest house outside Jiswāñ Bāhā. Devotees come throughout the day to pay their respects and in the late afternoon the image is put on a khat and taken in solemn procession back to its own temple. The festival is one of the principal festivals of the village of Thimi, but does not attract people from outside the village as do the festivals of the Red and White Lokeśvaras

from Patan and Kathmandu.

The lineage deity of the members of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' now worshipped in a shrine directly behind the temple of Lokeśvara but 'brought' there from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. The saṅgha used to have five ropanīs of land from which they got some income, but this has been lost and they get only three murīs of paddy now.

Little is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but the saṅgha certainly came from Patan and it is probable that they brought with them the image of Lokeśvara and established his worship and festival in Thimi. The earliest dated inscription at the site is dated N.S.810 at which time a gūṭhī was established. However, if this is indeed the oldest bāhā in Bhaktapur, its foundation must pre-date the earliest date we have for Digu Bāhā [2] which is N.S.696.

## 2. Digu Bāhā -- Guṇakīrti Mahāvihāra\* [2] Digu Tole

Digu Bāhā is on the east side of the main road of Thimi north of the Lokeśvara Temple. Of the original buildings only the shrine of the kwāpā-dya remains. It is a typical bāhā shrine with the entrance to the shrine marked by two small lions. The ground floor of the shrine has a carved lattice doorway surmounted by a torāṇa of Nāmasaṅgīti surmounted by Vajrasattva and dated N.S.898. The doorway is flanked by two smaller windows. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The windows are surmounted by another torāṇa depicting Mahākāl and Vajrasattva. Above this is a partial, overhanging roof supported by six plain struts and above this three carved windows. The tile roof is supported by six more plain struts. The whole of the facade has been plastered and painted white though most of the paint on the ground floor has disappeared. In the courtyard is one caitya, the main part of which appears very old, and one maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of two hundred and fifty Vajracaryas now divided into seventy households. According to informants these people are descendants of one lineage from Ia Bāhā [1]. The members of the saṅgha take turns performing the daily rituals morning and evening. Terms of service are by seniority of initiation. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu

initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has one elder. There is no longer an annual festival at the bāhā. The only time there is a festival for the saṅgha is at the time of the initiation ceremonies which are held at irregular intervals. However, even this has been considerably simplified. Originally those whose sons were being initiated had to feed the entire saṅgha. Now they feed only their own family members plus four men each who come with the three Dīpaṅkara from the other bāhās. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' worshipped at the shrine behind the Lokeśvara Temple but 'brought' from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. According to informants the saṅgha used to have one hundred ropanīs of land, but this has now been lost. At the time of the Bahidya (showing of the gods) during the sacred month of Guṇlā they still exhibit two images of Dīpaṅkara plus one of a bhikṣu; and people from outside bring five other Buddha images. They also chant hymns during the month of Guṇlā.

The saṅgha of this bāhā surely came from Patan as their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' from Kwā Bāhā in Patan. When this migration took place is no longer remembered, but the earliest date we have for the existence of the bāhā is N.S.696 at which time one Tulādhara Jitaraja of Asan Tole (śrī asanamandapasthāna) in Kathmandu invited the Dīpaṅkara, the Sthavira and the entire saṅgha of this baha to the Samyak ceremony held on Thursday the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra in that year. The name of the bāhā is given in this inscription as Guṇakīrti Mahāvihāra in Themi, Madhaya-puri-sthāna. Hence it is obvious that the foundation of the bāhā pre-date this time.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription at the bāhā dated N.S.808 records repairs made to the bāhā by one Dandapāṇī and his family. This Dandapāṇī figures largely in the history of Thimi and this bāhā. His name appears as a witness in sixteen extant land grants between the years N.S. 767 and 832 (a total of 65 years!). In these documents his name appears as Śrī Vajracarya Dandapāṇī Vande.<sup>4</sup>

Informants in Thimi say that the descendants of Dandapāṇī constituted one of the two lineages at this bāhā. At the time of the invasion of Prithvinārāyan Shah, Dandapāṇī's descendants sided with Prithvinārāyan and the other lineage sided with the King of Bhaktapur, Ranañjit Malla. Because of this, after Prithvinārāyan had conquered Bhaktapur the lineage which had supported

Ranañjit Malla was expelled from Thimi. Some of those expelled moved to Kathmandu and still live in Nara Devī. These continue to the present day to return to Digu Bāhā in Thimi for the initiation of their sons, but take no other part in the life of the saṅgha. Some of the members of the expelled lineage simply moved out of the bāhā, built another house behind it and performed their initiations there. This remained the situation until 1954 at which time they were received back into the saṅgha. Now their initiations are performed in Digu Bāhā as of old. This bāhā has four branches.

a. Baku Bāhā -- Guṇavākyavarṇa Vihāra [4]  
Capāco Tole

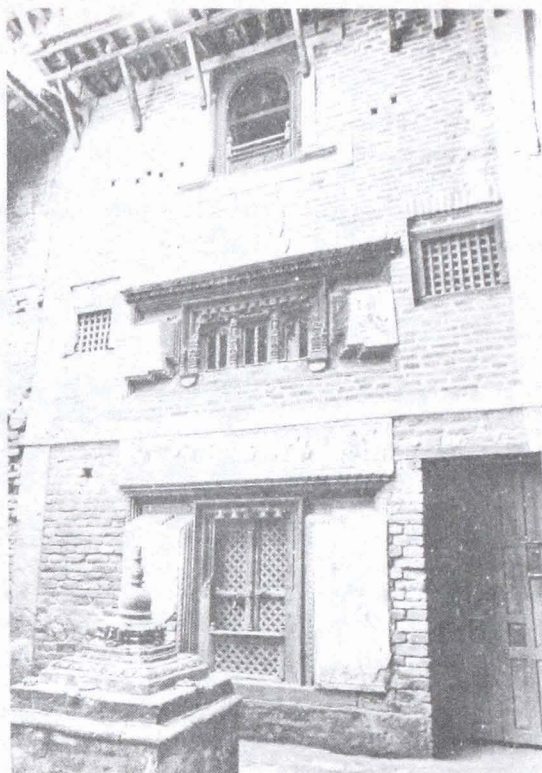
Little is left of this small bāhā which is situated just off the main road in Capāco Tole. One can see the remains of what was once an enclosed courtyard, but the surrounding buildings have all fallen into ruins, and all that is left of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small brick enclosure in a state of almost complete ruin with a dilapidated door and no roof. Inside the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing west and four other images, one of Ganesh, one of Mahākāl, one of a bodhisattva and one of Tārā. In the courtyard is a single caitya. There is no torana over the doorway, though informants say that there was one a few years ago.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of a few families of Vajracaryas who live near the bāhā and take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. They are all members of the saṅgha of Digu Bāhā where their initiations take place. This small saṅgha has one elder who, in name at least, looks after the affairs of the bāhā. There is no annual feast, but the saṅgha still has 'a little' income.

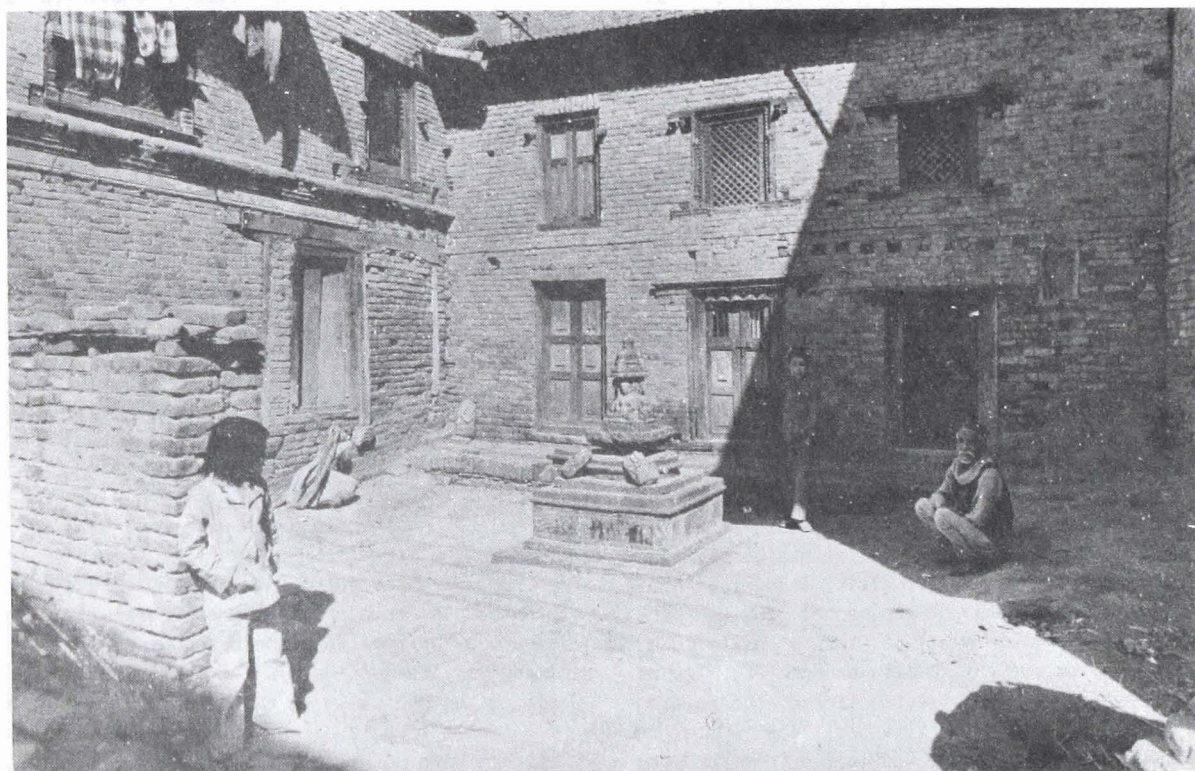
Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there are no inscriptions found within the complex.

b. Nhū Bāhā -- Herasuvarṇa Vihāra [5]  
Capāco Tole

Like the preceding bāhā this branch bāhā is also in a state of ruin. All that remains is a fairly recently constructed kwāpā-dya shrine just off the main road inside of a low wall. The door to the shrine is located on the ground



322. Baku Bāhā [4]



323. Nhu Bāhā [5]



floor, and the first storey has three windows, all without any ornamentation. To the right of the shrine door is another door leading to a well behind, and to the left is another plain doorway leading to a stairway which goes to the living quarters above. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya now houses a small image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, but informants say that this is not the original kwāpā-dya image which was an image of the Buddha. The members of the saṅgha of this bāhā are all members of the saṅgha of Digu Bāhā where they still perform all their initiations. For the most part they seem to have abandoned this branch. The daily rituals are no longer performed and there are no elders. However, they still do celebrate an annual festival on the full moon day of the month of Āświn (Kāṭī Punhī). The bāhā has no income at the present time.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā and the only dated inscription within the complex bears the date N.S.983.

c. Dathu Bāhā -- Jetavana Vihāra [6]  
Kusum Tuchi Tole

This branch bāhā which is situated in an enclosed courtyard, is still in a fair state of repair. The street entrance is marked to two very large lions. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has a carved doorway flanked by two prayer wheels set into small windows. There is no torāṇa above the door, but there is a fresco depicting the five Buddhas plus Vajrasattva and another deity. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The third storey has several small, plain windows. The tile roof is supported by several plain struts. In the courtyard is one small caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of a few families actually living within this complex and who perform the daily rituals. They are, however, all members of the saṅgha of Digu Bāhā where they perform all of their initiations. The affairs of this small branch are looked after by one elder. At the time of the showing of the gods they still exhibit one image of Dīpaṅkara. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āświn. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. There is one inscription next to the door of the shrine dated N.S.832 which commemorates the setting up of several deities and may mark the foundation of the bāhā.

d. Pāṭī Bāhā -- Pāṭī Vihāra(?) [9]

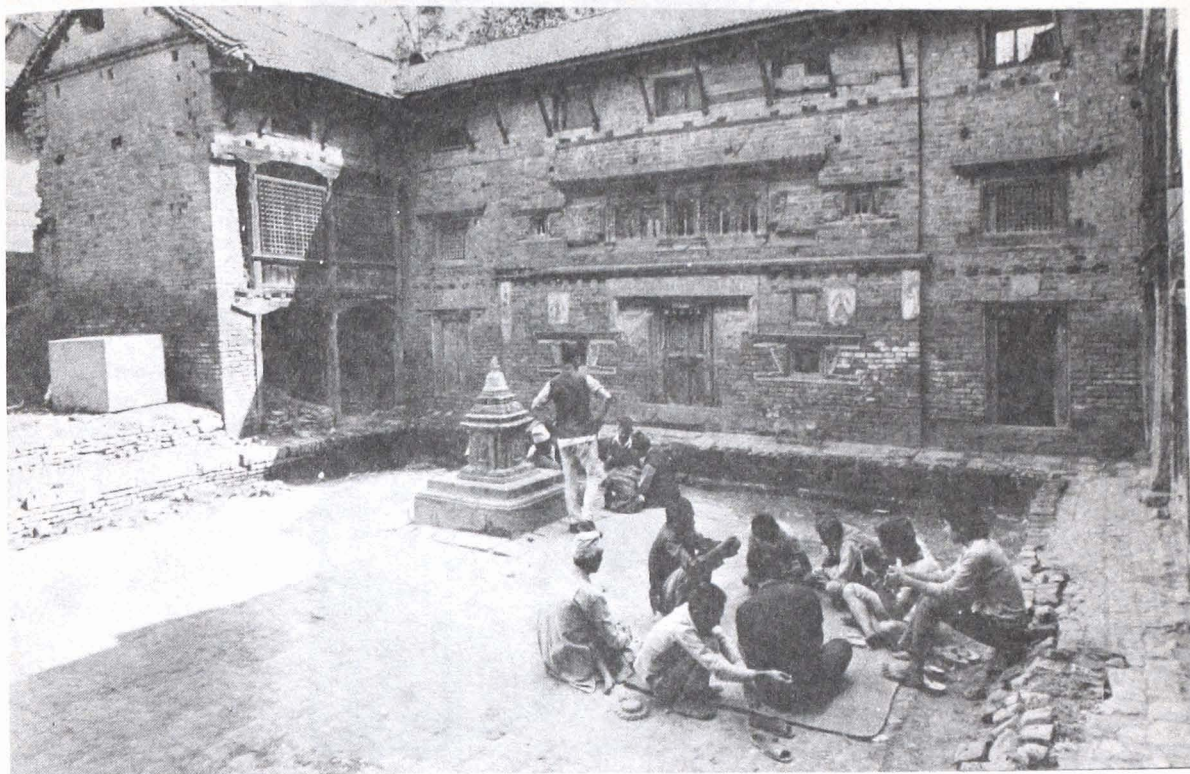
Pāco Tole

This is an abandoned branch of Digu Bāhā. All that remains is a caitya in a grassy, wooded area with a small building behind it which has the appearance of an enclosed rest house (pāṭī) and which now houses an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The saṅgha of this bāhā was one family from Digu Bāhā. The original bāhā fell into ruins and they abandoned the site returning to Digu Bāhā. What was left was turned over to a Theravāda Bhikṣu who now lives here and conducts his own services there. There are no inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history or foundation of the bāhā. The Sanskrit name given sounds suspiciously like one thought up on the spot to 'help' the researcher.

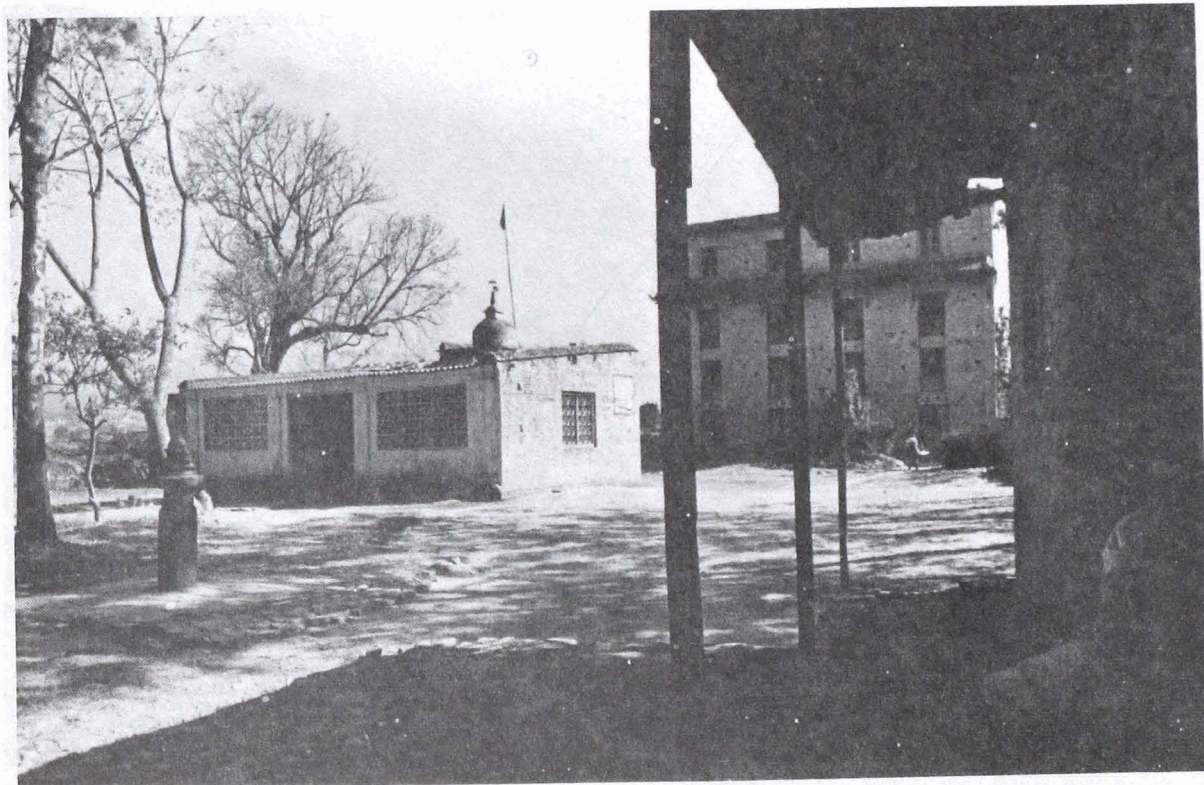
3. Yāchiñ Bāhā -- Heranilavarṇa Mahāvihāra [3]  
Kuti Cibha

This bāhā consists of a well preserved kwāpā-dya shrine in a tiny courtyard just off the main road of Thimi. The ground floor shrine has carved doorway, and above this the five Buddhas are depicted in fresco. There is no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows and on the facade near the windows is another fresco of Samantabhadra painted half white and half blue. The top floor has a single window and the whole is surmounted by a tile roof. In the courtyard is a single small caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā, though independent, has kept a close tie with Digu Bāhā [2]. The saṅgha consists of ten (of the seventy) households attached to Digu Bāhā. Though these people are counted among the members of Digu Bāhā they perform both the Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations here. The members take turns acting as dya-pālās in the kwāpā-dya shrine by rotation through the ten households, each household having a period of service of one and a half years. The saṅgha of this bāhā has one elder (thakālī). There is no longer an annual



324. Dathu Bāhā [6]



325. Pāti Bāhā [9]





326. Yāchiñ Bāhā [3]



327. Jiswāñ Bāhā [7]



festival of the the saṅgha, but a few people do observe the festival in a private way. The saṅgha has no income at the present time. As with all of the these bāhās of Thimi, the lineage deity of this saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', now residing behind the Lokeśvara temple, but brought there from Kwā Bāhā in Patan.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and there are no inscriptions in the complex. Most probably the foundation dates from the late Malla period, but at the present time there is nothing to prove it.

4. Jiswāñ Bāhā -- Pūrvasthita Mahāvihāra [7]  
Gādacā Tole

This bāhā which is just off the north end of the main road of the village has preserved the shrine of the kwāpā-dya only, the rest of the buildings around the courtyard have fallen into ruins. The ground floor of the shrine has a latticed doorway flanked by two small windows. On either side of the doorway are stone figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. There is no torāṇa. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top floor has but a single window in the centre of the facade. The tile roof is supported by four plain struts. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the centre of the courtyard is a single caitya, the top part of which appears to be very old.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of four households of Vajracaryas now comprising only ten initiated members. These take turns serving in the temple by rotation through the four households. The term of service for each household is one full year. The members of the saṅgha perform both the Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations here for their sons. There is a single elder who oversees the affairs of the bāhā. There is no longer any annual festival; but it used to be held on the first day of the month of Baisākh. A feast is held for all of the members of the saṅgha only at the time of initiations which are held at irregular intervals. They still observe the annual showing of the gods at which they exhibit an image of Dīpaṅkara and a few other images brought by members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', residing at the Lokeśvara Temple but brought from Kwā Bāhā in Patan.

The Vajracaryas of this bāhā serve as the priests for Ta Bāhā [1] and the image of Avalokiteśvara which is enshrined at that bāhā. At the time of the annual festival the image is brought to Jiswāñ Bāhā after the bathing. There the image is reconsecrated and the daśa karma rituals performed. The procession then begins at Jiswāñ Bāhā and ends at Ta Bāhā. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Little is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā. It is one of the oldest in Thimi, surely, but the only extant inscription is dated N.S.834 at which time one Śrī Vajrācārya Bīradeva, offered a new caitya and ornaments for the same. KTMV says that the bāhā was built in the sixteenth century but gives no evidence for this.

5. Guṅga Cibāhā -- Navacaitya Vihāra [8]  
Pāco Tole

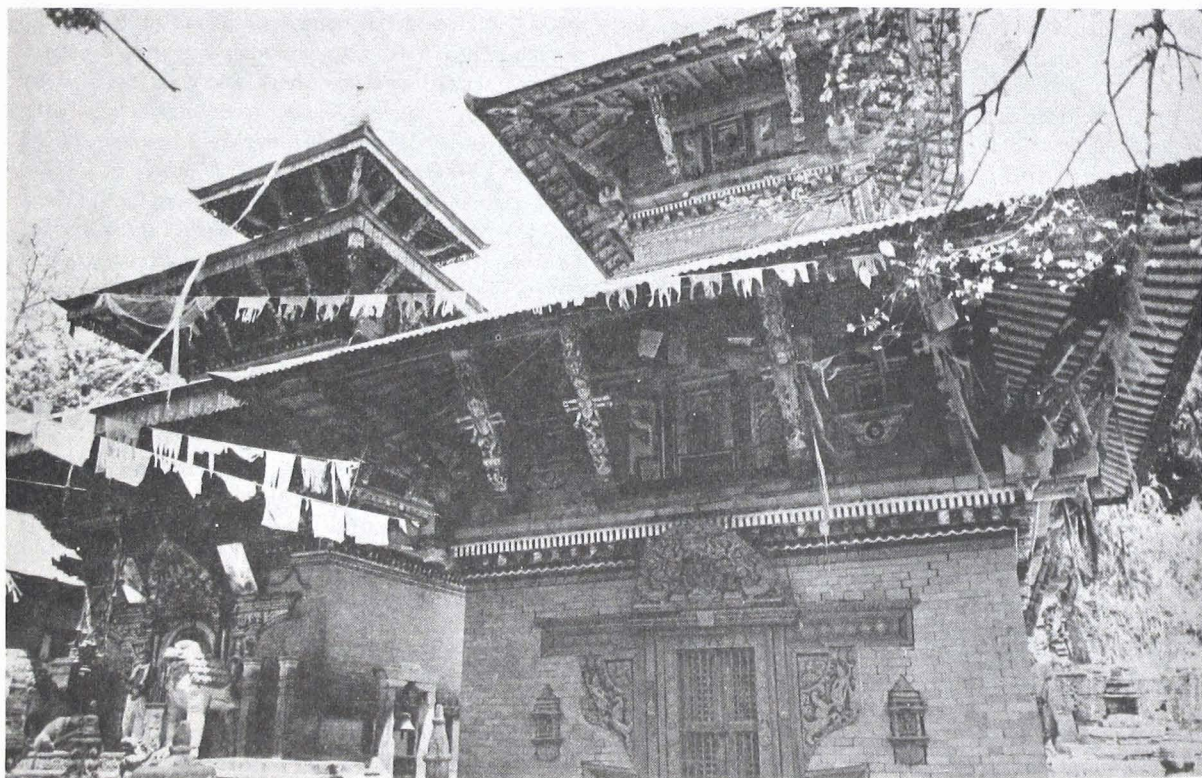
At the northern end of the main street of Thimi is a large caitya set just off the road to the east. The main caitya has a number of small caityas set round it and just off the south east corner of the area of the caitya is a small shrine which houses an image of Buddha in dhyāna mudrā. This is the kwāpā-dya of a small saṅgha which resides here and considers this their bāhā. However, it is not connected with the other bāhās of Thimi nor is it a main bāhā but in effect a private branch bāhā of Akhan Bāhā in Bhaktapur. The three families, with eight initiated Vajracarya members, are reported to have moved to Thimi from Bhaktapur only about thirty years ago, and still return to Bhaktapur where they perform their initiations at Akhan Bāhā. These take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine here, but this is really the extent of the activities of the saṅgha. There is no annual feast and no showing of the gods; but they do recite hymns during the sacred month of Guṇlā. The bāhā has no income. Their lineage deity is at Sankhu Vajroyogini as is that of all the members of the saṅgha of Akhan Bāhā in Bhaktapur.

Sankhu

The village of Sankhu lies at the easternmost edge of the Valley of Kathmandu at the end of a small valley which is drained by the Salinadi River. The village has a population of



328. Guṅga Cibāhā [8]



329. Guṃ Bāhā, Sankhu  
Enshrined Caitya in the Foreground,  
Shrine of Vajrayoginī Behind

about 6,000, the majority of whom are Shresthas. However, there are the remains of nine bāhās in Sankhu. The Newari name of the village is Sako or Sako-de; the Sanskrit name is Saṅkhapura or Sankha Patana.

1. Guṃ Bāhā -- (Padmagīri) Dharma Dhātu Mahāvihāra\*

(Vajrayoginī)

North of Village

Guṃ Bāhā is situated on a hill north of the village of Sankhu and is one of the most ancient Buddhist sites in the Valley. Today the complex is most commonly known as the shrine of Vajrayoginī (or Khadgayoginī), a female tantric deity whose shrine has been, since medieval times, the main object of veneration at this site.

One approaches the bāhā along a motorable road leading out of the village to the foot of the hill where one proceeds on foot up a long series of flagstone steps. Partway up the steps is an important shrine of Bhairava known as Bhairava Thān, where Bhairava is worshipped in the form of a large triangular stone. Opposite this shrine is a large pot-bellied image of Ganesh, and to the side of Ganesh is a rest house where it was formerly customary to leave one's shoes before proceeding to the holy shrine of Vajrayoginī. About half way between this shrine and the top of the hill one encounters a large stūpa. It is at this stūpa that many of the people who come to Sankhu to worship their lineage deity perform their worship. Upon reaching the top one comes to the temple complex within a pine forested area. There are two main temples in the complex. The second one as you approach is at the present time the main shrine of the bāhā and in effect the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. This is a free-standing temple built on a square plan and having two roofs, the upper one of gilded copper and the lower one of corrugated iron sheeting. The ground floor of the temple has four elaborately carved door frames of exquisite detail. The main doorway, on the west, has a brass repousse torāṇa depicting the Buddha (Mahā-āmitābha, sitting in vajrāsana on his peacock throne) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the left and the Saṅgha (Śaḍa-kṣari Lokesvara) on the right. The other three doorways each has a wooden torāṇa portraying a female tantric deity, the tantric forms of the consorts of three of the transcendent Buddhas: that of Mahā-Amoghasiddhi to the north,

Akṣobhya to the east, and Ratnasambhava to the south. The shrine houses a swayambhū caitya, i.e. a caitya which according to tradition arose of its own accord. This is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and the deity is either identified as Swayambhū (the self-existent Buddha) or Amitābha. One approaches the caitya from the west doorway and worships at the western side of the caitya, the side of the caitya where Mahā-āmitābha resides on the torāṇa. Some of the people who perform the worship of their lineage deity at Sankhu perform it here. As noted in the other sections, I was frequently told by people at various bāhās that their lineage deity was Vajrayoginī at Sankhu. Some, however, told me that they worship not Vajrayoginī but the swayambhū caitya. The priests at Sankhu have confirmed that nobody ever performs the worship of their lineage deity at the shrine of Vajrayoginī but either at this enshrined caitya or at the stūpa some distance below the temple complex.

The larger temple to the east of the enshrined caitya is the famous shrine of 'Vajrayoginī', which is the main attraction of this complex and one of the finest and best preserved examples of Nepalese medieval temple architecture. It was constructed in N.S.775. The temple is a free-standing structure of three roofs, all three of sheet copper, the top one entirely gilded and the central one partially gilded. The top roof is surmounted by a golden gajūra. Gilt copper halampos hang from the eaves and long metal streamers reach from the roof down to the door of the sanctum. All of the roofs are supported by carved wooden struts, a total of forty eight in all. The door to the sanctum opens to the south and is surmounted by a magnificent torāṇa of gilt copper with cast figures set into it. The central figure of the torāṇa is a female figure with one face and eight arms standing in a dancing posture and treading on two prostrate figures. Her face shows the third eye and she wears a crown and a garland of skulls. The figure is fully clothed. Her right hands hold a sword, the tarjani mudrā, a vajra, and a chopper. Her left hands hold a lotus bud on a stem, a bow, an elephant goad and a skull bowl. Just who this deity, and the similar image in the shrine, represents is problematic. She is usually known as Vajrayoginī, but more knowledgeable people will tell you that she is not Vajrayoginī, but Khadgayoginī since she holds a sword (khadga) in her top-most,



raised right hand. Vajrayoginī, as in the image at Pharping, holds a vajra in this position. However, she is not a yoginī at all. There is a deity known as Vajrayoginī, but like all yoginīs she is always portrayed entirely naked. Knowledgeable Vajracaryas will identify this image as Ugra Tara, or a form of the Blue Tārā. Iconographically this comes much closer than anything else. However, even this identification is not without question as the Blue Tārā is a particularly fierce manifestation of Tārā and always has a terrifying aspect. This image has a very pleasant or passive mien. Furthermore, the main image in the temple is painted red and not blue. All that can be said in the end is that she is Ugra Tārā, a Nepalese tantric form of Tārā, probably based on an iconographic source that has been lost to us. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya identifies the image in the temple as 'Ugratārā, more popularly known as Mahācīna-Tārā, which is believed to have been carried there [to the temple at Sankhu] by Bengali priests from a place of the same name in the District of Dacca, about A.D.1350, when the Muhammadens led their victorious armies over Eastern Bengal.'<sup>10</sup>

On the same level as these two temples is a rest house just to the west of the temple of Vajrayoginī, now taken over by the police since some attempted thefts a few years ago. North of the enshrined caitya are four small caityas which Slusser has dated from the fifth to the eighth centuries A.D.<sup>11</sup> The area also contains a lion on a pillar and several large bells. There is also a natural cave just off the area of the temples, one of several in the area.

On the north side of the area of these two temples is a stairway leading up to another level. As one goes to the upper level on the right is a small two-storied building where a solitary Newar, Mahāyāna monk lives. The upper level beyond this building is an enclosed, paved courtyard with a sunken fountain in the centre and surrounded by rest houses and residential quarters. The building immediately to the left as one enters this courtyard is the bāhā residence proper, though no one any longer lives here except for the current dya-pālā who must stay here for the term of his service. This building also houses some of the finest treasures of ancient Buddhist art. On the ground floor is a small room; to the left as you enter is a large gilt copper caitya about five feet tall. To the left of this is a colossal cast

copper or bronze head of the Buddha. Since the image is partially buried it is impossible to tell whether it is just a head or if in fact the rest of the image is also buried there.<sup>12</sup> Slusser dates this piece to the fifth century. On the floor above this is another shrine which contains a duplicate image of Vajrayoginī and two other outstanding pieces. The first is a solid cast bronze image of the Buddha, standing and showing the viśvākarāṇa mudrā. The image stands about fifty-two inches tall; this image Slusser has dated to the eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> For some now unknown reason this image is referred to as 'The Blacksmith's Queen'. Near this is a standing image of Padmapāñi Lokeśvara, again of solid bronze and standing about three feet high. It is very similar to the four images found in Kuā Bāhā in Patan and Slusser dates it to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

The saṅgha of Gum Bāhā now consists of four lineages of Vajracaryas and one of Bauddhacaryas (=Sakyas) with a total initiated membership of one hundred twenty five. All of these live in the village of Sankhu, though the current dya-pālā must live at Gum Bāhā for the term of his service. Originally the saṅgha consisted of four lineages of Vajracaryas and three of Bauddhacaryas, but two of the later lineages have either died out or moved away. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders known as thāyapā, all drawn from the four lineages of Vajracaryas. The Bauddhacaryas are not eligible for this honour. The elders are chosen by strict seniority of initiation, irrespective of lineages. The eldest of these also serves as the Cakreśvara. The members of the saṅgha, both Vajracaryas and Bauddhacaryas, serve as dya-pālās in the kwāpā-dya shrine, i.e. in the shrine of the caitya, and in the shrine of Vajrayoginī. Terms of service last for eight days and pass through the five lineages in turn. Within each lineage service passes by rotation through the households by a complicated system of reckoning resulting from the division of some families and the fact that other families have moved away or died out with their rights being assumed by others.<sup>15</sup> There is no annual festival for the bāhā as such, though there are other annual observances. On the day of pañca dāna during the sacred month of Guṇlā, the members of the saṅgha bring an image of Vasundhārā in procession down to the village of Sankhu and take it round the village. The five elders of the bāhā

go with the image in order of seniority and these five and the image of Vasundharā are the first to receive the offerings of pañcadāna. The image of Vasundharā is given five shares, the Cakreśvara is given five shares, and all the others receive one share each. There is also an annual festival of Vajrayoginī on the fullmoon day of the month of Caitra. At this time the duplicate image of Vajrayoginī kept in the residence of the dya-pālās is put on a portable carrier and taken in procession. Barechuyegu initiations are performed at Guṃ Bāhā for all of the Vajracaryas and Bauddhacaryas living in Sankhu. The Barechuyegu initiations take place in front of the temple of the caitya; and the Bauddhacaryas take only this initiation. Ācālyegu initiations are performed for the sons of the Vajracaryas, but are not done at the bāhā. They are performed in the home of the eldest boy being initiated, a custom that is certainly unique to Sankhu. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the stūpa on the stairway leading up to the temple complex proper; and the annual worship is still always performed there. The saṅgha no longer has any income, though they must have had a considerable income at one time. The saṅgha and the shrine retain links with communities in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur; and several of these communities still return to Sankhu to perform the annual worship of their lineage deity. Furthermore, whenever there is a major pūjā to be performed at the bāhā or the shrine of Vajrayoginī, a Vajracarya is called from Kathmandu to act as upādhyāya. Originally it was always a Vajracarya from Sikamu Bāhā (probably the Rāj Gubhāju), later it was someone from Takṣe Bāhā and now is always some one from Makhañ Bāhā.

Guṃ Baha is the only extant bāhā whose foundation can be traced to a known Licchavi foundation with some degree of certainty. An inscription of Aṃśuvarma at Hadigaon dated Sambat 32, mentions several vihāras for whose upkeep donations had been made. The first of these is Guṃ Vihāra. The place where this vihāra is situated is not mentioned in the inscription, but a consistent tradition down through the ages leaves little doubt that this is indeed the Guṃ Bāhā of Sankhu. The Gopālarājvaṃśāvalī notes that King Mānadeva retired to the hill at Guṃ Vihāra to do penance for some time; and the Bhāsā Vāṃśāvalī repeats this story and notes that because of his penance a caitya arose there spontaneously, obviously a reference to the

svayambhū caitya still enshrined at the site, which still has four small Licchavi caityas near it. A thyāsaphū record notes that in N.S.801, on the first day of the dark half of the month of Māgha, a raṅga-pūjā was performed at 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Guṃ Bāhār Vajrayoginī'. Furthermore, to this day, though the shrine is called Vajrayoginī by Nepali speakers, any Newar when he sets off for Vajrayoginī says he is going to Guṃ Bāhā (Guṃ Bāhā wane). The Sanskrit name is confirmed by a colophon reference in a manuscript that was copied there in N.S.954. There are also several other Malla period inscriptions within the complex, the most important of which is the inscription of N.S.775 of Pratāp Malla put up at the time the present Vajrayoginī temple was constructed.

Guṃ Bāhā has eight branch bāhās, all of them in the village of Sankhu. However, they are all in a state of ruin, and in some cases the bāhā is nothing more than a memory preserved by an occasional pūjā at the site of the ruined bāhā. The nitya pūjā is no longer performed at any of these sites; however, during the sacred month of Guṃlā, the five elders of Guṃ Bāhā do perform a nitya pūjā at each of these sites daily, and because of this it is possible to identify the sites. The eight are:

a. Thathu Bāhā -- Siddhikula Vihāra

Dhwanla Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is a courtyard which contains a large, recent caitya and two Licchavi caityas outside the confines of the courtyard. This courtyard and the one adjoining house several families of Vajracaryas, but there is no kwāpā-dya shrine any longer.

b. Ducheñ Bāhā -- Henākara Vihāra

Dhwanla Tole

This consists in a small enclosed courtyard with one small caitya in the centre. Several families of Vajracaryas live here but there is no kwāpā-dya shrine. Informants said that one of the Vajracaryas does occasionally perform the nitya pūjā at the caitya.

c. Wām Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Vihāra

Dhwanla Tole

Only a caitya and a weed-covered mound mark the site of this former bāhā. Informants say

that there was a bāhā complex at the site of the mound.

d. Opi Bāhā -- Vajracakra Vihāra  
Salkha Tole

The site of this bāhā is marked by a small Buddha image set between two rather recent buildings. There is a bit of a depression in the ground near the statue and it is here that bāhā pūjā is performed.

e. Sui Bāhā -- Dharmadhātu Vihāra  
Dugā Hiti Tole

At this site there is still a small enclosed compound with a small enclosure in the southeast corner which houses an image of Buddha in bhūmiśparśa mudrā and an image of a caitya. In the centre of this compound there used to be a small pond.

f. Na Bāhā -- Jñānacakra Vihāra  
Dugā Hiti Tole

Nothing remains of this bāhā but five stones set into the pavement in a narrow alleyway between buildings. Informants say this is the site of a bāhā and that the five stones represent the five transcendent Buddhas.

g. Mansa Bāhā -- Jayanākara Vihāra  
Pukhulaci Tole

The site of this former bāhā is now occupied by a dump located at the edge of a rice mill. There are no images or caityas to mark the site.

h. Ko Bāhā -- Guṇākara Vihāra Suna Tole

The only thing that marks the site of this bāhā is a stone in the middle of a path. Near this site is an ancient water tap and informants say that they perform the bāhā pūjā near the water tap. Informants say that the image of the kwāpā-dya was sold, but that some of the members of the former saṅgha still have some other images which they saved from the bāhā.

Banepa

Banepa is a large Newar village which lies just outside of the Valley to the east along the

old trade route to Tibet. In Newari the village is known as Bho or Bhonta. Its Sanskrit name is Vandepur. In the Malla period it was an important town and at one time was actually a separate kingdom, first breaking off from Bhaktapur and later being rejoined. There were originally at least two bāhās in Banepa, and perhaps three, but only one now remains functioning.

1. Nhū Bāhā -- Pārāvata Mahāvihāra  
Waku Tole

This is the only surviving and functioning bāhā in Banepa. All that remains is a dilapidated shrine with an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Over the shrine door is a torāṇa showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In front of the shrine is a single caitya and another image of Akṣobhya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred ninety five Sakyas and thirty Vajracaryas. The present saṅgha actually consists of three or possibly four separate groups. First are those who are considered the original members of the saṅgha, the 'real Banepalis. Their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' which they say they brought from Itum Bāhā in Kathmandu from which they originally came. They also say that the saṅgha continues to follow all the customs of Itum Bāhā. All of these are Sakyas. A second group of Sakyas came to Banepa about sixty or seventy years ago from a nearby village. No one was able to identify the village. They had a bāhā in that village but it had fallen into ruins. When they came to Banepa they were accepted into the saṅgha of the Banepa bāhā and set up in its courtyard an image of Akṣobhya which they brought from the village. Later they also built a caitya. Some thirty years ago one household of Vajracaryas came to Banepa from Sankhu. They were also accepted into the saṅgha of the bāhā. At the present time all of these people are considered to constitute one unified saṅgha, but because of their different origins intermarriage is possible among the three groups. (Ordinarily intermarriage within a saṅgha is forbidden.) However, such marriages are rare as the Banepalis look down on the people who came from 'the village'. At the present time all three groups worship the same lineage deity, but in four groups, in four slightly different places: one group comprising the original Banepalis, one group the Vajracaryas from Sankhu, one group the Sakyas from 'the





330. Nhū Bāhā, Banepā



331. Banepā Bahī

village', and one other household which worships separately for some now forgotten reason. Perhaps this is due to a long forgotten quarrel or perhaps this family also came from outside. The amalgamation of these groups into one saṅgha does not seem so strange if one recalls that the lineage deity of Itum̐ Bāhā in Kathmandu, where the Banepalis came from, is at Sankhu so they and the Vajracaryas from Sankhu always had the same lineage deity. Perhaps this was also true of the people from 'the village'. The members of the saṅgha serve by turns as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is three months, and four members of the saṅgha share each term of service, actually serving in the temple as convenience suits them. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha is governed by a group of five elders chosen by strict seniority of the entire saṅgha irrespective of the origin of the various households. The annual festival occurs in the month of Maṅgśīr. They have no special observances during the month of Guṇlā other than the pañca dāna and the exhibition of a few images. The saṅgha still has a little income from their gūṭhī lands. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā other than the tradition that the original saṅgha came from Itum̐ Bāhā in Kathmandu. The only inscription at the bāhā is dated N.S.840 and commemorates the offering of a gajūra at the time of the pañca dāna in that year.

## 2. Banepā Bahī --

Bhanakha Tole

There is one a bahī in Banepa, but at the present time all that is left is one section of the original buildings with the bahī shrine which is typical of the bahī style. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana showing the Buddha (Mahā-amitābha) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokeshvara). The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east, but informants say that this is a recent image installed about eight years ago after the original was stolen. In the courtyard are two caityas.

The bahī saṅgha has long since disappeared but the daily rituals are performed regularly by people from Nhū Bāhā.

There were originally two inscriptions at

this place. The first was dated N.S.677 and was almost completely illegible. This inscription is no longer in evidence. The second one dated N.S.718 commemorates the offering of a torana.<sup>20</sup>

## Panauti

Panauti is a village of about 2,700 situated south of Banepa on a triangular-shaped area of land between the Puṇyamati and the Roshi Rivers. It was an important trade centre in former times and according to legend once had its own king. The Newari name of the Village is Panti and its Sanskrit name is Puṇyavati Nagara. At the present time there are two bāhās in Panauti.

### 1. Pantiyā Bāhā -- Dharma Dhātu Mahāvihāra [1] Walā Cheñ Tole

Architecturally this is not a bāhā but simply a large stūpa situated in an open expanse in the street in front of a temple of Brahmāyānī, which has no connection to the caitya. Perhaps there was a bāhā complex adjoining the stūpa at one time. Informants say that the kwāpā-dya of their saṅgha is a small image of the Buddha set into the stūpa at the base of the harmikā. At the present time there are no other structures or images at this site.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one Vajracarya and sixty Bauddhacaryas (= Sakyas). Many of the members of this saṅgha now live at Sankhu, a village some hours walk from here at the foot of the hill where the famous Namo Buddha stūpa is situated. Some members of the saṅgha have moved away from the village altogether. At the present time only six of the households of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās performing the customary rituals each morning at the stūpa. Three of these households are resident in Panauti and three in Sankhu. The term of service is one entire year and when the people from Sankhu serve they must spend the year in Panauti. Barechuyegu initiations are performed in front of the stūpa for the sons of the members of the saṅgha and this is the only initiation which the Bauddhacaryas take. The Vajracarya family performs Ācāluyegu initiations at their own house where they have an agam. However, the sole initiated Vajracarya from that household has no sons, so the Vajracarya line will cease with his demise. The saṅgha has one





332. Pantiyā Bāhā, Panauti



333. Nhū Bāhā, Panauti



elder, the Vajracarya. The saṅgha celebrates its annual festival on the third day of the dark half of the month of Phālgun. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a nameless and aniconic image situated at Wapu Khel on the edge of the village. The saṅgha used to have a regular income from gūṭhī lands but this has disappeared.

Nothing is known about the history or founding of this bāhā and the only legible inscription at the stūpa is dated B.S.2005.

## 2. Nhū Bāhā -- Kāsīvarṇa Mahāvihāra [2]

Wala Cheñ Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is a dilapidated kwāpā-dya shrine marked by two half buried lions. In the partially enclosed courtyard of the bāhā is also a recently erected caitya. The kwāpā-dya of the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of twenty four Bauddhacaryas(=Sakyas) and eleven Vajracaryas. Many of the members of the saṅgha live in the village of Sankhu near Namo Buddha which is probably their original home. To this day eleven members of this saṅgha must take turns as dya-pālās at the shrine of Namo Buddha; and this bāhā is known as 'the home of Namo Buddha', because when the image is brought to Panauti it is kept in this bāhā. These eleven are drawn from only four of the lineages of the saṅgha, five from the first lineage, four from the second and one each from the third and fourth lineages. (There are several additional lineages which do not share this right. No one was able to give a reason for this seeming discrimination.) These eleven are given the Ācālyegu initiation and constitute the eleven Vajracaryas of the saṅgha. In addition to their duties at Namo Buddha these eleven function as ordinary Vajracaryas performing priestly functions for people in and around Panauti. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Terms of service are irregular as many people live in Sankhu and do not take a turn in the temple. The annual festival of the bāhā is held on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh. At the time of Guñlā the eleven Vajracaryas bring an image of Buddha from Namo Buddha in procession for the pañca dāna festival. There are two images of Dīpaṅkara in Panauti, one at each bāhā and these join the

Buddha from Namo Buddha for a procession round the town, to seven places--the two bāhās and five caityas. The image from Namo Buddha is taken back the following day. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an image which they call simply Ajimā and is situated in the village of Sankhu where they still perform the annual worship. The saṅgha has one elder and a little remaining income from gūṭhī lands.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and there are no inscriptions at the site.

## Khampu

### 1. Khampuya Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra Khampu

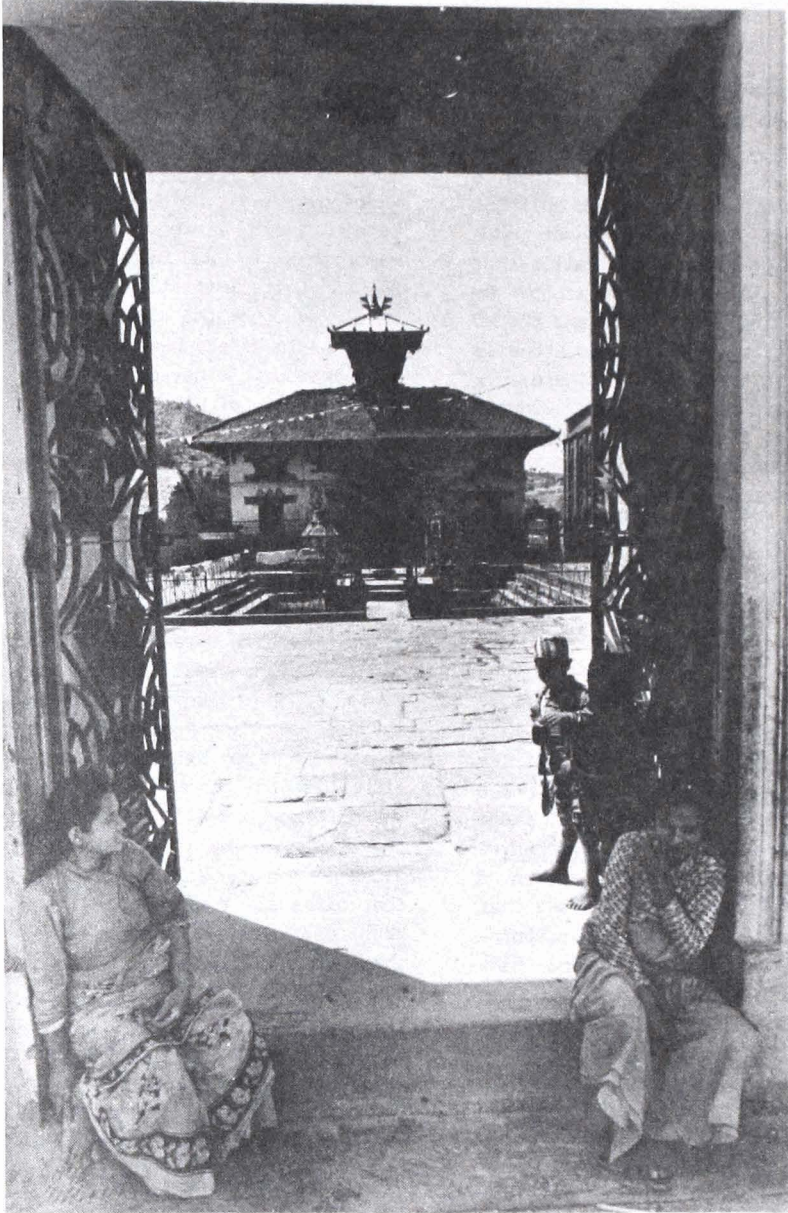
In the village of Khampu, which lies east of the road leading from Banepa to Panauti, are the remains of a bāhā. The buildings have entirely disappeared and all that remains are a caitya and an image of a bodhisattva. According to informants in the village, after the buildings of the bāhā fell into ruins the saṅgha moved away from the village. (Are they the people in Banepa who 'came from a village'?) The only Bare now living in the village are one family of Sakyas from Ināco Bāhā in Bhaktapur.

## Nala

Nala is a village north and a bit west of Banepa, just outside the rim of the Valley. It has about 2,000 inhabitants and is an exclusively Hindu village. The Sanskrit name of the village is Nagiripura. There are no Bare resident in the village and the main shrine of the village, that of Bhagavati, is tended by Newar Hindu priests (ācājū). Outside of the village to the west is one bāhā.

### 1. Lokeśvara Bāhā -- Uttarapantha Mahāvihāra Nala

The shrine of this bāhā is at the western end of an enclosed rectangular area bordered on the north by a long narrow rest house, on the south by ordinary dwellings and on the east by a low wall and a wrought-iron gate. All of the



334. Shrine of Nala Lokeshvara

buildings are of recent origin. The shrine itself which has been recently renovated may represent the remains of a proper bāhā, though it looks more like an ordinary house than a bāhā. It is a rectangular two-storied building with a single tile roof supported by short unornamented struts resting against the wall rather than on the cornice. The roof is surmounted by a cupola also with a single tile roof and topped by a golden gajūra. Various household utensils hang round the base of the cupola. There are three doors on the ground floor and windows above them on the first floor. One of the doors has a torana. The window above the main door has a carved wooden screen with a small window on either side of it. The surface of the walls has been plastered and whitewashed. The temple is bordered by a railing of metal oil lamps which form an archway over the steps leading up to the main door.

In front of the temple is one small stone caitya and one large whitewashed caitya. Neither of them is dated. In the centre of the temple compound is a pond with a platform in the centre for the bathing ceremonies of the image of Padmapānī Lokeśvara who is the kwāpā-dya. The present image is white like the Lokeśvara at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but informants say that the colour dates from the time of the restoration of the cult when experts from Jana Bāhā were called to teach the dya-pālā in Nala how to paint the image. Originally the image was red. A stone walkway leads out to the platform in the centre. At the end of the walkway are two stone guardian lions. Both the pond and the bathing platform are recent renovations. There is an inscription on the bathing platform put up on N.S.1074.

The present cult of Nala Lokeśvara is the result of a recent revival of the cult by interested parties from Kathmandu. By the beginning of this century the cult had completely lapsed, the saṅgha had died out and it seems the bāhā was more or less abandoned. After the earthquake of 1934 Ananda Muni Vajracarya requested money from the government for the restoration of the shrine, and over the past fifty years further renovations have been carried out, and an annual festival of this Lokeśvara was inaugurated in imitation of the similar festival of Lokeśvara at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu.<sup>21</sup>

At the time of the restoration of the cult

of Nala Lokeśvara, a Vajracarya was called from Bhaktapur to tend the shrine. He has settled with his family in Nala, and he and his four sons act as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, i.e. Nala Lokeśvara. However, they retain their links with Bhaktapur and their membership in Paśu Bāhā from where they came. All of their initiations are performed in Pasu Baha, so from the viewpoint of the saṅgha this baha has in effect become a branch of Pasu Bāhā in Bhaktapur. They perform only a morning pūjā in the temple of Lokeśvara.

The main event of the year is the annual bathing, reconsecration of the image and the procession round the village which takes place at the beginning of the month of Caitra. The bathing ceremony takes place on the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. The actual bathing ceremonies are performed by the pāñjūs from Bungamati and the consecration ceremonies on the following morning are performed by a Vajracarya from Kathmandu. It was Ananda Muni Vajracarya from Kathmandu who helped to establish this custom and for many years he performed the ceremony himself. Now he has passed it on to others. The consecration ceremonies take place on the day following the bathing and when the rites are finished the image is placed on a khat and taken in procession from the bāhā up through the village and back to the bāhā before nightfall.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this establishment and there are no dated inscriptions from the Malla period or earlier. There are, however, a number of fragmentary images that are surely Malla period or earlier. From what remains of the original structure, and from its position outside of the village, one can surmise that the original foundation was probably a bahī and not a bāhā.

#### Dolakha

East of the Kathmandu Valley in Janakpur Zone is the village of Dolakha, a town important from at least medieval times because it lay on the trade route from the Valley to Tibet. The entirely Newar population of this village has cultural links with both Patan and Kathmandu. There is one bāhā in this village.



1. Wāmbhu Bāhā -- Vandakṛtadeva Mahāvihāra  
Piṅgal Tole

Lokeśvara certainly predate the offering of the halo in N.S.701.

In Piṅgal Tole in this village is a temple, now empty, which is all that is left of the one bāhā of Dolakha. The kwāpā-dya of this shrine is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara which was stolen from the shrine in 1972. Some time later it was recovered, but since that time the one family of Vajracaryas who tended the shrine have kept the image locked up in their house in Simbhū Tole except for the time of the annual festival. The image is a small version of Buṅga-dya of Patan-Buṅgamati, and called Buṅga Dya by the people of Dolakha. On the halo surrounding the image itself is an inscription dated N.S.701 when this halo was offered to 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Avalokiteśvara by Bhikṣus of Wāmbhu Bāhā.'<sup>22</sup>

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one family of Vajracaryas, now comprising three brothers. They serve as dya-pālās of Lokeśvara, performing all the ceremonies in connection with the annual festival, and perform their Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations in Dolakha. The daily rituals are no longer performed as the image is kept locked up except for the annual festival.

The main event of the year is the annual ratha jātrā of Lokeśvara, an imitation of the similar festival in Patan. The festival begins on the morning of the full moon day of Baiśākh when the Vajracaryas bring the image from their home back to the old bāhā where they perform first the bathing ceremony and then the reconsecration rites. On the following day the image is placed on a ratha which is then pulled by stages through the village. On the eighth day the image is removed from the ratha and returned to the house of the Vajracaryas. The saṅgha still has some gūthī land at a place called Lapelang which provides seven pāthīs of oil and three murīs of paddy which help to defray the expenses of the annual festival.<sup>23</sup>

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā. The Vajracaryas themselves claim that they originally came from Kathmandu, and this is confirmed by an inscription at a caitya in Dolakha which was put up in the year N.S.669 by Vajracaryas from Maṇisaṅgha Mahāvihāra (Musūm Bāhā) in Kathmandu.<sup>24</sup> The bāhā and the cult of



## Notes

### Abbreviations:

- ABHILEKH -- Dhanavajra Vajracarya, Licchavikālkā Abhilekh.  
 KĀNTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH -- Saṅkarmān Rajvaṁsī, Kāntipur Śilālekh Sūcī.  
 KTMV -- Carl Pruscha, ed. Kathmandu Valley: The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, A Protective Inventory.  
 PETECH -- Luciano Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal, Second Edition.  
 RATNAKAJĪ -- Ratnakājī & Bijaya Ratna Vajrācārya, Nepā Deyā Vihāryā Tācā.  
 REGMI -- Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 4 Vol.  
 S&V -- Hemraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, eds., Medieval Nepal, Colophons and Inscriptions.  
 SLUSSER -- Mary Slusser, Nepal Mandala.  
 VRĤAT SŪCĪ-BAUDDHA -- Buddhisagar Parājuli Śarmā, Śrī Nepal Rajkiya Virpustakālaya-sthapustnāma Vrhatsūcīpatra, Bauddha-viśayakah. Three Parts.  
 WRIGHT -- Daniel Wright, ed. History of Nepal.

<sup>1</sup> The claim has been made that bāhā derives from the Sanskrit bhaṭṭāraka or bhaṭṭāra. 'According to the eminent Newar-scholar T. L. Mānandhar the Newari word cibhā is derived from the Sanskrit bhaṭṭāra', a title of respect. In the 14th century Newari the word became corrupted into bhārāḥa and later bāhāra or bāhā, the word which today is used for every former monastery. . . Again cibhā is the short version of cibahā, meaning the smaller (Newari ci = small) object which deserves respect.' (Niels Gutschow, 'The Urban Context of the Stūpa in Bhaktapur/Nepal' in Anna Dallapiccola ed., The Stupa Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Signifi-

cance [Wiesbaden, 1980] p. 140.) This is a confusion of two etymologies. The word bhaṭṭāraka is an adjective or substantive and it means 'venerable, worshipful' or as a substantive 'the lord or master'. There are abundant examples of the use of this word in inscriptions from the Licchavi times down to the present where it is used as a term of respect for gods, kings (usually parama-bhaṭṭāraka), teachers, priests and respected persons in general. (The term bhaṭṭāra does not occur in the inscriptions.) The caitya is personified and referred to as caitya bhaṭṭāraka = 'the revered caitya'. (There are abundant references to this, but see for example the full title śrī śrī śrī vajradhātu caitya bhaṭṭāraka in an inscription at Lagaṇ Bāhā in Kathmandu, Hemraj Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, eds, Medieval Nepal [Kathmandu, 1970] p. 143) (Henceforth S&V). This is shortened to caitya (or caitra) bharāra (S&V p. 93,158.) This again becomes caitya bāhāra (S&V p. 162-7, where the term appears about a dozen times.) This caitya (or caitra, ceta) bāhāra is further shortened in ordinary speech to ci-bāhā or simply cibhā. I would take the ci as ultimately derived from caitya and not the Newari diminutive ci. Bhaṭṭākara is an adjective and a cibhā is not a 'little revered object' but a 'revered caitya'.

The same derivation of bāhāra can be seen in the term 'guru bhaṭṭākara' (the revered teacher) a term applied to Vajracaryas. In an inscription of N.S.551 at Swayambhū there is a reference to the rājguru bhaṭṭākara of Sikhamu Baha as 'sikomuḡuḍī rājguru bharāra toyujū' (S&V, p. 28.) This again becomes guru bāhāra (S&V, p. 146). See also an inscription of N.S. 793 where guru-bharāra and guru-bāhāra are alternated several times (S&V, p. 133-40). Other variations of this are guru bhalāla (S&V 97) and guta bāhāra (Purnima 4:38). This appears to be the derivation of the current term for a Vajracarya--Gubhājū. Hence it derived guru bhaṭṭāraka > guru bharāra > guru bāhāra > gu-bhā+jyū



(the suffix added to show respect). In light of this it is necessary to abandon the original derivation I gave of gubhāju as derived from guru + bhāju (Karunamaya p.10 note 3 ). In addition to the above line of reasoning, which now seems clear, the term bhāju is a term of respect for the nobility, the trading class etc. in the Malla period. It is ordinarily not used for a Sakya or Vajracarya who are always bare, or sākya, sākyabhikṣu.

The term vāhāra/bāhāra > bāhāla > bāhāl > bāhā as applied to a vihāra has a different etymology. That it is not not derived from bhaṭṭākara is clear from the constant alternation of vihāra--vahāra in the inscriptions cited in this work, sometimes within the same inscription. Vahāra is vihāra. Furthermore vahāra derived from bhaṭṭākara in this context would make no sense. The names of the vihāras would then be Kwā Bhaṭṭāraka, Dhūākā Bhaṭṭāraka (the 'respected [what?] called Kwā', etc. A noun is needed and the noun is vihāra.

<sup>2</sup> See for example the inscription at Na Bahī in Kathmandu dated N.S.631 which twice refers to the institution as bahīri. (D. R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 4 Vol. [Calcutta, 1966], Vol. 3 p. (96-97)--Henceforth simply REGMI.) Popular theory says they were so called because they were built on the edges of, or outside of the city. 'The bānaprastha bihāras were called by some bahī, i.e., outside because the banaprastha bhikṣus did not live in the cities, but in forests.' (Daniel Wright, History of Nepal [Kathmandu 1972] p. 237--Henceforth simply WRIGHT.) At first glance this sounds like a bit of popular and highly suspect folk etymology. Edgerton, however, gives the meaning of bahīri in a Buddhist context as 'a quarter or group of houses outside of a city'. (Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary (New Haven, 1953) Vol 2, p.399.) As a matter of fact if one traces the placement of the existing bahīs of the three cities on a map which shows the confines of the late Malla cities it becomes clear that the bahīs are nearly all either on the very edge of the city or outside of it. Even the few that appear to be in the midst of the city were probably built on the edge of one of the earlier settlements which were later incorporated into the late Malla city. See the introductory section to the Patan Bahīs for further treatment of the question of the difference between a bāhā and a bahī.

<sup>3</sup> See Dhanavajra Vajracārya, Licchavikālkā Abhilekh (Kathmādu, 2030 B.S.), p. 320ff. (Henceforth ABHILEKH) See also Theodore Ricciardi, Jr., 'Buddhism in Ancient and Early Medieval Nepal,' in A. K. Narain, ed., Studies in History of Buddhism (Delhi, 1980), p. 265 ff.

<sup>4</sup> REGMI 3:(12) A reference dated N.S.218 to Vajracārya Dharma Sīmha of Vajrasīla Mahāvihāra is, as far as I know, the earliest dated reference to a Vajracārya who is definitely a native of the Valley. (See section on Iku Bāhā in Kathmandu.) There are stray earlier references to Vajracaryas as authors of texts. For example there is a copy of the Āryavajrodhaka in the National Archives copied in N.S.178. The author of the text was Mahāvajracārya Ānandagarbha, but here is no assurance that this man was from Nepal. He may well have been a master of Nālandā or Vikramasila. (Buddhisāgar Sarmā ed., Vrhatśucipatram, Bauddhaviśayaka I [Kathmandu, 2021 B.S.], p. 107) (Henceforth VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA.) There is a reference to one Bhikṣu Ravendrādeva or Ācārya Sthavira Ravendrādeva of the Mānadeva Mahāvihāra in Patan dated N.S.183. He is probably a Vajracarya, especially in view of the fact that the text he copied was the Pañcarakṣā (Luciano Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal [Rome, 1984], p.45.--Henceforth PETECH.) There is also a reference to one Ācāryabhikṣu Brahmā of Sri Parinirvāna Mahāvihāra in Patan dated N.S.188. He may be a Vajracarya. (Hemrāj Sakya, Śrī Rudravārṇa Mahāvihār Sthita Tālpatra-Abhilekh [Lalitpur, 2524 Buddha Sambāt], p.4 #5.) After N.S.300 there are abundant references to Vajracaryas.

Sākyabhikṣu was a term for a Buddhist monk, and we find at least one reference to a monk as Sākyabhikṣu in the Licchavi inscriptions. (ABHILEKH, p. 456) The inscription is found at Chā Bahī and is undated but definitely from the Licchavi period. Sākyabhikṣu Bandhubhadra made some sort of a gift in memory of his parents and for all living beings. Another undated inscription from Te Bāhā in Kathmandu refers to one Sakya Priyapāla who built a well and fountain in memory of his parents. (ABHILEKH, p. 454.) Vajracarya interprets this reference also as Sākyabhikṣu. However, he argues from the clear reference to sākyabhikṣu above that the descendants of the Sakya clan were living in the Valley of Nepal. Sākyabhikṣu does not imply any blood relation to the Sākya clan unless corroborated by other evidence. It would be better to read the second reference as it stands (Sākya

Priyapāla) and use this as a confirmation for the presence of Sakyas in the Valley. (That members of the Sakya clan had migrated to the Valley of Nepal is indicated by the Mūlasarvāstivādviniya, see ABHILEKH, p. 172). Some of the people who use the surname Sakya still claim descent from the Sakya clan and we find the claim asserted in the Malla period inscriptions. See for example the inscription at Nhāykan Bahī in Kathmandu dated N.S.508 with a reference to sākyavaṃsodadhijātacandra (REGMI 3:(30)) and the inscription at Bikamā Bāhā in Kathmandu dated N.S.634 with a reference to one sākyavaṃsodhvava śrī bhimapāla bhāro. (REGMI 3:(98)). There are abundant references to the title śākya bhikṣu in the cache of palmleaf land grants found at Uku Bāhā in Patan and dating from N.S.103 to N.S.344. None of the documents gives clear evidence that any of these people are married. However, the many references to individual bhikṣus and śākyabhikṣus buying and selling land in their own name lends credence to the theory that they are in fact householders. One finds a contrast between the many documents where individuals are buying and selling land and the few where a saṅgha is doing so. (Sakya, op.cit.) The earliest reference to a definitely married śākyabhikṣu is, as far as I know, found in the inscription at Na Bahī in Kathmandu dated N.S.631 with a reference to Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jyotirāja Pāla, his mother Ullāsa Lakṣmī and his wife Abhaya Lakṣmī (. . . śākyabhikṣu śrījyotirāja pāla mātā ullāsa lakṣmī, bhārya abhaya lakṣmī. . .) (REGMI 3:(69).) The earliest reference to a married brahmacarya (=celibate) bhikṣu is found on an inscription at Guita Bahi in Patan dated N.S. 635 and refers to Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Śrī Jakharājaju and his wife Manamayī. (brahmacarya bhikṣu śrījakharajajusa bhārya manamayī REGMI 3:(104).)

Even the term bhikṣuṇi is occasionally used for the wife of a Sakya or Vajracarya. See for example an inscription of N.S.742 [vajrā]carya bhikṣuṇi (Saṅkarmān Rājvamsī, Kantipur Silālekha Sūci [Kathmadu, 2027 B.S.] 62.) (Henceforth KANTIPUR-SILĀLEKH). See also an inscription of N.S.767 which lists a whole series of donors all called Sākyabhikṣu except for one called simply bhikṣuṇi jamuna (S&V, p. 119) and another inscription of N.S. 797 paravata mahaviharaya bhikṣuṇi mata (KANTIPUR-SILĀLEKH 117). In this connection there is a very intriguing reference in the colophon of a manuscript of the Astasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā dated N.S.284 to a bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇi of Parinirvāṇa Mahāvihāra in Patan

(deyadharmoryam pravaramāhayānayayinah śrīpara-nirvāṇamahavihāriyabhikṣukūmarabhadra bhikṣuṇi somamatyoryadatrapunyangadbhavatu). VRHAT SUCI-BAUDDHA I:45-6. two man and wife?

<sup>5</sup> See the section on Gum Bāhā below and ABHILEKH, p.320.

<sup>6</sup> There is a still current tradition which is found in the later chronicles that Sankarācārya came to Nepal, defeated the Buddhists, destroyed their manuscripts, killed many of the monks and forced the remaining monks and nuns to marry. (See for example WRIGHT, p. 118-120.) This is the source of the general theory upheld by almost all Nepali and many foreign writers that an abrupt change took place when nearly all the monks and nuns suddenly married and abandoned the traditional celibate life style of the bhikṣu. According to current scholarship Sankarācārya lived from about A.D.700 to 750. He was born in south India and was a great philosopher, the main expounder of the school of Advaita Vedānta. He preached mainly to intellectuals and sanyasis in the villages and attempted to revitalize and purify Hinduism. He was a great controversialist attacking both the tenants of Mimāṃsa and Mahāyāna Buddhism, though the great similarity between his advaita theory and the philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism caused his Hindu adversaries to call him a crypto-Buddhist. Several biographies written many centuries after his death attribute fantastic exploits to him, but sober scholarship says that there is no evidence that he was a violent iconoclast burning the books of his adversaries and putting them to death as the Nepalese chronicles claim. In fact to attribute these deeds to him is to demean the name of one of India's greatest religious leaders and philosophers. He travelled widely and is reputed to have died at Kedārnāth in the western Himalayas, but there is no evidence that he ever visited the Valley of Nepal. Had he visited Nepal he would have come at the height of the Licchavi period. There is no evidence from the Licchavi inscriptions of a visit of Sankarācārya to Nepal and no evidence of a religious upheaval resulting in the virtual destruction of the Buddhist tradition. There is only one inscription that is at all critical of the Buddhists and this merely presents the sectarian Vaisnavite view concerning the Buddhists. (ABHILEKH, p. 158-164) Furthermore, there is no evidence of either a visit of Sankarācārya or a concerted effort to destroy Buddhism in the

earliest and most reliable chronicle, the Gopā-larājavamśāvali. To expect such an event at this time does not fit what evidence we have of the history of Buddhism in Nepal. From the evidence of manuscripts and inscriptions plus the accounts of the Tibetan chronicles, it is clear that the greatest flowering of Buddhism in the Valley of Nepal occurred long after Sankarācārya in the so-called Thakuri Period. If one has to explain the later changes by a single event or a period of persecution of the Buddhists he would have to look for this in the Malla period or shortly before its inception.

The story of Sankarācārya may well have arisen from the coming of a much later Sankarācārya who is known to us from a single inscription dated N.S.262 (A.D.1142). According to the evidence of the inscription this man twice visited Nepal and especially in his second visit gathered quite a following. In his religious practice and doctrine he was the antithesis of the great Sankarācārya—a follower of Dvaitavāda, an expert in yoga and a tantric master who covered himself with the ashes of a Śaiva sādhu and rode a bull. Even this inscription though gives no evidence of a violent attack on the Buddhists. It does indicate a growing influence of tantric Saivism at the highest levels. He is reputed to have given dīkṣā to the sons of the king, Śivadeva, to have repaired the Pasupatinath temple and to have introduced tantric rituals in the worship of the lingam at Pasupatinath. (Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Madhyakālik Nepal-kā Ek Prakhyat Rājā Śivadeva,' Contributions to Nepalese Studies [Vol. VIII, No. 1], p. 217-18.)

What evidence we have from the Thakuri Period and the early Malla period supports the theory of a gradual change eventually resulting in the disappearance of celibate monks. That the custom of at least some monks marrying was not a Nepalese innovation is supported by Kalhana's chronicle of Kashmir. In the time of King Meghavāhana one of his wives Yukadevi 'who was eager to compete with her rivals, built at Nadavana a Vihāra of wonderful appearance. In one half of it she placed those Bhikṣus whose conduct conformed to the precepts, and in the (other) half those who being in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, deserved blame for their life as householders.' (M. A. Stein, Kalhana's Rajatarangini [Delhi, 1979 Reprint], p. 73-4.) The date of this king is uncertain but he must certainly be placed well before the seventh century A.D. One may certainly question the accuracy of the accounts of

these early kings in the chronicle, but what is clear is that the phenomenon of married Buddhist monks was a long established custom by the time Kalhana wrote the chronicle in A.D.1148-9. The custom is not unknown in other Mahāyāna countries, especially in Tibet. What is peculiar to the situation in the Valley of Nepal is that eventually the celibate monk disappeared entirely leaving only communities of married Bare. This is unique and it is this more than anything else which gives Newār Buddhism its special character.

The term saṅgha refers to the monastic community plus the official lay Buddhists (the upāsaka), but the core of the Buddhist saṅgha is always the community of celibate monks. Without an active and educated, celibate saṅgha Buddhism withers and dies. This may be one of the main factors in the disappearance of Buddhism in India; and its survival in Nepal may well be due mainly to the fact that the Bare became a caste thereby insuring that the descendants of the Bare would of necessity be ordained and carry on the tradition.

When the celibate monks entirely disappeared is a question that simply cannot be answered at the present state of our knowledge. I have been given concrete examples of celibate Newār monks in the Valley within the past two hundred years, but they were clearly exceptions to the rule and individual, isolated occurrences. They seem to have been men who had spent some time in Tibet, received ordination there as Mahāyāna bhikṣus and continued their practice when they returned home. Most of them seem not to have been Bare but Udaya, i.e., men who by caste were excluded from the status of a monk (Bare) in Nepal. Slusser is of the opinion that there were celibate monks in the Valley up to the seventeenth century (SLUSSER 1:288, 289.) This opinion seems to be based on Wright's Chronicle which states (in speaking of the arrangements for the bāhās made by the king of Patan in the seventeenth century): 'The Yampi Bihār, built by Sunaya Miśra was nirbanic (i.e., the inhabitants did not marry); and as a grihasta Āchārya is required for performing the homa the Rājā decided that one of the people from Dhum Bihār should act as a priest to perform the homa in this bihār.' (WRIGHT, p. 236.) It must be noted first that the interpretation of nirbānik as 'the inhabitants did not marry' is Wright's interpretation, not the chronicle's. It is clear from the chronicle that the people in these vihāras were married. I shall return



to a commentary on this passage in the introductory section to the Patan Bahis.

<sup>7</sup> Both of these deities, one Hindu and the other a Buddhist tantric deity but with Hindu origins, are placed at the doorway of each bāhā as protectors of the bāhā buildings, a custom that goes back to ancient times. I-Tsing who travelled through India in the latter part of the seventh century reports that it was common to find an image of Mahākāla near the door or in the kitchen of the great Indian viḥāras. He identifies him as belonging to the beings of the Great God (Maheśvara = Śiva) and placed there to protect the viḥāra. I-Tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion (Delhi, 1966) p. 38. The Hindu god Hanūmān is also often added as a protector and represented either by an image or by a triangular chink in the wall.

<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed description and diagrams of Chusyā Bāhā see Wolfgang Korn, The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, 1976), p. 30-33 and for more details and diagrams of a bahī, p. 28-29.

<sup>9</sup> Slusser calls these shrines 'family viḥāras' as they contain 'a Buddhist image which is the object of daily family worship.' (SLUSSER 1:13; 2:pl. 142,143.) Such a term does not really distinguish these shrines, as all branch bāhās (and most main bāhās) are in fact family shrines. The saṅgha is an extended family as is evident from the fact that in almost all bāhās and bahīs the entire saṅgha have the same lineage deity and often trace their origin to a common ancestor. The branches arose when the extended family became too large to fit into the original establishment, and one unit of the extended family built a branch for itself or a branch was built for it by lay people. What distinguishes these shrines from the traditional bāhā is the style, and this is fairly recent. As an institution the little 'modern' or 'family' bāhā is identical to Chusyā Bāhā, a branch of Dhvākā Bāhā founded for a branch of the extended family of the Dhvākā Bāhā saṅgha.

In a recent article David Gellner has called all regular branch bāhās 'lineage monasteries' and has distinguished them from the semi-independent branches of Kwā Bāhā which are not lineage monasteries. This is quite accurate as all of these monasteries were founded to house one lineage of the extended bāhā family. (David Gellner, 'The Newār Buddhist Monastery--

An Anthropological and Historical Typology,' a paper presented at the 'Heritage of Kathmandu Valley' Conference at Lubeck, West Germany, 1985; to be published in the forthcoming volume of papers presented at the conference.

<sup>10</sup> There is a very long series of rituals for the consecration of a bāhā which stretch over a period of a year and a half. Rituals begin with the selecting of the site, the blessing of the site and then continue with rituals for each stage of construction. The culmination comes in a three day yajña performed when the building is finished and the images are consecrated. This ceremony is not only long but very expensive, and the expense is one of the main reasons given to me why such consecrations are seldom performed any more. For a description of one such ceremony in the late Malla period see the section on Pince Bāhā [47] of Kathmandu. For a description of the preliminary rituals regarding the selection of the site and the decoration of the bāhās see the section from the Kriyasaṅgraha-Pañjikā in Rajendralala Mitra, The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal (Calcutta, 1971), p. 103-106.

The treatment of the whole question of the definition of a bāhā or v.nāra in the Valley of Nepal by most modern writers suffers from what one might call a semantic or theological bias. (If one can use the term 'theological' of Buddhism at all.) For example, Slusser in speaking of types of viḥāras says 'in Nepal as the [monastic] institutions gradually faded away, the buildings were left intact, as was the name viḥāra attached to them, however inappropriate it had become. Viḥāra is now only a convenient label for Buddhist buildings, which now have nothing whatsoever to do with monasticism. Further, in contemporary Nepal the word viḥāra (or mahāviḥāra . . . ) is stretched even further, and is also applied to Buddhist shrines that are totally unrelated to monastic architecture, and certainly to monasticism. But because they have Buddhist institutional connections they are also called viḥāras.' (p. 136) Again, 'Another viḥāra that has nothing to do now or ever with monastic architecture or monasticism is the "residential courtyard viḥāra."' (p. 137) This line of comment implies a value judgment: 'Viḥāras are abodes of celibate monks and are built in a certain architectural style. Your viḥāras have no celibate monks and many are no longer built in the correct architectural style, so you have no business calling them viḥāras.' As a

matter of fact the Newārs call these institutions viḥāras. What do they mean by this? It is this question that I am trying to answer here. When one has an answer to this question he has a coherent pattern to study and can avoid such loaded statements as 'the institutions gradually faded away, and the term viḥāra is 'inappropriate.' The institutions did not fade away, they changed, or perhaps most of them were always what they are today. If one knows what a Newār means by a viḥāra the term is not at all inappropriate. It has a precise meaning and is not just 'a convenient label for Buddhist buildings.' I have quoted Slusser here as she has more clearly and articulately expressed what almost every non-Newār commentator has said about the bāhās and bāhis. The whole of this discussion takes place against the background of an oft-repeated but never proven thesis. The thesis was first enunciated by Snellgrove: 'Patan must have been a kind of vast university, differing little in its mode of life from similar towns in mediaeval Europe. In fact its buildings, its traditions, its way of life, must have been modelled on the great monastic universities of central India.' (David Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya [Oxford, 1957] p. 103-3.) All that we really know is that there were Buddhist monks and monasteries in the Licchavi period and that they multiplied in the so-called Thakuri Period. We know that a lot of Buddhist manuscripts were copied in the Thakuri period. We also know from Tibetan sources that many famous monks and pandits from India came to Nepal in the Thakuri Period. Tibetan sources mention a few of the pandits who were Nepalese, but the vast majority were Indian. Nepalese sources are curiously silent about scholars and pandits. In fact the tradition has even forgotten those remembered by the Tibetans. The thesis posits a great (celibate) monastic and scholarly tradition on the model of the Indian Buddhist Universities which then deteriorated to produce a sort of corrupt Buddhism in the Malla period. Did this ever exist, or has Nepalese Buddhism from its inception been mainly ritual Buddhism supported mostly by householder monks? This is a possibility that must be seriously considered in any evaluation of Buddhism as we find it in the Malla period.

<sup>11</sup> The Patan list is a thyāsaphu on Nepali paper which I obtained from Sri Dharmaratna Vajracarya. The manuscript is undated but not more than a hundred years old. The Kathmandu

list, which I obtained from Sri Manavajra Vajracarya, was copied about twenty years ago from an older manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> This seems to correspond to what the Sā-dhanamālā calls Kanakavarṇa-prajñāpāramitā, except that the text says that the second right hand shows the abhaya mudrā while all the examples found on the torānas have a mālā in the right hand. See Marie-Therese de Mallmann, Introduction a l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique (Paris, 1975), p. 306 and Sādhnamālā #156. The Dharmakośa-saṅgraha gives a form of Prajnaparamita exactly corresponding to the form found on the torānas and this form is found in illustrated manuscripts as early as A.D. 1028 (D. C. Bhaṭṭāchāryya, Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources [New Delhi, 1974], p. 66.)

<sup>13</sup> See Mallmann p. 109. There are four sa-dhanas in the Sādhnamālā describing this deity #6,7,11,12. The name (=the Lokeśvara of the six syllables) comes from the fact that this form of Lokeśvara personifies the Great Knowledge of the six syllables: Om Mani Padme Hum. The form is ultimately based on the Kāraṇḍavyūha.

<sup>14</sup> Mallmann p. 255, Sādhnamālā #61. The Niṣpannayogāvalī gives the complete description of the very elaborate maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara (Benoytosh Bhaṭṭāchāryya, Niṣpannayogāvalī [Baroda, 1972], p. 60-68.) This tantric deity assumed a very prominent place in the devotion of the Newār Buddhists in the Late Malla period. No one has been able to explain this sudden popularity of this deity which is not found in earlier iconography.

<sup>15</sup> Mallmann p. 255, Sādhnamālā #62,63. According to Mallmann this deity belongs to the lineage of Amitābha, while Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara belongs to the lineage of Vajrasattva, but informants have consistently equated the two deities to me.

<sup>16</sup> Mallmann, p.274 and Bhaṭṭāchāryya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 206. There is also a Nāmasaṅgiti Mañjuśrī which is found in the Sādhnamālā #82, but this is quite a different deity--a form of Mañjuśrī with three faces and four arms. The Nepalese Nāmasaṅgiti is identified as a form of the Buddha himself.

<sup>17</sup> This earlier form is found in a number of documents, for example see S&V p. 30 in a palm-

leaf manuscript dated N.S.561 and p.84 in an inscription dated N.S.653. For the Sanskrit term see Śāṅkarmān Rājvaṁśī, 'Sthitimallako pālako Vi. Sam. 1445ko Māncandra Sākyaako Tāmrapatra ra Tyasko Aitihāsik Vyākhyā,' *Pūṛṇimā* 4:54-55. Monier-Williams gives the meaning of koṣṭha-pālā as 'guardian, watch, store keeper, treasurer' (p.314).

Informants had originally told me that kwācapāla dya means 'guardian of the saṅgha', as kwāca is an old Newari word for the saṅgha. This etymology now seems entirely incorrect. There is no way that koṣṭha can be construed as saṅgha and there is no evidence for a Newari word kwāca meaning saṅgha. However, the idea may well be correct. If koṣṭhapāla is the original term, it is clear that he is a guardian (pālā) of something, however one construes koṣṭha. Some have interpreted kwāpā as a shortened form of kwāthā. (See for example Siegfried Lienhard, 'Nepal: the Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom,' in Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich, *The World of Buddhism* [London, 1984], p. 112.) Kwāthā is a common Newari term for a fort and it is true that some of the vihāras were referred to as forts, especially bahīs on the edge of the city and the two bāhās now called Kwā Bāhā. However, most of the bāhās and bahīs were not forts and were not referred to as forts. I have heard this etymology only from people at Kwā (=Kwāthā) Bāhā in Patan. Informants at other bāhās have consistently denied this etymology; and, more important, the term kwāthāpāla (deva) does not occur in any document. Kwāca(pāla) is found and it has no connection with kwāthā.

Another name for the kwāpā-dya found in some Malla period inscriptions, but only at bahīs, is gandhuli-deva. See for example the inscription of N.S.508 at Nhāykan Bahī in Kathmandu ('gandhuli bhaṭṭāraka devataram'--REGMI 3:31) and the inscription of N.S.547 at Iba Bahi in Patan (Śrī Śrī Śrī Gandhut[1]i Tathāgata'--REGMI 3:57). This would appear to be a variation of a proper Sanskrit term found in one of the Licchavi inscriptions. The inscription commemorates repairs made by the chief concubine of one Dharmapala, a great upāsaka, to the 'gandhakūṭi'. (ABHILEKH, P. 382-3.) Vajracarya identifies this as a 'kind of vihara (vihār viśeṣ)', but Edgerton basing himself on the Pali texts gives a different interpretation: 'name given to a special private cell of the Buddha. . . MSV [Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya] seems to imply that any monastery might be provided with one;

in iii.133.6 ff directions for its location (in general in the centre of a vihāra)'. (Edgerton op. cit. 2:209.) This is precisely what the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is. In the cave monasteries of ancient India the monk who was in charge of the sanctuary of the Buddha was called 'Gandhakūṭi-bhārika' (Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India [London, 1962] p. 149.) Slusser says that the term gandhuli deva is used for the deity enshrined in bāhās as well as bahīs. (SLUSSER 1:295 note 138.) Her statement is based on two occurrences of the word. The first is the occurrence of the word in an inscription of N.S.508, which she wrongly places at Lagan Bāhā. The inscription is at Nhāykan Bahī, an error easy to make as both of these institutions have the same Sanskrit name and both are located in Lagan Tole. The second occurrence is in an inscription from the time of Siddhinarasimha at Guita Bahī in Patan erected when a new temple was consecrated. Slusser says that this cannot refer to the bahī as it long pre-dated Siddhinarasimha. This inscription has not been published. (Regmi merely refers to it without quoting it in full.) I have not been able to locate the inscription, but there are three institutions at Guita, all three of them bahīs; and new shrines and new images were constantly being consecrated at these old sites. I know of no occurrence of the term gandhuli deva referring to the deity enshrined in a bāhā.

<sup>18</sup>Pratapaditya Pal, The Arts of Nepal Vol I (Leiden, 1974), p. 29.

<sup>19</sup>Hemraj Śākya, Buddha Mūrti Chagu Adhyayana (Kathmandu, N.S.1097), p. 90.

<sup>20</sup>Pal tentatively identifies this figure as it appears on the Dhvākā Bāhā monument as Maitreya. Though Maitreya is usually portrayed as a bodhisattva and not as a buddha, he is also portrayed as a buddha, and there seems to be no reason to have two images of the Buddha Sakya-muni on the same monument. Furthermore, on some similar monuments the fourth figure is clearly Maitreya. Pal, op.cit., p.28.

<sup>21</sup>Caitya and stūpa mean the same thing basically. However, in Nepal the word cāitya is often used for small monuments and stūpa for large monuments such as the four stūpas at the cardinal points of the city of Patan. Despite this the great stūpa at Swayambhu is usually called the Swayambhū Mahācāitya.



<sup>22</sup>For a complete description of this maṇḍala see Niṣpaṇṇayoḡāvalī #21, p. 60-68. One sometimes finds a vajra mounted on top of the maṇḍala as, for example, at the top of the stairs at the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. It is then identified as a Vajradhātu Maṇḍala. There is such a maṇḍala (Niṣpaṇṇayoḡāvalī, #19 p. 54-57) and in this maṇḍala the chief figure is a four-faced, eight-armed form of Vairocana. However, the examples found in the viḥāras seem to be the same maṇḍala as the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala and one suspects that this is a misnomer for a Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala with a vajra mounted on it.

<sup>23</sup>See Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India (London, 1962) p. 136 and passim for descriptions of the pūjā in Indian monasteries, also I-tsing op. cit. p.147-150.

<sup>24</sup>For a more detailed description of these rituals see the sections below on Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, Kwā Bāhā in Patan and Bhinche Bāhā in Patan.

<sup>25</sup>The pañcopacāra (pañcopāhāra) pūjā is a five-fold offering to the deity consisting of flowers, incense, light, scent and food (puspa, dhūpa, dīpa, gandha, naivedya).

<sup>26</sup>This custom is probably an echo of the ancient monastic custom of the 'rainy season retreat'.

<sup>27</sup>There is a cakreśvara for the tantric pūjās at every bāhā which has an āgam. The term means 'lord of the circle' and he is so called because he leads the tantric pūjā known as gaṇa cakra (the circle of people) in which the tantric worshippers sit round in a circle. In bāhās which have no Vajracaryas either they call a Vajracarya for this pūjā or it is performed by one of the Sakyas who have taken the dekḥā, a tantric initiation which is longer than the Acaluyegu and actually confers the same powers (though the recipient is not thereby made a Vajracarya--see Introduction to the Ācārya Gūṭhī).

<sup>28</sup>For a description of this initiation rite see my 'Newār Buddhist Initiation Rites,' Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2:1ff. Also see Brian H. Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet (New Delhi, 1972), p. 139-145 and Mitra op.cit. p.

106.

<sup>29</sup>Why the members of a bahī saṅgha should be considered inferior is a bit of a mystery to people today. See the introductory section to the bahīs of Patan for a further treatment of this question.

<sup>30</sup>S&V, p. 29-31.

<sup>31</sup>There is a general misconception that gūṭhī lands are absolutely inviolable and never touched even by the government. In theory this is true, but really only applies to rāj-gūṭhīs, i.e., gūṭhī land which has been given by a king and is now administered by the government Gūṭhī Samsthān. Private gūṭhīs, and all of the bāhās are private gūṭhīs, administer their own land and since they are private the land can be more readily confiscated or sold off by the gūṭhī-yārs. (A new [1985] law now permits the government to give rāj gūṭhī lands to the tenants who farm it.)

<sup>32</sup>Kamal Prakash Malla, 'Four Documents Related to a Family History', Rolamba Vol. III 1:16-19. Professor Malla documents several cases of the confiscation of the property of the Thakujus of Thahiti by the Gorkhalis even after a lāl mohar of King Pratāp Singh Shah confirming their rights over their sunā birtā lands. Other branches of the Malla family had their property confiscated as many as seven times.

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Wright, p. 234-5.

<sup>2</sup>Wright's The History of Nepal is a translation of a chronicle written in Nepali and supplied to him by Vajracaryas of Patan. As Wright notes in the introduction, he had nothing to do with the translation which was done for him by Shiva Sankar Singh, the residency Munshi, and Gunanda Vajracarya of Patan. It is evident from this passage and the following passage which I treat in the introduction to the Patan Bahīs that the translation is defective and bolderised. Evidently the translators omitted passages that they found obscure or did not know how to render into English. This chronicle

represents a slightly different tradition from that of all the other late chronicles and because of its importance it is clear now that it should be retranslated or the original Nepali should be edited and published. The original manuscript is in the Library of the University of Cambridge (MSS No. Add. 1952A) and called simply 'Buddhist Vamśāvalī' (BV). I am indebted to David Gellner for a handwritten transcription of the following relevant passages. References are to folio and line numbers. BV 129a:7--Eti grhasthi vihara bauddha margika thiya.

<sup>3</sup>BV129a:7 Eti grhasthi vihare bauddha margikā thiyāmā taṅgala vi-

8: hārakā, tava viharāko, viṣṇukṣa vihāra, oṅku-  
li vihāra, gvakṣe vihāra, sako vihāra, yāchu

9: vihāra, ini 5kā jyetho

10: cāhi hakwa vihāra, hiranyavarṇa vihārakā,  
jasodhara

129b:1 vihārakā, datta vihārakā, yati vihārakā  
naikharū-

2: madhya jyetho cāhi 7 janā naikyālāi sapta-  
thāgata bhani māni

3: lōkle pūjā bhava garī rahyākā thiya.

BV129b:8--Iti 15 vihāramadhye Mānadeva  
Saṃskārīta

9: cakra vihāra bhanyā pūjārī saṅgha kohi na  
bhai śūnya bhai rahyeko ho.

130a:1 Hiranyavarṇa vihārakā saṅgha ṇaṣacūkka  
vaḍo tāntrikācāryya thiy-

2: ya taslai śusimā diyeko ho. [Marginal note:]  
(tāntrikācāryya)le madhesko catakiharulāi phajī-  
hit garikayela garī diyāko.

<sup>5</sup>130b:2--Iti 15 vi-

2: hārakā thiti vāṇḍhi guṭhī calaisakyāpachi śrī  
vacchā vāhāramā

4: si vihāla vihare vanāyacha ra paṇḍhara vihare  
tuya guṭhīmā mi-

5: lana pāyena.

<sup>6</sup>The Sanskrit term saṃskārīta does not really mean 'founded', but rather 'embellished, adorned, decorated', or possibly 'consecrated'. However, all informants understand the word to mean 'founded' and this is the way Wright's informants understood the term over a hundred years ago.

<sup>7</sup>See section on Uku Bāhā.

The 'Fifteen Bahas'

<sup>1</sup>Pratapaditya Pal, The Arts of Nepal (Leiden, 1974) plate 189.

<sup>2</sup>For this detailed information I am indebted to David Gellner and Harsa Ratna Dhākwā.

<sup>3</sup>See I-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion (Delhi, 1966), p. 150 for a description of the bathing of images in Buddhist monasteries in the seventh century.

<sup>4</sup>The bathing of an image of the deity by pouring water over its image reflected in a mirror is a common practice. It is partly a practical measure, i.e. to avoid soiling or damaging the image, but it is also a symbol that all phenomena (including the image of a deity) are mere reflections of the void (śūnyatā). This leads the worshipper to the realization of non-duality and therefore to a realization of his own identity with the void.

<sup>5</sup>The feeding of the rats is connected with the legend of the founding of the bāhā which is recounted below. The Buddha is said to have requested that he be housed in a place where the rats chase cats, hence the rats at Kwā Bāhā are sacred beings that cannot be disposed of.

<sup>6</sup>The dekhā is a further tantric initiation which the Bare may take. The word itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit term dīkṣā. It includes several consecrations (abhiṣeka), the first series of which is the same as the series given in the initiation of a Vajracarya. Hence in some ways it is a higher initiation than that of a Vajracarya, but in the highly structured system of Nepal where the official Vajracaryas have the dominant role it is considered to be a lesser initiation and does not qualify one to function as a Vajracarya if he is not already a Vajracarya. The initiation may be taken by Vajracaryas and Sakyas and in some cases, at least in Kathmandu, by lay people especially the Udāya. At Kwā Bāhā most people take the dekhā only when their turn comes round to be admitted into the body of elders. Not having taken the dekhā does not disqualify one from the post of elder, but one must take the dekhā before he is inducted into the body of the elders.

<sup>7</sup>This caitya is evidently a 'Licchavi' caitya and is also referred to as a 'ratna caitya', i.e. a caitya which fell from the heav-

ens like a jewel (ratna).

<sup>8</sup>This Piṅgala Bāhā is said to have been situated in the northern outskirts of Kathmandu in the area now known as Baluwāṭār. Some versions of the legend current among the people of Kwā Bāhā say the deity was brought from Cā Bahī.

<sup>9</sup>WRIGHT, p. 157-8.

<sup>10</sup>VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 3:32. We find this form harṇavarṇa in later inscriptions also.

<sup>11</sup>VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 2:55.

<sup>12</sup>Private communication from Hemraj Sakya.

<sup>13</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Śrī Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra Sthita Piṇḍapātra Abhilekh (Patan, N.S.100), p. 14.

<sup>14</sup>S&V p. 83-84; also see Dhanavajra Vajrā-cārya and Īek Bahādur Śreṣṭha, Dolakhāko Aitiḥāsik Ruprekḥā (Kathmandu, 2031), p. 90.

<sup>15</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Piṇḍapātra, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup>REGMI 4:(69).

<sup>17</sup>S&V, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup>S&V, p. 109.

<sup>19</sup>Peter Burleigh, 'A Chronology of the Later Kings of Patan,' Kailash 4:41.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>21</sup>REGMI 4:(69)

<sup>22</sup>PETECH, p. 112 = VRHAT-SŪCĪ III Bhāg, Nāṭaka (Rūpaka) Grantha Viśayak p. 44. For the inscription at the caitya see S&V, p. 63

<sup>23</sup>Carl Pruscha, ed. Kathmandu Valley, The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, a Protective Inventory (Vienna, 1975) 2:46. (Henceforth KTMV)

<sup>24</sup>KTMV 2:146.

<sup>25</sup>REGMI 3:(68). Petech gives the date as 567 and according to his calculations the specifics of the lunar date correspond to 29 May 1447. PETECH, p. 171.

<sup>26</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.), p. 22; Hemrāj Śākya, Piṇḍapātra, p. 3, 6, 41, 64, 72.

<sup>27</sup>KTMV 2:150.

<sup>28</sup>S&V, p. 71.

<sup>29</sup>KTMV 2:154.

<sup>30</sup>For the Legend see Gellner, op. cit. 37. For the inscription see KTMV 2:157.

<sup>31</sup>Hem Rāj Śākya, Śrī Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra Sthita Piṇḍapātra-Abhilekh (Patan, N.S.1100), p. 22, 24; KTMV 2:156; Peter Burleigh, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>32</sup>S&V, p. 203.

<sup>33</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Piṇḍapātra #90, 94.

<sup>34</sup>Private communication from Hemrāj Śākya, but see his Samyak Mahādāna Guthi, p. 34-5 for a document of N.S. 757 which uses the Sanskrit name 'Vasuvardhana Mahāvihāra'. For the earliest reference to the Newāri name see PETECH p. 173 and the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Jyotiṣaratnamālā copied in N.S. 577 in 'śrī-lalitapure māṇigvalaka śrī-yitihāne vahāre.' For the references on the begging bowls see Hemrāj Śākya, Piṇḍapātra, passim.

<sup>35</sup>Pal, op. cit., p. 107 and plate 171.

<sup>36</sup>WRIGHT, p. 157.

<sup>37</sup>Śaṅkarmān Rājvaṁśi, Bhūmisambandhi Tamsūk Tāptra, II Bhāg (Kathmadau, 2042), p.51; Hemrāj Śākya, Piṇḍapātra, p. 14-35.

<sup>38</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi, p. 42.

<sup>39</sup>KTMV 2:152

<sup>40</sup>KTMV 2:201.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>KTMV 2:153.

<sup>43</sup>KTMV 2:169.

<sup>44</sup>WRIGHT, p. 235.



<sup>45</sup> Some of these have been published, most of them are unpublished.

<sup>46</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi, p. 27.

<sup>47</sup> KTMV 2:169.

<sup>48</sup> Slusser dates this caitya to the seventh century on the grounds of the similarity of the mouldings in this piece to the mouldings on the Kathmandu Dhūākā Bāhā caitya which has been consistently dated to the seventh century. If this dating is correct, this piece as Slusser remarks, is a strong argument for the presence of Vajrayana Buddhism in the Valley during the Licchavi period. SLUSSER p. 1:172; plates 282-4.

<sup>49</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>50</sup> S&V p. 30. The inscription contains the following details. Two members of the saṅgha, the senior-most elder Vajrācārya Śrī Akhaya and Śākyaabhiṣu Śrī Luntayiju, have drawn up rules for the performance of initiation rites (vandechuya). On the day before the ceremony betelnuts are to be offered and a stipend given. On the day of the initiation a stipend is also to be offered to the Buddha--Dharma--Saṅgha and divided equally among the senior-most elder, the officiating priest and the saṅgha. A stipend is to be offered for the receipt of knowledge (si-ksavrata) and for the performance of the fire sacrifice. This is to go to the priest. A stipend is to be offered to the main deity of the bāhā (srikuācapārha śrī śrī bhaṭṭāraka); this is to be given to the current dya-pālā. Then there follows a list of food stuff that is to be offered on the day of the initiation and on the day of the common feast. This should be finished within three days; if it is not a fine will be levied. If anyone from the saṅgha has had a son from a woman of a lower caste (jāti) than himself this son is not to be given the initiation (vandechuya).

<sup>51</sup> KTMV 2:177.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> KTMV 2:176.

<sup>54</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>55</sup> KTMV 2:198.

<sup>56</sup> Bhikṣu Sudarśan, Mahābuddha Chagu Adhyayan (Patan, 2037 B.S.), p. 15-16.

<sup>57</sup> Saṅkarmān Rājvaśī, Būmisambandhi Tamsūk Tāḍpatra, Bhāg 1 (Kathmandu 2040 B.S.) #12, 21, 23, 28.

<sup>58</sup> KTMV 2:179.

<sup>59</sup> KTMV 2:182.

<sup>60</sup> ABHIKEH, p. 592, 593.

<sup>61</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Śivadea Saṃskārīta Śrī Rudravārṇa Mahāvihāra Sthita Talpatra Abhilekh (Patan, 2524 Buddha Samvat), p. 14; REGMI 4:(6).

<sup>62</sup> REGMI 1:217. In his new edition Petech reads the date as N.S.338, p. 83.

<sup>63</sup> PETECH p. 95; Bendall has misread the date as N.S.381; Cecil Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1883), p. 199.

<sup>64</sup> PETECH, p. 96.

<sup>65</sup> REGMI 4:(3).

<sup>66</sup> REGMI 4:(6).

<sup>67</sup> REGMI 4:(218).

<sup>68</sup> For a more detailed description see Hem Rāj Śākya, Mayūravārṇa Mahāvihāra Saṃkṣipta Itihāsa (Patan, 2517 B.S.), p. 20-30.

<sup>69</sup> In his book Hemraj Sakya has listed the schedule of rituals that the dya-pālā is supposed to follow at Bhinche Bāhā (p. 61-69). The list was given to him by the members of the saṅgha of Bhinche Bāhā, but it is doubtful if they follow this detailed schedule any longer. If they do it is one of the few bāhās where such a full schedule of rituals is followed today and offers a contrast between the great amount of activity that once went on in these shrines and the present perfunctory and hurried pūjā performed each morning and evening at most bāhās today. Following is the schedule:

1. Early in the morning, about 4:30, the

dya-pālā should rise and open the outer door of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.

2. The dya-pālā goes for a ritual bathing (pāṇca-snāna).

3. He sweeps the floor of the shrine.

4. He washes all of the pūjā vessels.

5. He prepares the materials for the Pañcopacāra Pūjā (flowers, incense, a light, scent and food). While he is doing this a group of devotees gather to recite the Nāmasaṅgīti and other Mahāyāna sūtras.

6. In order to arouse the mind of enlightenment in himself the dya-pālā recites a hymn (gāthā) known as the 'Akāśa Dhātu'.

7. He recites verses from the Mahāyāna Sūtras.

8. As the group in front of the shrine recite the Nāmasaṅgīti, begging bowls are offered to the Buddha.

9. The dya-pālā opens the inner door of the shrine and laying aside his street clothes he dons the saffron robe of a monk.

10. He takes the large metal plate used for the offerings to the Buddha and meditates on its meaning as he recites an appropriate verse.

11. He performs a nāga pūjā to the water vessel used for the rituals.

12. Before going into the inner sanctum of the shrine, he places the ceremonial metal mirror on the ground in front of the shrine and draws the letter 'Om'.

13. Ringing a bell and offering grains of rice three times he performs the ritual known as the purification of the body (kāya-sodhana).

14. Pouring a stream of water over the metal mirror he recites a hymn (gāthā) called 'Yaṁmangalam Sakalasatva Hr̥di Sthitasya'. (This is the daily, ritual bathing of the image of the Buddha.)

15. Taking the mirror in his hand he recites the gāthā 'prativimvasamadharmā' as he goes round the deity three times.

16. He sprinkles the worshippers who have gathered with the bathing water as he recites the gāthā 'Abhiṣeka Mahāvajra'.

17. Pouring out the remaining water he traces a maṇḍala known as the dhāraṁaṇḍala.

18. Just before dawn he touches this dhāraṁaṇḍala which he had traced earlier and draws on it a crossed vajra.

19. On this spot he places the 'shoes' of the kwāpādya.

20. He takes the wooden gong outside and striking it 108 times he recites the Aparamitā Dhāraṇī.

21. He offers a libation to the seven Tathagatas (Viśvapi, Sikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākya Muni).

22. He offers the pañcopacāra pūjā with a meditation. [This is the main part of the morning worship, the nitya pūjā.]

23. While this is going on the group that gathered to recite the Nāmasaṅgīti recites a number of gāthas, a hymn to Vairocana and another hymn.

24. Recitation of the 'Saptavidhānuttara Pūjāstotra'.

25. Recitation of two dhāraṇīs one in honour of Śākya Muni and the other in honour of Aparamita.

26. Recitation of the 'Daśapāramitā Stotra' and the 'Buddhatrailokyanātham' stotras.

27. Recitation of the 'Bodhiparināmana Gāthā' and the 'Anuttarabodhi-jyanapada'. [This concludes the early morning rituals.]

28. In the middle of the morning, between eight and nine AM the dya-pālā places a sort of throne or seat on the maṇḍala just outside the main entrance to the shrine and having placed a caitya on this he offers a libation to it.

29. Next he takes the key to the main door of the shrine and ringing a bell he makes a circuit of all the shrines and caityas in the complex.

30. When he comes back he sounds the wooden gong 108 times as before.

31. Again he offers the pañcopacāra pūjā.

32. Waving the yak-tail fan he recites the 'Daśapāramitā Stotra'.

33. Singing the praises of the Buddha he closes the door of the shrine. [After this he goes to take his rice meal.]

34. Between two and three in the afternoon he again opens the shrine and sounds the wooden gong 108 times.

35. He recites the 'Daśapāramitā Stotra' waving the yak-tail fan.

36. In the evening between five and six he again sounds the wooden gong 108 times and makes a circuit of the shrines in the compound as before.

37. Again he offers the pañcopacāra pūjā to the Buddha.

38. About seven in the evening a group of devotees again gather to recite various hymns.

39. At the conclusion of the hymns they recite the 'Daśapāramitā' and the 'Buddhatrailokyanātham' stotras after which the dya-pālā recites the 'Dīpadāna' stotra, lights a lamp and offers ārati to the Buddha. Then the devotees

offer ārati after which they are given a saffron ṭikā and flowers. This concludes the ārati ceremony and the daily schedule of rituals.

<sup>70</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracārya and Īek Bahādur Śhreṣṭha, Nuvākotko Aitiḥāsik Rūprekhā (Kathmandu, 2032 B.S.) 'Aitiḥāsik Sāmagri,' p.15 #15.

<sup>71</sup> WRIGHT, p. 123-4.

<sup>72</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Mayūravārṇa Mahāvihāra, p. 10-13. See also p. 40-54 for a summary of all the inscriptions currently found at Bhinche Bāhā. There is a reference to a Busincheñ Bāhāra under the date of N.5.261 among the palmleaf land grants found at Uku Bāhā. It is entirely possible that this is an earlier form of Biṣuni-cheñ. (Hem Rāj Śākya, Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Rudravārṇa Mahāvihāra Sthita Tālpātra-Abhilekh [Patan, 2524 Buddha Saṃvat], p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> KTMV 2:186.

<sup>74</sup> The torana can be seen in the photo in KTMV 2:182.

<sup>75</sup> KTMV 2:182.

<sup>76</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Śivadeva Saṃskārīta Unkuli Śrī Rudravārṇa Mahāvihāra Saṃkṣipta Paricaya (Patan, 1090 N.S.) p. 19.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>80</sup> Śākya also gives a full schedule of rituals which are supposed to be performed at Uku Bāhā, almost identical to the schedule at Bhinche Bāhā. See p. 23-26.

<sup>81</sup> WRIGHT, p. 128-30.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 166-7.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>84</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpātra passim.

<sup>85</sup> ABHILEKH, p. 499, 496.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 503.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpātra, p. 7, 23.

<sup>89</sup> See section on Te Bāhā in Kathmandu.

<sup>90</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpātra, p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> REGMI 3:32.

<sup>92</sup> S&V, p. 87.

<sup>93</sup> KTMV 2:192

<sup>94</sup> S&V, p. 161-67.

<sup>95</sup> S&V, p. 168-71.

<sup>96</sup> See for example Ronald M. Bernier, The Temples of Nepal (Kathmandu, 1970), p. 91.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. p. 90-93.

<sup>98</sup> WRIGHT, p. 204-5.

<sup>99</sup> WRIGHT, p. 208.

<sup>100</sup> Bhikṣu Sudarśan, op. cit., p. 14ff.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Karunamaya, p. 304-5.

<sup>103</sup> Bhikṣu Sudarśan, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>104</sup> KTMV 2:180.

<sup>105</sup> KTMV 2:199.

<sup>106</sup> KTMV 2:180.

<sup>107</sup> KTMV 2:194.

<sup>108</sup> KTMV 2:200. There are two earlier colophon references to a Yothā Vihāra in the southern part of Patan, one dated N.S.535 and the other N.S.538. Both texts were written by one Jayateja Varmā of the Pradhānānga Mahāpātras. (PETECH p. 163, 164.) Petech identifies this place with Jothā Bāhā. In view of this inscription of N.S.773 which relates to the construction of Jothā Bāhā and the fact that Yothā Bāhā



was the residence of a family of the Pradhānānga Mahāpātras whereas Jothā Bāhā belongs to Sakyas of Uku Bāhā, it seems unlikely. However, the builders of Jothā Bāhā may well have appropriated the name by which the area was already known, perhaps after the Pradhāna Mahāpātras had moved elsewhere.

<sup>109</sup> WRIGHT, p. 249.

<sup>110</sup> KTMV 2:209.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> PETECH, p. 85.

<sup>113</sup> For all of these inscriptions I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya. They are contained in the material for his forthcoming work on the medieval inscriptions of Nepal.

<sup>114</sup> KTMV 2:196.

<sup>115</sup> KTMV 2:168.

<sup>116</sup> For more details see Karunamaya, p. 372-378.

<sup>117</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>118</sup> Nhūcherāj Vajrācārya, Minnāthko Vamśāvalī (Patan, 2029 B.S.).

<sup>119</sup> The chronology here is completely chaotic. Amśuvarma who ruled circa A.D. 606-622, was the only king of the period who was not a Licchavi. He was not succeeded by his son but by the rightful Licchavi heir. The only Vrsadeva known to the period preceded Amśuvarma by about 150 years. The name Bālārcana appears in some chronicles but no other evidence has been found to corroborate his reign. Wright's chronicle tells the story of Vṛṣadeva (Brikhaddevabarmā), his trip to hell and his return, but says that he returned and set up an image of Dharma-rāja Lokesvara. It makes no mention of Jatādhāri Lokesvara of this bāhā, (WRIGHT p. 117). The Bhāsā Vamśāvalī attributes the setting up of the image of Jatādhāri Lokesvara to Amśuvarma. He is also credited with starting a ratha jātrā of the same deity. See Nayanāth Pauḍyā, ed., Bhāsā Vamśāvalī Part One (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.), p. 84.

<sup>120</sup> ABHIKEKH, p. 543-6, 580.

<sup>121</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpātra, p. 10; REGMI 2:767.

<sup>122</sup> Karunamaya, p. 398.

<sup>123</sup> WRIGHT, p. 188

<sup>124</sup> Kunu Śarmā, Kīrtipatakā (Patan, 2018 B.S.), p. 4, verse 14 and p. 41, verse 14.

<sup>125</sup> WRIGHT, p. 162. A colophon reference of N.S.183 which speaks of Ācārya Sthavira Raveन्द्रadeva who lives in Mānadeva Mahāvihāra (PETECH, p. 45) may refer to this foundation, but it is doubtful in the extreme. The colophon does not mention the place of this vihāra. We do know of a Śrī Mānadeva Vihāra from the Licchavi inscriptions and the Gopālarājvamśāvalī. Dhanavajra Vajracarya places this vihāra in Patan. (ABHIKEKH, p. 323.) If this is correct there is a chance that the reference of N.S.183 refers to the same vihāra and that Cūka Bāhā is the successor of this vihāra. We know of no other vihāra in Patan which claims to have been founded by Mānadeva. Wright's Chronicle, however, refers the foundation of Cūka Bāhā to a Nareन्द्रadeva who ruled about A.D.1138-39 well after the time of the colophon. Furthermore, in a forthcoming article on a newly found vamśāvalī Kamal Prakash Malla shows that there is evidence from this text that the vihāra founded by Mānadeva was at Swayambhu. (The article will appear in the forthcoming number of Contributions to Nepalese Studies.)

<sup>126</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>127</sup> For a fuller treatment of this question see Karunamaya, p. 332 ff.

<sup>128</sup> REGMI 3:(57).

<sup>129</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.), p. 19.

<sup>130</sup> KTMV 2:136.

<sup>131</sup> KTMV 2:133.

<sup>132</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>133</sup> For further details see Karunamaya, p. 359-64.

<sup>134</sup>For details on these legends see Karunamaya, p. 349-56.

<sup>135</sup>'Nepāl Desko Itihās' Ancient Nepal, 16:4. A.D. 733 is, of course, too early for either of the kings called Guṇakāmadeva, and according to the tradition associated with Buṅgadya, the ratha jātrā of Adināth was discontinued after his was begun.

<sup>136</sup>Devīprasād Lāmsāl, ed., Bhāsā Vamśāvalī, Part Two (Kathmandu, 2033 B.S.), p. 19.

<sup>137</sup>Bikrama Jit Hasrat, History of Nepal (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 38.

<sup>138</sup>Śaṅkarmān Rājvamśī, 'Siddhinarasiṃha Malla Bhanda Agārikā Paṭāṅkā Śāsakharūka Kehī Tāḍpatra,' Pūrṇimā 12:18.

<sup>139</sup>S&V, p. 105-6.

<sup>140</sup>REGMI 3:119.

<sup>141</sup>S&V, p. 154. Kalimāti is a black clay which the farmers use as a fertilizer and soil conditioner.

<sup>142</sup>S&V, p. 236.

<sup>143</sup>KTMV 2:136.

<sup>144</sup>WRIGHT, p. 234.

<sup>145</sup>For a more complete account of the Patan Kumāri and her functions see Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumāri (Kathmandu, 1975). At the time that Allen did his research nearly fifteen years ago the Patan Kumāri was over twenty. She remained in office until the fall of 1984 when she was finally retired after considerable outside pressure had been brought on her family to declare her unfit. It is the duty of the girl's mother to inform the gūthī when the girl is disqualified (i.e. whenever she has shed blood because of some injury or when she has had her first menstruation). In this case the girl's mother had steadfastly refused to inform the gūthī for over fifteen years.

<sup>146</sup>WRIGHT, p. 156-7.

<sup>147</sup>WRIGHT, p. 234.

<sup>148</sup>One custom often cited as proof that the

bāhā was moved from the darbar area is the custom of placing a Buddha image in a metal tank just outside the main entrance to the darbār under the golden window which displays an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. The image is placed there for the entire month of Guṇlā. This seems to be entirely incorrect. First, this is the wrong place. The bāhā was supposed to have been located at the Sundari Chok, not at the main chok. Secondly, people in Patan say this custom has nothing to do with the bāhā but is simply a Guṇlā custom. An image was placed there so that the king (Śrī Nivāsa Malla?) could worship the Buddha during the sacred month of Guṇlā. Some say that this is the result of a dream which Śrī Nivāsa had, others say it has nothing to do with Śrī Nivāsa but is a much older tradition.

<sup>149</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpātra, p. 14.

<sup>150</sup>Rājvamśī, Tamsūk Tāḍpatra, Bhag 1, p. 79.

<sup>151</sup>KTMV 2:139.

<sup>152</sup>The top part of the inscription is in perfect condition, the lower part has been badly abraded by generations of children who play marbles in the pati and bounce them off the stone.

<sup>153</sup>WRIGHT, p. 158-9.

<sup>154</sup>Rāmji Tewārī et al., Abhilekh Saṅgraha, Part IX, p. 15 footnote 1; PETECH, p. 31.

<sup>155</sup>It seems that this vedic fire sacrifice is performed in few places in the subcontinent at all any more. I have not heard of any place in India where it is performed except in Kerala.

<sup>156</sup>This is what the informants told me, but it seems to be a right in theory. In fact, if someone dies in the jail the family is called to make the arrangements or the police themselves do it.

<sup>157</sup>REGMI 3:(56-7). The colophon of a manuscript dated N.S.253 speaks of a Vṛ Vihāra in the northern part (manigvalottare) of Lalitapur. Petech surmises that this is at Bu Bāhā and is a short form of Vṛṣarāja Vihāra (PETECH, 57). There is a Vṛṣarāja Vihāra at Bū Bāhā (# k

below) but this was founded just a little over a hundred years ago. Furthermore, Bū Bāhā is situated straight west of the southern boundary of the Patan Darbar and it is unlikely that this area would be called manigvalottare.

<sup>158</sup> REGMI 3:(106-7).

<sup>159</sup> VRHAT SUCI-BAUDDHA 2:133-4.

<sup>160</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya (ed) Itihās Samśo-dhanko Pramāṇ Prameya (Patan, 2019 B.S.), p. 159.

<sup>161</sup> KTMV 2:140.

<sup>162</sup> REGMI 3:(106).

<sup>163</sup> KTMV 2:208.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> KTMV 2:208.

<sup>166</sup> WRIGHT, p. 235.

<sup>167</sup> Cecil Bendall, op. cit., p. 191. Hem Rāj Sakya tells me that he has seen a manuscript dated N.S.567 which lists all eighteen of the main bāhās of Patan with their current names. Unfortunately, the owner of this manuscript says he no longer has it.

<sup>168</sup> Unpublished records in possession of the author.

<sup>169</sup> KTMV 2:145.

<sup>170</sup> S&V, p. 187-88.

<sup>171</sup> KTMV 2:145.

<sup>172</sup> KTMV 2:208.

<sup>173</sup> KTMV 2:145.

<sup>174</sup> KTMV 2:146.

<sup>175</sup> KTMV 2:142.

<sup>176</sup> KTMV 2:261-2. For the inscriptions of N.S.635, 7821 783, 802, 835, 837 and 876 I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya's material for his work on the medieval inscriptions. REGMI 3:(102-3) has part of the inscription of

N.S.635.

<sup>177</sup> KTMV 2:262.

<sup>178</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>179</sup> KTMV 2:265.

<sup>180</sup> KTMV 2:265.

The Bahis of Patan

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> See Gellner, op. cit., for a more detailed analysis of these differences. As Gellner notes the 10 differences noted by Korn (op. cit. p. 19), some of which are repeated by Slusser (1:139) are inaccurate. Many bahīs do have toranas and entryway lions. A hybrid form of bāhāl-bahīl as a separate type of architectural structure which both of these authors describe would not be recognised by any Newār. What they are describing is a branch bāhā with a veranda which is part of the living quarters. (See Gellner note 27.) On gandhuri-dya see my note 17 to the General Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See General Introduction note. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Gellner, p. 21-22 for more details on the arrangements of this organization.

<sup>4</sup> Gellner, 22-23.

<sup>5</sup> Gellner, 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> Gellner, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Gellner, 30. See p. 28-30 for Gellner's re-translation of this whole section from the chronicle. A comparison of this with Wright 236-7 shows again how inaccurate and misleading the old translation is. On the term vānaprastha Gellner says: 'The term vānaprastha seems to be a vrddhi form of vanaprastha, which usually denotes a Hindu forest ascetic. . . It would however be a natural way to refer to that well-known Buddhist figure, the forest monk. BV does indeed seem to use vānaprastha as a synonym for vanavasi, Skt. living in a forest (wright, 185; BV: 108a), which is precisely the term used for



Theravada forest monks.' (p. 29).

<sup>8</sup>Gellner, 32.

## The Ten Bahīs

<sup>1</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracārya, Itihās Samsodhanko Pramāṇ Prameya (Patan, 2019 B.S.), p. 4; see also REGMI 3:(56).

<sup>2</sup>KTMV 2:204.

<sup>3</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>4</sup>S&V p. 96.

<sup>5</sup>KTMV 2:183.

<sup>6</sup>Slusser identifies this image as Dīpaṅkara (2:plate 485, 486). Local informants call it Maitreya, but it is clearly the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. It would be unusual indeed to have a Dīpaṅkara as the kwāpā-dya of a vihāra.

<sup>7</sup>REGMI 3:(4). I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya for a translation of this inscription. The reference to Saptapura Mahāvihāra is sometimes taken as referring to Cikañ Bahī which is called Satpapuri Mahāvihāra. However, it is clear from the inscription of N.S.399 that the foundation of Gautama Śrī was at Guita. Vajracarya speculates that this man had gone to Tibet where he attained the title mahāpāṇḍita and where he also earned a lot of money enabling him to finance this foundation.

<sup>8</sup>S&V, 3-4.

<sup>9</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>10</sup>REGMI 3:(103).

<sup>11</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>12</sup>REGMI 2:275. This inscription has not been published and I have not been able to locate it. It is this inscription which Slusser (1:295) uses as one of her arguments that ga-ndhuri-deva is used for the deity of a bāhā as

well as a bahī. Whatever the status of the present community and their relation to the bahī sarva-saṅgha, the institution is always called a bahī and the original saṅgha was composed of brahmacarya bhikṣus. I would rather take the reference to gandhuri deva here as a confirmation that this is indeed a bahī.

A manuscript colophon dated N.S.321 mentions a Śrī Padmapabhu Mahāvihāra (PETECH, p. 80) Petech identifies this with Guita Bahī. However, this is doubtful as the name is different and the colophon does not mention the place of this vihāra.

<sup>13</sup>KTMV 2:196.

<sup>14</sup>WRIGHT, p. 129.

<sup>15</sup>See the account of Mahābaudha Bāhā under Uku Bāhā.

<sup>16</sup>REGMI 3:(31-32).

<sup>17</sup>KTMV 2:192.

## The Fifteen Bahīs

<sup>1</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>2</sup>KTMV 2:151.

<sup>3</sup>WRIGHT, p. 115-17.

<sup>4</sup>WRIGHT, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup>Bhāṣā Vamsāvalī, Part II, p. 3-4.

<sup>7</sup>Private communication from Hem Raj Sakya.

<sup>8</sup>PETECH, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup>Suyāmpivihārīlivi yathogghacheṇ yekulī. Unpublished document in possession of the author.

<sup>10</sup>Unpublished document in possession of the author.

<sup>11</sup>Hemraj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup>KTMV 2:209.

<sup>13</sup> PETECH, 141.

<sup>14</sup> George Roerich, ed., tr., The Blue Annals (Calcutta, 1949), p. 799-805.

<sup>15</sup> Ian Alsop, a forthcoming article on Vana-ratna. The older painting is now in the Los Angeles County Museum and the more recent one is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Vārāṇasi. The earlier inscription is badly faded, and it seems that it was faded when the copy was made so that doubtful passages are doubtful on both paintings.

<sup>16</sup> KTMV 2:153.

<sup>17</sup> Pal, op. cit. plates 162, 163.

<sup>18</sup> KTMV 2:154.

<sup>19</sup> KTMV 2:208.

<sup>20</sup> REGMI 3:(53); see also Hem Rāj Śākya, '2513 Buddha Jayantiko Saṁdarbhamā Saptapura Mahavihārako Ek Adhyayan, Sānti Vijaya (Buddha Jayanti 2513) p. 57-64. In this article Sakya claims, as do the people of Cikañ Bahī, that the inscription at Guita Bahī of N.S.144 (REGMI 3:(4)) refers to Cikañ Bahī. I think it is clear now that this is untenable. First, the name on the Guita Bahī inscription is Saptapura not Saptapuri which is found on inscriptions at Cikañ Bahī. Much more convincing is the inscription of N.S.399 at Guita Bahī on the Buddha image which makes it clear that the vihāra of Gautama Śrī is at Guita Bahī.

<sup>21</sup> Sakya, Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Gellner, op. cit. 40.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> KTMV 2:158.

<sup>26</sup> S&V, p. 157-8.

<sup>27</sup> KTMV 2:134.

<sup>28</sup> S&V, p. 208-9.

<sup>29</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Puco Chagu Adyayan (Patan,

2033 B.S.), p. 10-13.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> KTMV 2:144.

<sup>32</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Pucho, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>34</sup> KTMV:264.

<sup>35</sup> KTMV 2:260.

#### Other Bahas of Patan

<sup>1</sup> REGMI 1:110; Petech, p.31-32. Though several people have claimed that this is Gā Bāhā, I doubt it as the name is clearly Mahāvī-tigvala Vihāra which is a long ways from Gāda Bahārā.

<sup>2</sup> REGMI 3:(19); see also Dhanavajra Vajracā-rya, Itihās Saṁsodhan Pramāṇ Prameya, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Gopālarājyavamsāvali 37 B:3.

<sup>4</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Śivadeva . . . Tālpatra, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> There are several references to a Yogha or Yoccha in Patan: N.S.345 'śrī-mānigā yoghakośastāddivasino...' (PETECH, p. 84), N.S.372 'śrī mānigala yoghakośāddivasi...' (PETECH 85), N.S.476 'śrī yokhāccha vihāra vajrācārya śrī kṣemendrasya...' (no place mentioned) (PETECH 123), N.S.491 'lalitāpura śrī mānigalottara mahāvihāre śrī yokhāccha vihāra...' (PETECH 130), 'śrī yokhyasthāna bahāra lacchavanṭa vajrācārya śrī śāntamatinā...' (PETECH 132). All of these references are from manuscript colophons. The last reference of N.S.530 comes from a caitya outside of the main entrance to the Kumbhesvar temple. The inscription is partly obliterated but it commemorates repairs to the caitya and in Petech's reading the place is given as 'śrī manigalottara vihāra śrī yokhā.' . . . Petech understands all of these variant names to be the same place and on the basis of the inscription places it in the Kumbhesvar area. If this is true this site that I have called Konti Bāhā may well be the remains of this

ancient viḥāra. Petech goes further and identifies this with a place referred to in the Gopālarājavamsāvalī (25 b:1). The king Someśvara (A.D.1178-1183/5) built a beautiful wooden temple structure in a place read as 'yogha' in earlier versions. However, Dhanavajra Vajracarya reads this as 'yodyam' (Gopālarājavamsāvalī p. 33). In a private communication he has told me that he cannot identify this place but from the context of the chronicle would look for it in Bhaktapur rather than Patan.

#### Villages Near Patan

<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed study of the complex see Karunamaya p. 150ff.

<sup>2</sup>KTMV 2:260.

<sup>3</sup>For a more detailed study of this question see Karunamaya, p. 298-325.

<sup>4</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>KTMV 2:257.

<sup>6</sup>KTMV 2:254; REGMI 4:184.

#### Ācārya Gūthī

<sup>1</sup>The position of the walls of the late Malla, walled city of Kathmandu has been traced by means of the annual procession which goes round the city of Kathmandu at the time of Indra Jātrā. Known as upāko wanegu (walking round the town), this procession traces the perimeter of the old walls. Further confirmation can be attained by locating the emplacements of the gates into the city, traces of many of which are still extant. One curious feature of the procession at Indra Jātrā is that at the northern end of the city it passes along the northern side of the Tha Hiti stūpa, thus leaving Kwā Bāhā right outside the city. This struck me as curious in the extreme as all the bāhās and their branches lie within the walls; and Kwā Bāhā is still considered to be the most impor-

tant, and perhaps the oldest, bāhā in the northern quarter of the city. Two maps of the upāko wanegu route and the supposed walls have been published: Slusser, 2map #7 and Niels Gutschow, 'Kathmandu: Historical Development, Spatial Structure, Social and Ritual Topography', Khubmū Himal, 13:3 (1979), p. 253. Both show Kwā Bāhā outside of the city. However, both authors point out that the route is not exact and may well have changed a bit for convenience sake or because new structures now lie along the line of the wall. Kāshi Nath Thamot has pointed out to me the remains of the gate emplacements along the road leading north of Tha Hiti. This emplacement lies north of Kwā Bāhā. Hence Kwā Bāhā was within the confines of the old city and the line of the wall should be adjusted accordingly.

<sup>2</sup>The fish can still be seen set into the pavement in Asan Tole directly in front of the Annapurna Temple.

<sup>3</sup>The 'Lion Gate' consists of two half buried lions in Makhan Tole directly in front of the photo shop.

<sup>4</sup>The history of the two main divisions of the city and the names used for them have been traced by Gautamvajra Vajracārya in 'Yaṅgala, Yambu', Contributions to Nepalese Studies, 1:2, p.90-98. The whole question is treated at more length also in SLUSSER 1:87-95. For Suvarṇapranālī as a part of Kāntipur see the palm-leaf document of N.S.823 cited in G. Vajracrya p.94: 'Śrīmatkāntipur mahānagare śrīyambu śuvarṇapanārī sthane. . . and Śaṅkarmān Rājvaṁśī, Kāntipur-Silālekh Sūcī (Kathmandu, 2027 V.S.), (Henceforth KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH) ins. #192, p. 139, 'śrīyaṅgwa suvarṇapanārī mahāsthāne tarache tora jhwāravāhāra. There are a number of references to this area which give the impression that it is a separate entity. See for example: 'śrīsuvarṇapranālī mahānagare maitripurṇa mahāvihāra. . . sāmbat 769, KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, ins. no.98, p. 72; 'śrīsuvarṇapanālī mahānagare tamvarācche tora jhwāra bāhāra. . . sāmvat 776, VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDHA 3:45; 'suvarṇa pranālī mahānagare dhvāka bāhāra. . . sāmvat 783, KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, ins. no. 124 p.91; 'likhiteyam sauvarṇapranārī mahānagare maitripurī mahāvihāra vasthita vajracārya jinideveneta,' (sāmvat 779), Bendall, p.81. This list is not exhaustive. For the date of the construction of the stūpa see Slusser 1:90 and footnote 36. For other



customs, feasts and rituals which have survived down to the present and which confirm the division of the city into two main parts see SLUSSER 1:91. It is strange that Slusser talks about a third division that was considered a separate city but says that she is unable to identify this third city (p.91) despite the many references to *Suvarṇapranāli* in published inscriptions and manuscript colophons. She speculates that the third city might be the area of the *Hanumāndhokā Darbār* which is called wa desa in an unpublished *thyāsaphū*. There seems to be no other reference to the site of the palace as a separate city or settlement.

<sup>5</sup>For a more detailed treatment of this rāj guru or rāj gubhājū see the section on Sikhamu Bāhā [55], the bāhā of which he is always a member.

<sup>6</sup>For a detailed treatment of this dispute see Colin Rosser, 'The Newār Caste System,' in *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India, Ceylon*, ed. C. von Furer Haimendorf (Bombay: 1966), p. 15-86.

<sup>7</sup>*Sāntikar* is said to have been a prince named *Pracanda Deva* from the kingdom of *Gauṇ*, an important city in medieval Bengal and an important centre of tantric religion. *Sāntikar* is his initiation name. He is said to have received his initiation from one *Guṇākara Ācārya*, who was a *siddha* and had thus by his own yoga attained all the powers of a *Vajracarya*. The story of *Sāntikar* is contained in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which relates his conversion and his setting up of the five temples, but says nothing about his connection with the *Vajracaryas* of Kathmandu. The *Bhāsā Vamsāvalī* also recounts the story of *Pracanda Deva* coming from *Gauṇ*, settling at *Svayambhu* and receiving his initiation as a *bhikṣu* from *Guṇākara*, after which he built the five shrines and covered the *caitya*. This account, which is placed in the time of the king *Vrsadeva* makes no mention of a tantric initiation. *Nayanāth Pauḍyāl*, ed. *Bhāsā Vamsāvalī*, Part 1 (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.), p. 56-7.

<sup>8</sup>The Newāri word phu means 'the last', one, the one who comes last in a line'; hence phu yaye means 'to complete'. (For this etymology I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla.)

<sup>9</sup>Informants at Lagañ Bāhā insisted that the *Phu Bare* from Lagañ Bāhā functions at Sikhamu Bāhā, but this was denied by the people at

Sikhamu Bāhā.

<sup>10</sup>S&V 27-8.

<sup>11</sup>See SLUSSER 1:124-6 for a discussion of *Bhaktapur* as the capital from the mid-twelfth century on; but see PETECH, p. 185 and note 1 for his reservations on this theory.

<sup>12</sup>This function seems to have virtually disappeared now since the days of the long dispute with the *jajamāns* of the *Ācārya Gūthī* over the question of commensality.

<sup>13</sup>This seems to be a matter of some controversy and ill feeling between the two communities. The people of Sikhamu Bāhā look on this man as a usurper. What functions the *Rāj Guru* still retains are performed by the *Rāj Guru* of Sikhamu Bāhā. If such an appointment were made it should have been by a *lāl mohar* of the king. Whether or not such a document exists is now a moot point. The '*Rāj Guru*' of *Sawal Bāhā* claims it does exist but refuses to show it to the people of Sikhamu Bāhā. Sikhamu people claim that it was a verbal appointment and therefore certainly had no validity after the death of the monarch. The whole dispute is rather academic as the functions of the *Rāj Guru* have so diminished that the post is hardly worth fighting over. The present incumbent of Sikhamu Bāhā seldom even uses the title but he does take his place among the Five Buddhas.

<sup>14</sup>*Gautamvajra Vajracārya*, *Hanumāndhokā Rājdarbār* (Kathmandu, 2033 B.S.), p. 53.

<sup>15</sup>In his introduction to the *Sādhana Mālā* B. Bhattacharya notes one *Lilāvajra*, a disciple of *Bhagavatī Lakṣmi* or *Lakṣmisiṃhara*, who was a *vajracārya* of great repute and wrote a number of authoritative *Vajrayāna* works. He flourished about A.D.741. (*Sādhana Mālā* 2:1vi.) *Ratnakāji Vajracarya* claims in his book on the *bāhās* that this man is the *Lilāvajra* of Sikhamu Bāhā. (*Ratnakāji and Vijaya Ratna Vajracārya*, *Nepāl Devā Vihārāyā Tācā* [Kathmandu, 2039 B.S.], p. 91-92. Henceforth RATNAKĀJĪ.) However there is nothing to support this except the common name and no indication in *Bhāttācārya's* sources that the man was from Nepal or ever visited Nepal.

<sup>16</sup>Several authors have attempted to explain the Newāri name as a corruption of the Sanskrit '*śrī khaṇḍa*' arising from the story that the

bāhā was made from the leftover wood of the Kāsthamaṇḍapa. This is an attempted Sanskritization of a pure Newari term. I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla for pointing out that the Newari name is clearly a translation of the Sanskrit tarumūla which means the root of a tree.

<sup>17</sup> REGMI 3:(23).; for the thyāsaphū reference see S&V p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'

<sup>19</sup> KTMV 2:87.

<sup>20</sup> SLUSSER 1:312

<sup>21</sup> Gautamvajra Vajracarya, op.cit, p. 42, note 1.

<sup>22</sup> See Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumari (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 40 ff for more details on the selection and consecration of the Kumāri.

<sup>23</sup> KTMV 2:15.

<sup>24</sup> Allen, op. cit. p. 40. For a further treatment of her functions at Thām Bahī see the section on Thām Bahī below.

<sup>25</sup> REGMI 4:11.

<sup>26</sup> Cecil Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Cambridge:1883), p. 81.

<sup>27</sup> Kabirāj Danaratna Vajracārya, 'Kasī Swayambhūko Nepālmā Āgama.' Gorkhāpatra, 8 Kārtik 2032, p. (8).

<sup>28</sup> KTMV 2:16.

<sup>29</sup> People at Dhākā Bāhā usually identify this lineage deity as the caitya, but some claim that the deity they worship is Vajrayoginī.

<sup>30</sup> REGMI 3:132.

<sup>31</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādān Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036B.S.), p. 39-40.

<sup>32</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> Pratapaditya Pal, The Arts of Nepal (Leiden, 1974), 1:27-31. See also SLUSSER 2:plate 276, 277.

<sup>34</sup> ABHILEKH, p. 587.

<sup>35</sup> For a detailed description of these wood carvings see Karel Rujk van Kooij, 'The Iconography of the Buddhist Wood-carvings in a Newar Monastery in Kathmandu,' Journal of the Nepal Research Centre, Vol. I, p.39-82. For a description of the architecture of this bāhā see Wolfgang Korn, The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, 1976), p.30-33.

<sup>36</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 97 has part of the inscription, for the rest see Korn, ibid. 30.

<sup>37</sup> Shantaram Bhalcandra Deo, 'Glimpses of Nepal Woodwork', The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art n.s. 3 (1968-9), p. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> This is strange indeed; it could conceivably be Vajroyoginī but hardly Yogāmbara. No one could give an explanation of this anomaly.

<sup>39</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 138.

<sup>40</sup> The document was published in Cittadhar Hṛdaya, Nepāl Bhāṣā Sāhityayā Jāta (Kathmandu, 1091 N.S.), p. 3, without any reference to its source. However Kamal Prakash Malla kindly gave me a photo of the document which is still in the possession of the saṅgha of Gaṁ Bāhā. This document, however, is not the original but a copy. The original has evidently been lost.

<sup>41</sup> The position of these Vajracaryas as pūjārīs in the temple of Nuwakot is confirmed by two documents of A.D.1872 (1930B.S.) still in the possession of the members of the saṅgha. The documents speak of difficulties which Ratna Cūḍāmaṇi Gubhājū of Jhūā Bāhāl faced in collecting the rents of the gūthī land of the gūthī of Śrī Svachanda Bhairava in that year. It is interesting that the second of these documents identifies these Vajracaryas as descendants of Vakvajra. See Dhanavajra Vajracārya and Īek Bāhādur Śreṣṭha, Nuvākoṭko Aitiḥāsik Rūprekhā, p. 106-7, documents 84,85.

<sup>42</sup> Though this is what the members of the saṅgha say, the Vajracaryas at Sankhu claim that when people come to worship their lineage deity, it is the caitya they worship, not Vajrayoginī.

<sup>43</sup> This is the only example in Kathmandu of a branch bāhā composed to members of two different main bāhās. There is one example of such a branch in Patan, Na Bāhā, a branch whose members are made up of Sakyas from Bū Bāhā and Si Bāhā.

<sup>44</sup> KTMV 2:21.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 3:88 and 3:45.

<sup>48</sup> Bendall, p. 85.

<sup>49</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>50</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 102-3.

<sup>51</sup> REGMI 2:772.

<sup>52</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 87.

<sup>53</sup> Gautamvajra Vajracarya, 'Pratāp Mallako Śāntipurpraveś.' Pūrṇimā 4:41-3. The painting gives the dates of his entry, but the painting itself is not dated and was probably painted well after the event.

<sup>54</sup> Mary Slusser, Kathmandu (Kathmandu, n.d.) p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> WRIGHT, p. 167-70. Wright gives the man's name as 'Kesachandra' and this form of the name is often used today in stories and printed accounts.

<sup>57</sup> 'Samvat 361 jeṣṭha śukla aṣṭami yāmbu yatumbāhāra kvāta calyaka yārhaṇ kitipālā bhāro-sa.' Gautam Vajracarya, Hanumāndhokā p. 38 note 1 (Gopālarājavamsāvalī 33 b:4).

<sup>58</sup> 'Samvat 478 Bhādrava suddhi 10 lakṣābhagavati sampurna divasa . . . mahayanayayinaḥ paramadhārmikāḥ paramasarvajña śāsanika śrī koligrāmiya śrībhāskara deva saṃskārīti itī śrī keśavacandraḥkṛta mahāvihāradhivāsina śākya bhikṣu buddhacārya śrī rājābrahma', Gautam Vajracarya, 'Yaṅgala-Yāmbu', Contributions to Nepalese

Studies II, 2:93, note 4.

<sup>59</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Saktiśālī Bhārdār Ramavarddhanaharū ra Tatkālik Nepāl', Pūrṇimā, p. 7:33-36.

<sup>60</sup> From an unpublished land document read and translated for me by Sankarmān Rājvamsī. 'sreyostu samvat 612 āśvinamasa śukla pakse cattuthyayantitau śrīyāmbukramayam śrīganbulange śrī śrī bhāskaradevasaṃskārīta sattaśrīkeśavacandraḥkṛta paravatmahavyaharāddhivāsina bhikṣu śrī Hākujasa nāmna sakasāt. . .'

<sup>61</sup> Hem Rāj Sakya, Samyak, p. 27-8.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 29-31.

<sup>63</sup> WRIGHT, p. 220-1. Another chronicle also says that Pratap Malla 'made' Itum Bāhā and for this employed one Sobha Candra Baniya of Itum Bāhā. It is clear from the context that 'made' equals repaired here also. 'Kāṭhmanḍau Upatya-kāko ek Rājvamsāvalī', Ancient Nepal 6:3-4.

<sup>64</sup> KĀNTIPUR-ŚILĀLEKH, 90-91.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 96-97.

<sup>66</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'

<sup>67</sup> KTMV 2:45

<sup>68</sup> KTMV 2:87.

<sup>69</sup> SLUSSER 2:plate #65.

<sup>70</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, 'Śrī Bhāskarakīrti Mahāvihāra, Yetakhābāhā (Kathmandu, 2035 B.S.), p. 21-23.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 30

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 37

<sup>74</sup> KTMV 2:52

<sup>75</sup> The supposed founder of both the Mahānkāl and Bhadrakālī shrines was one Sasvatavajra. See note 79 below.

<sup>76</sup> From an unpublished article by Ratna Kāji



Vajracarya on Sawal Bāhā.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. The date of this document is illegible, but it is known from other sources that Samantabhadra Vajracarya was Thakālī of the Ācārya Gūthī in N.S.995.

<sup>79</sup> Ratnakaji Vajracarya places Śāśvatavajra in the seventh century A.D. and he identifies him with the Śāśvatavajra mentioned in the Sādhana Mālā as the author of the 'Mahācīnakramatārāsādhana' (#10). However, Bhattācāryya, basing himself on the information from Tibetan sources which attribute a total of fifteen works to him, assigns Sasvatavajra to the twelfth century, and there is no evidence from Tibetan sources that he was in any way connected with Nepal. Sādhanamālā 1:209-11, 2:cxvii.

<sup>80</sup> Ratnakāji Vajracarya, Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> KTMV 2:52

<sup>82</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Śrīsvayambhū Mahācaitya (Kathmandu, 1098N.S.), p. 610ff.

<sup>83</sup> The shrine of Gūhyeśvarī, located up river from Paṣupatināth, is a pīṭha and considered to be a shrine of Durga by Hindus. However, she is worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike. The Buddhists claim that she is a manifestation of Prajñāpāramitā and worship her as Nairatmā, the consort of Hevajra or as Agniyoginī (the Fire Yoginī). There are legends linking this shrine and the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. There is supposed to be a cave at Swayambhu leading to an underground passage which comes out at Gūhyeśvarī. For the Buddhists this shrine is one of four yoginī pīṭhas the others being the Vajrayoginī shrine at Sankhu, the Vajrayoginī shrine at Pharping, and Vijyeśvarī. (See SLUSSER 1:327-8.)

<sup>84</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 80-83.

<sup>85</sup> Samyakratna Upāsaka [Vajracāryya], Khwa-pāde Bāhābahiya Saṃkṣipta Paricaya (Bhaktapur, 2028 B.S.), p.21.

<sup>86</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 3:149-50.

<sup>87</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracāryya and Īek Bahādura Śreṣṭha, Dolakhako Aitihāsik Rūprekhā (Kirtipur,

2030 V.S.), p. 194-95. The manuscript is now in the possession of CNAS.

<sup>88</sup> KTMV 2:25.

<sup>89</sup> KTMV 2:87.

<sup>90</sup> Allen, op.cit. 37. For more details see his treatment of the Mū Bāhā Kumārī p.37-38.

<sup>91</sup> For example, see the story of the coming of Sankarācāryya in Bikrama Jit Hasrat, History of Nepal (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 38-40.

<sup>92</sup> KĀNTIPUR-ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 68.

<sup>93</sup> Somnāth Sigdyāl, ed. Sudhār Kārya Vivaraṇ (Kathmandu, 2015), p. 55.

<sup>94</sup> WRIGHT, p. 139.

<sup>95</sup> ABHILEKH, p. 59-60.

<sup>96</sup> ABHILEKH, p. 454-55. The Sanskrit gives the name of the man as 'śākya. . . priyapālā-nāma'. In his Nepali translation Vajracarya has 'Śākyabhikṣu Priyapālā'. This is an interpretation. 'Śākya' could refer to a Buddhist monk, but it could also simply refer to a man of the Sakya tribe. As noted in the introduction some of the present day Sakyas claim descent from the tribe of the Sakyas.

<sup>97</sup> Ian Alsop, 'The Crowns of the Vajracaryas,' forthcoming.

<sup>98</sup> Most historical records simply refer to Teda Vihāra, but those that do mention the Sanskrit name give Rājākīrti Mahāvihāra. Many modern authors give the name as Rājākṛta ('made by the king'). See ABHILEKH, p. 60 and 454. These two Sanskrit terms as used in the names of Vihāras are often interchanged. I know of no historical document which calls Te Bāhā Rājākṛta.

<sup>99</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 89. As a reference he cites ABHILEKH, but in the place cited Dhanavajra Vajracarya speculates that the two Rāj Vihāras mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions were both in Patan. (One certainly was.)

<sup>100</sup> REGMI 3:(78) and Śaṅkarmān Rājvamsī, 'Yakṣamallako Samayakā Niścīt Saṃvat ra Tithimihārū', Pūrṇimā 9:13.

<sup>101</sup> Śaṅkarmān Rājvamsī, 'Kehi Aitiḥāsik Upakaraṇ', Ancient Nepal 11:39.

<sup>102</sup> REGMI 3:(107).

<sup>103</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 49.

<sup>104</sup> Note again the constant confusion between rājakīrti and rājakṛta and this hybrid form rājakṛti.

<sup>105</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 4:20,55.

<sup>106</sup> For more details see my Karunamaya (Kathmandu, 1980) p. 126.

<sup>107</sup> For a detailed description of the whole complex see Karunamaya, p. 125-146.

<sup>108</sup> For a fuller description of these rituals see Karunamaya, p. 175-81.

<sup>109</sup> For a full description of this ceremony see Karunamaya p. 205-221.

<sup>110</sup> For a full description of the ritual as performed on this occasion see my 'Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites', Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2:1-23.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> There is a copy of the Nāmasaṅgiti in the National Archives dated N.S.256 and written by one Śrī Jumālāke Śākyabhikṣu Ratnagupta. Some have taken this Jumālāke as a reference to Jana Bāhā. First of all the word, as given by Regmi, is jumālāke not jamālāke. REGMI 1:167. Even if jamālāke is correct, does this refer to Jana Bāhā or to the original bāhā which existed in Jamal and from which the image of Avalokiteśvara was taken to Jana Bāhā? We have no record of Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra having been called Jana (or Jamala) Bāhā before the image was taken there. Without some other confirmation of the existence of Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra at this early date and the use of the Newari name at this date, this reference is hardly sufficient foundation on which to build an argument for the existence of the bāhā in N.S.256.

<sup>113</sup> See Karunamaya, p. 162-7 for documentation of these dates.

<sup>114</sup> Gautamvajra Vajrācārya, Haṇumāṇdhokā, p. 39.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> The fact that these two institutions have the same name has given rise to considerable confusion. The oldest inscriptions in the area are found at Nhāyakañ Bahī and several published references have referred the inscriptions to the wrong place. (See for example SLUSSER 1:295 note 138 where she claims that the inscription of N.S.508 is at Lagan Bāhā; Rājvamsī in his article, which she quotes, identifies the place as Kīrtipuṇya Mahāvihāra in Lagan Tole which is correct; but the Kīrtipuṇya Mahāvihāra in question is Nhāyakañ Bahī, not Lagañ Bāhā.)

<sup>117</sup> See Colin Rosser 'The Newar Caste System in Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon, ed. C. von Furer Haimendorf (Bombay, 1966), p. 105-24.

<sup>118</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 97-8.

<sup>119</sup> WRIGHT, p. 218.

<sup>120</sup> This is true of references in Newari and Sanskrit also. 'To make' often means 'to repair' or 'renovate', and there are references in inscriptions at the bāhās where it is clear from context that the word means 'to renovate'. If the word jirgoddhāra (repair, renovation) is used the meaning is clear, but 'to make' is always unclear unless confirmed by other evidence.

<sup>121</sup> I have not been able to see this alleged inscription and have serious doubts about it. What a find this would be for the history of the whole period!

<sup>122</sup> S&V, p. 144, Inscription #37.

<sup>123</sup> Ian Alsop, 'The Crowns of the Vajracaryas' a forthcoming article. This piece is described in the museum's catalogue of Tibetan Art, but attributed to Tibet and tentatively dated to the 18th century despite the inscription which gives the exact date (1677) and the place. John Lowry, Tibetan Art (London, 1976), p.88-89.

<sup>124</sup> The Newari word dān means the property rights of the issueless, i.e., those who have no

children. Hence it comes to refer also to those who come to perform the funeral and commemorative rites for a man who has no surviving wife, sons or daughters.

<sup>125</sup>S&V, p. 82.

<sup>126</sup>KĀNTIPUR-ŚILĀLEKH, p. 123.

<sup>127</sup>See section on the Phu Bare in the introduction to the Ācārya Gūṭhī.

<sup>128</sup>S&V, p. 82.

<sup>129</sup>KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 63; also REGMI 4:33, where he dates the inscription N.S.699. KTMV says that the bāhā was built in this year, but this is one of the few examples where there is no confusion about terminology--the inscription says 'jirṇnoddhāra'. KTMV 2:83.

<sup>130</sup>Inscription on the Vajracarya crown; see note 119 above. Bahāra here is ambiguous; does it mean caitya vihāra or caitya bhattachakara, in in which case this would not be a bāhā but simply a family caitya? It is impossible to say from the text, but it is a bāhā today and informants say it has been for several centuries.

<sup>131</sup>Dumjā Mahādyā (or Mahādeva) is a shrine outside of the Valley in Kabhre-Palāncok. It is a popular, local shrine of Mahādev (Śiva) and frequented by people from all over the district, mostly non-Newars. Most of the members of the baha saṅghas who have their lineage deity here have identified the deity as Śiva. However, one man showed me photos of the shrine and the pūjā which his family performed there some twenty five years ago. In the photo can be seen the Śiva Liṅga which is the main cult object of the shrine. To the side are some aniconic stones and it is here that they performed their pūjā. Again it seems to be a question of giving to the lineage deity the name of the principal cult object at the place where the pūjā is performed. Again several people have identified the local place of worship of this deity as Pacalī Bhairab down near the river at Teku. However, closer questioning revealed that they do not worship Pacalī Bhairab but worship at a little non-descript shrine nearby.

<sup>132</sup>PETECH, p. 164.

<sup>133</sup>VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 2:42.

<sup>134</sup>REGMI 4:(33).

<sup>135</sup>Mohan Khanāl, Nepalkā Kehī Māllakālīn Abhilekh (Kathmandu, 2029 V.S.) 21.

<sup>136</sup>The current term Om (Bāhā) is a Sanskritization of a Newāri term uam which means eastern.

<sup>137</sup>RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 92-93.

<sup>138</sup>KTMV 2:78.

<sup>139</sup>Though most informants identify the site of the present Theravada foundation as the site of Gaṇa Bahī, some informants have said that it was Gaṇa Bāhā. What seems certain is that there was in former times both a bāhā and bahī in this area.

<sup>140</sup>WRIGHT, p. 79.

<sup>141</sup>The Sanskrit names of these bāhās as found on inscriptions and in manuscripts often have many incorrect variants. One of the most common variants is the interchange of 'l' and 'r' (e.g. Tarumūla--Talamūla--Turumūla etc.). However, the Sanskrit name of this bāhā is most often recorded as Vajrasīla and this is what is found on the oldest reference cited below.

<sup>142</sup>Hemrāj Śākya, Swayambhū-Mahācaitya, p. 124. Śākya does not give either a facsimile of this rubbing or a complete transcription of the inscription but a summary in modern Newāri. Hence it is impossible to check the spelling of the Sanskrit name.

<sup>143</sup>Ian Alsop, 'The Crowns of the Vajracaryas', a forthcoming article.

<sup>144</sup>KTMV 2:80.

<sup>145</sup>KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 89.

<sup>146</sup>ABHILEKH, p. 507.

<sup>147</sup>VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 1:20.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid. 1:70-1. The catalogue gives the date as N.S.425, but this surely must be a misreading for 625 as the reigning king is given as Jayaratna Malla who ruled the separate kingdom of Kathmandu from N.S.605-640.



<sup>149</sup> REGMI 3:(97).

<sup>150</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ 2:27.

<sup>151</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracārya and Tek Bahādur Shrestha, Dolakhako Aitihasik Rūprekhā (Kirtipur, 2031 B.S.), p.93-94

<sup>152</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 3:46.

<sup>153</sup> KTMV 2:85.

<sup>154</sup> KTMV 2:34. According to Gautamvajra Vajracarya this name comes from the name for the whole tole which is Lhugala Tole. An earlier form of this name found in a document of N.S. 523 is Lhutigra. Gautamvajra Vajracarya, 'Yāngala-Yāmbu,' p. 92.

#### Sakya Bāhās

<sup>1</sup> For the legends see Kavirāj Danaratna Vajracārya, 'Kāśī Svayambhūko Nepālma Āgaman', Gorkhapatra 8 Kārtik 2032 and Somnāth Sigdyāl, ed. Sudhār Kārya Vivaraṇ (Kathmandu, 2016 B.S.), p. 65-6. KTMV calls this man Samantabhadra of Takṣe Bāhā which is strange indeed as all accounts speak of Vākvajra of Kwā Bāhā, and to this day the Vajracaryas of Kwā Bāhā as the successors of Vākvajra have rights and duties concerned with the shrine to the side of the stupa.

<sup>2</sup> S&V, p. 91-92; REGMI 4:(10-11).

<sup>3</sup> S&V, p. 118-122.

<sup>4</sup> Sigdyāl op.cit., p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> See the painting done by Oldfield in the middle of the last century. Henry Ambrose and Margaret Alicia Oldfield, Views of Nepal 1851-64 (Kathmandu, 1975) plate #14.

<sup>6</sup> This is the same Dumjā Mahādev worshipped by the members of the saṅgha of Gubhā Bāhā [65], see Ācārya Gūthī note 131.

<sup>7</sup> This is strange, because as far as is known Simraongadh was entirely Hindu. Were these people Hindus who became Buddhists and Sakyas after coming to the Valley? Do all of

the saṅghas whose lineage deity is Dumjā Mahādev have a similar connection to Simroangadh? Note that it is also evident from the inscription of N.S.805 that this bāhā existed long before the time of the Gorkhali conquest.

<sup>8</sup> REGMI 4:204. Note the date of the inscription. N.S.805 (A.D.1685) is more than eighty years before the conquest of the Valley by Prithwinarayan Shah.

<sup>9</sup> KTMV 2:32.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Pratapaditya Pal, The Arts of Nepal (Leiden, 1974), 1:162,163. If this dating is correct it is significant for the dating of the presence of Vajrayana Buddhism in the Valley as one of the reliefs (plate #163) shows an upright vajra worshipped by two lions.

<sup>12</sup> See RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 25 #33; SLUSSER 2:map #7.

<sup>13</sup> PETECH, p. 63. Bendall misreads Panapīṅga as Danapīṅga and Yāmbu as Mambu. (Bendall p. 182.)

<sup>14</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 1:157.

<sup>15</sup> PETECH, p. 40. Regmi contradicts himself. In Vol. I he has Petech's reading of the date and the name of the vihāra (p.123 and 562). In Vol. II when he refers to the same manuscript he gives the date as N.S.135 and the name of the vihāra as Dharmacakra (p.773). Evidently both statements are based on secondary sources.

<sup>16</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 1:157.

<sup>17</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādān Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.), p. 23-27.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> KANTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 134-36.

<sup>20</sup> KANTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> KANTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> KTMV 2:51.

<sup>23</sup> REGMI 4:(37-44).

<sup>24</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> REGMI 4:(37-44). The inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Newari was translated for me into Nepali by Śaṅkarmān Rājvamsī. It would appear that Jayalakṣa and Jayaharṣa Pālā were one and the same person.

<sup>26</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 61.

<sup>27</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 50.

<sup>28</sup> REGMI 4:(16).

<sup>29</sup> KTMV 2:52.

<sup>30</sup> REGMI 3:(57-58). On the basis of this inscription KTMV says that the bāhā was constructed at this time. The inscription does not say this, it says that an image of Akṣobhya was donated. This may have been donated at the time of the foundation of the bāhā, it may have been at the time of a renovation. KTMV 2:75.

<sup>31</sup> REGMI 3:(98) and Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak p. 20. Regmi reads the name of the vihāra as Caka Vihāra and Śākya reads it as Cakra, but it must surely be Naka.

<sup>32</sup> VRHAT-SUCĪ BAUDDHA 1:98-99. The colophon gives the name of the king as Jayasimhadeva, but there is no king by this name.

<sup>33</sup> VRHAT-SUCĪ BAUDDHA 1:100.

<sup>34</sup> KTMV 2:76.

<sup>35</sup> KTMV 2:73.

<sup>36</sup> REGMI 1:595.

<sup>37</sup> REGMI 3:(92).

<sup>38</sup> REGMI 3:(95).

<sup>39</sup> KTMV 2:76. This inscription dated N.S.667 and another dated 690 still exist but neither has been published.

<sup>40</sup> VRHAT-SUCĪ BAUDDHA 1:70-71. The editor reads the date as N.S.425 which is impossible because the colophon also states that it was copied in the joint reign of Ratna Malla and Indra Malla, so it must be 625.

<sup>41</sup> S&V, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> KTMV 2:83.

Bahis

<sup>1</sup> WRIGHT, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Śrīsvayambhū Mahācaitya (Kathmandu, 1098 N.S.), p. 528, 621.

<sup>3</sup> SLUSSER 2:map #7.

<sup>4</sup> Śākya, Śrīsvayambhū, p. 528.

<sup>5</sup> REGMI 3:(96-8). Several modern authors have given different Sanskrit names for this bahī: Khaitāṅga, Khoitanaka, Pradyotakīrti. But the name is clear enough on the copper-plate inscription. The donors are from Cika-nāma-suddhi-tolake and are evidently from Bikamā Bāhā. It is impossible to say whether this inscription refers to the foundation of this bahī or to a reconstruction of dilapidated buildings. It would appear to be the foundation of the bahī, but we have the tradition that it is the oldest bahī and a date of N.S.508 for Nāykan Bahī, more than a hundred years earlier. The Suryacandra Mahāvihāra mentioned in the inscription is unknown.

<sup>6</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> ŚAṅKARMĀN RĀJVAMŚĪ, 'Sthiti Mallako Pālako Vi. Sam. 1445 ko Māncandra Śākyaako Tāmrapatra ra Tyasko Aitihasik Vyakhya', Pūrṇimā 4:54-57. See also REGMI 3:(30).

<sup>8</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 147.

<sup>9</sup> SLUSSER 2:map #7.

<sup>10</sup> Pūrṇimā 4:58,16

<sup>11</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>12</sup> ABHLEKH, p. 586. There was a bāhā and a bahī in this area. Though all other informants identified the site of the Theravada monastery as the site of the bahī, Yogsiddhi Śākya of Makhan Bahī says that it was the site of the bāhā not the Bahī. In any case it is clear that

both were definitely in this same general area. It is not clear whether the Licchavi remains found in this area belonged to the bāhā or the bahī.

<sup>13</sup> D. C. Bhattacharyya, Iantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources (Delhi, 1974), p. 15,

<sup>14</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 2:106.

<sup>15</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 1:83.

<sup>16</sup> VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 2:97.

<sup>17</sup> Ian Alsop, a forthcoming article on Vana Ratna.

<sup>18</sup> I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla for the etymology of this word.

<sup>19</sup> Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 133; REGMI 4:(200).

<sup>22</sup> Bendall, p. 66. Bendall reads this as istalamyu which is surely a misreading for italampu.

<sup>23</sup> Jagadīs Candra Regmī, Nepālkā Dhārmik Itihās (Kathmandu, 2030 B.S.). p. 178.

<sup>24</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 19, #12.

<sup>25</sup> KTMV 2:107.

<sup>26</sup> RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 36, #6.

<sup>27</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚĪLĀLEKH, p. 81.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumari (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 47.



## Other Viharas

<sup>1</sup>This is the information given by the members of the saṅgha at Swayambhu, but Hemrāj Sakya says that they are given the Barechuyegu initiation before the large standing image of the Buddha to the northwest of the Mahācaitya. (Hemrāj Śākya, Śrīsvayambhū Mahācaitya [Kathmandu, 1098 N.S.], p. 531.) The name Pulān Syāngu means 'Old Swayambhu'; and Śāntikar Ācārya, whose original name, was Pracandadeva is supposed to have come from ancient Gauḍ in Bengal. The two names are intriguing, but there is not enough evidence to draw any conclusions.

<sup>2</sup>This is a curious arrangement and the only place in the Valley where the women are considered equal members of the saṅgha and actually serve as dya-pālās. According to informants this arrangement is only about twenty years old and no one could explain why this was done. Does it have something to do with the fact that their main duty is to perform the nitya pūjā in the Hārītī shrine?

<sup>3</sup>Sakya op.cit, p. 505. This is curious indeed and I don't know exactly what he means by this. Perhaps he means an iṣṭa devatā rather than a lineage deity.

<sup>4</sup>SLUSSER 1:276-77. The origin of the name Cā Bahī was first noted by Bāburām Ācārya and it is also remembered by many of the old people at Cā Bahī. Arguing from the similarity of the paleography of the plaques attached to the Cā Bahī stupa and a dated piece from the sixth century A.D. in the National Museum, Pal concludes that these plaques can safely be dated to the seventh or eighth century. (Pal, The Arts of Nepal 1:103-4.

<sup>5</sup>PETECH, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>7</sup>Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions.'

<sup>8</sup>Hemrāj Sakya gives a legend about the Mahasiddha. (Sakya, Svayambhū 603ff.) For the inscription see KĀNTIPUR ŚĪLALEKH, p. 131 and Sakya, op. cit, p. 605.

<sup>9</sup>Sākya, Śrīsvayambhū, p. 607.

<sup>10</sup>ABHILEKH, p. 163 ff.

<sup>11</sup>Pal, op. cit, p. 107-09 and Plate 172.

<sup>12</sup>This is the information given by the elders of the Sixteen Bahīs of Kathmandu. However, the people of Thām Bahī say that eighteen elders come--two each from the following bahīs: Cā Bahī, Dugañ Bahī, Nhāykañ Bahī, Cwākañ Bahī, Maru Bahī, Khusī Bahī, Bijāsa Bahī, Makhañ Bahī, Na Bahī. Hence no one comes from either Syangu Bahī or Kotu Cā Bahī. The other bahīs not represented actually have no saṅgha.

<sup>13</sup>This Dangu is not the same as Dangol.

<sup>14</sup>This is a good example of what happens when customary offerings and stipends become fixed at a monetary rate. Most offerings and stipends were traditionally specified as so much produce. Later many of these were changed to a fixed amount of money, cf. the 34 paise fines levied by the Ācārya Gūthī. At one time 60 paise would have bought enough firewood to cook a feast; today it will buy two boxes of matches.

<sup>15</sup>Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumari (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 39. Informants at Thām Bahī say she still comes during Guṇlā, but this is doubtful. People constantly report what is supposed to happen rather than what actually happens.

<sup>16</sup>Allen, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup>This is the account of the jātrā given by informants at Thām Bahī. Published accounts of this jātrā give a different explanation of its origin. They say that the jātrā commemorates the return from Lhāsā of Simha Sārtha Bāhu or alternately the sindūr jātrā which took place at the time of the coronation of Simha Sārtha Bāhu after he overcame the ogress who had killed the king. For example see Manavajra Vajracārya, Hāmro Cāḍ Parvahaṛūko Vivecana (Kathmandu, 2025 B.S.), p. 126-30.

<sup>18</sup>The image of Cakañ Dya (Dīpaṅkara) is like the usual Dīpaṅkara images, a half image so constructed that a man puts the image on like an over-sized mask and walks round with it. The route is interesting as it is a procession round the 'cities' of Suvarṇapraṇālī (Thātu Puiñ) and Kāntipur (Dathu Puiñ). It does not go into Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa (Kwathu Puiñ) at all and does not

visit Sikhamu Bāhā but only the site of the ancient caitya in front of it.

<sup>19</sup> WRIGHT, p. 84-5.

<sup>20</sup> WRIGHT, p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> WRIGHT 86-7. The story is an adaptation of the story of one of the eight miracles of Avalokitesvara as told in the Kāraṇḍavyūha (See SLUSSER 1:263 note 47). There are many versions of the story; I give the one from Wright because the borrowings from the original story are more obvious. In most Nepali versions Simha Sārtha Bāhu goes to Tibet, not Sri Lanka. In the original story the trader goes to Sri Lanka which is what Wright's story has, but then says he goes north to Sri Lanka. For other versions see Kesar Lal [Shrestha], Lore and Legend of Nepal (Kathmandu, 1966), p. 28-30; Man Mohan Sharma, Folklore of Nepal (New Delhi, 1978), p. 24-26; Karna Sakya and Linda Griffith, Tales of Kathmandu (Brisbane, 1980), p. 28-30. The name (Simha) Sārtha Bahu comes from the Sanskrit sāṛthavāha which means the leader of a trading caravan and is used in this sense in the Licchavi inscriptions. See ABHILEKH, p. 50-54 and 59-60.

<sup>22</sup> Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Atisa and Tibet (Delhi, 1981), p. 322.

<sup>23</sup> George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals (Delhi, 1979), p. 247.

<sup>24</sup> PETECH, p. 42, note 5.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 42-3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 42, note 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., note 5.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 41, note 6.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 351, 378-9.

<sup>32</sup> George Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvamin (Patna, 1959), p. 55-56.

<sup>33</sup> Hem Rāj Śākya, Nepāl Samskr̥tiya Mulukha (Lalitapur, 2512 Buddha Samvat), p. 44.

<sup>34</sup> Saphalya Amātya, 'Vikramasila Mahavihara and its Valuable Contents,' Rising Nepal, 14 Nov. 1975, p. II Supplement.

<sup>35</sup> Regmi surmises that Tham Bahī is the Hlam Vihāra referred to in two medieval inscriptions, but there is no evidence for this. REGMI 1:129.

<sup>36</sup> There are two very clear examples of this collective amnesia. The first is Phamtiñ Pā, a famous Nepali, who with his two brothers flourished shortly after the time of Atisa and about whom there is abundant material in the Blue Annals. The fame of this man was known all over Tibet and a large number of men came to study under him and receive initiations from his hands. The other example is Vana Ratna, an Indian whom the Tibetan call the Last Great Pandit. He spent many years in Nepal, went to Tibet and finally returned to Nepal retiring at Gopicaṇḍra Mahāvihāra (Pinthu Bahī) in Patan. Pinthu Bahī still exists but no one there has ever heard of Vana Ratna. Yet there exists a painting of Vana Ratna made the year after his death with a Newari inscription which explains who he was and the fact that he died at Gopicaṇḍra Mahāvihāra. (See the section on Pintu Bahī in Patan.) What this painting shows is that we can prove nothing from the silence of Newari sources. The positive Tibetan sources are always to be preferred to the Newar collective amnesia.

<sup>37</sup> PURṆIMĀ 45:8-9.

<sup>38</sup> Translated for me by Śāṅkarmān Rājvamsī from a manuscript of pūjā rituals in a private collection.

<sup>39</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 64-65.

<sup>40</sup> KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 125.

#### Defunct Vihāras

<sup>1</sup> KTMV 2:12.

<sup>2</sup> PETECH 35,36.

<sup>3</sup> KTMV 2:12

<sup>4</sup>RATNAKĀJĪ 3 p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>See for example Bikrama Jit Hasra, History of Nepal (Hosiarpur, 1970) 38-9.

Bhaktapur

<sup>1</sup>SLUSSER 2:pl. 457, 451; and 1:100-104.

<sup>2</sup>SLUSSER 1:101. Though it is clear that Anandadeva built a palace in Bhaktapur, not all scholars accept Slusser's contention that Bhaktapur was henceforth the capital. It may well be that in the late 'Thakuri' and early Malla period the kings had two centres, Patan and Bhaktapur. See for example Petech's reservations (PETECH p. 185, note 1). Even if this is the case, it seems clear that Bhaktapur was the orthodox Hindu centre.

<sup>3</sup>This statement is based on the testimony of informants in Bhaktapur who say that the shift of the Jyāpūs from Vajracarya priests to the use of Brahmans (often 'Parbate' Brahmans) dates to a time about fifty years ago when people found that the Brahmans offered their services for considerably less than what they had been traditionally paying to their Vajracarya priests.

<sup>4</sup>The following is an excerpt from a letter of Dr. Campbell, resident physician at the British Residency at the time of the earthquake of August 1833: 'The places east of Kathmandu have suffered most. Bhātgāon, a large town, has been almost completely destroyed: upwards of 1,000 houses have been levelled with the ground, and few have escaped serious injury; 300 souls have perished in this town alone.' 'A Century-old Catastrophe, Bihār's night of Terror 100 years ago,' in The Statesman Record of the Great Indian Earthquake, 1934 (Calcutta, 1934) p. 44. According to Gen. Brahma Shamsher's figures, in the earthquake of 1934, 2,359 houses within the city of Bhaktapur were levelled, another 2,263 badly damaged and 1,425 slightly damaged. 1,163 people within the city of Bhaktapur lost their lives. Brahma Shamsher J. B. Rāṇā, Nepālko Mahābhūkampa (Kathmandu, 1990 B.S.), p. 130-34.

<sup>5</sup>This account is based on information obtained from informants in Bhaktapur and on Samyak Ratna Vajracarya, Mallakālīn Bauddha Kalā Kṛti (Bhaktapur, 1099 N.S.), p. 4-8.

<sup>6</sup>For more details on this shrine and the cult of Avalokitesvara see John K. Locke, Karunamaya (Kathmandu, 1980) 387-91.

<sup>7</sup>See Samyak Ratna Upāsaka [Vajracārya], Khwapāde Bahābahiya Saṃkṣipta Paricaya (Bhaktapur, 2028 B.S.) p. 22. Further details were given to me by the members of the saṅgha of the bāhā, but as far as I know the details are from oral traditions; they have no further documents.

<sup>8</sup>Samyak Ratna Vajracārya, op. cit. p. 13; also see KTMV 2:232.

<sup>9</sup>See Karunamaya, p. 287.

<sup>10</sup>KTMV 2:227.

<sup>11</sup>KTMV 2:226.

<sup>12</sup>Samyak Ratna Upāsaka, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup>Samyak Ratna Vajracārya, Muni Vihārko Saṃkṣipta Paricaya (Bhaktapur, 2036 B.S.) p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>S&V, p. 131-34. The editors have read the name of the vihāra as Dharma Urtta Mahāvihāra. Urtta is not a Sanskrit word and some have preferred to interpret it as dharma uttama which would make good sense but does violence to the text dropping the 'i' and the syllable ha after the ma. Dharma uttara does less violence to the text and is intelligible if incorrect Sanskrit.

<sup>15</sup>Samyak Ratna Vajracārya, Malla Kālīn Bauddha Kalā, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup>VRHAT-SŪCĪ BAUDDHA 2:27.

<sup>17</sup>REGMI 4:(45).

<sup>18</sup>S&V p. 40.

<sup>19</sup>Samyak Ratna Upāsaka, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.9.

<sup>22</sup>REGMI 4:(45).

<sup>23</sup>Samyak Ratna Upāsaka, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.



<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> This account is based on Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumari (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 31-35.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 34-35.

<sup>28</sup> VRĪHAT SŪCĪ-BAUDDHA 2:110-11.

<sup>29</sup> Petech gives the date 537 for Catubrahma Vihāra in Bhaktapur (PETECH p. 164). This is based on the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Ākhyātarabakosā. However, if one examines the colophon as published in the Bir Library Catalogue (Vṛhatsūcīpatram, Vyākaraṇaviṣayakaḥ, p.6-7) it is evident that this is not a vihāra at all. The phrase is an epithet of king Jyotir Malla (catubrahmavihāracaraṇapatuḥ) 'one who rests in the four sublime states of Buddhist Philosophy'. This is one of about six lines of epithets applied to the king.

<sup>30</sup> Samyak Ratna Vajrācārya, Khwapāde etc., p. 21. I have tried to get hold of this manuscript but the people in Bhaktapur say the book has now been lost. This was confirmed by an oral communication from Samyak Ratna.

<sup>31</sup> S&V p. 232.

<sup>32</sup> S&V p. 234.

<sup>33</sup> REGMI 4:(161). Samyak Ratna has the Sanskrit names of these two bahīs reversed. Samyak Ratna Vajracarya, Kwāpāde, etc. p. 23 and Mallakālīn Bauddha Kalā Kṛti p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> S&V p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> Saṅkarmān Rājvaṁśī, Bhaktapur Śilālekh Sūcī (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.) p. 41.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 40-41.

#### Vihāras in Villages Near Bhaktapur

<sup>1</sup> RATNA KĀJĪ, p. 58-9. There was no king of Bhaktapur by the name of Suvarṇa Malla. In 633 Bhuvana Malla was the king of Bhaktapur.

<sup>2</sup> See Saṅkarmān Rājvaṁśī, Bhūmisambandhi Tamsūk Tāptra, Bhag Ek (Kathmandu, 2040B.S.), p.2. There are a large number of these documents from Thimi extant. Some of these have been

published in this volume; more are contained in the second and third volumes recently published.

<sup>3</sup> Hemrāj Śākya, Samyak Mahādān Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.) p. 28; REGMI 4:(32).

<sup>4</sup> Most of these have not yet been published, but some of them appear in Rājvaṁśī's two latest volumes.

<sup>5</sup> Saṅkarmān Rājvaṁśī, Bhaktapur Śilālekh Sūcī (Kathmandu, 2020), p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 30. Though the editor places this inscription at Dathu Bāhā it is actually as Jiswān Bāhā.

<sup>7</sup> KTMV 2:247.

<sup>8</sup> For a more detailed description of this shrine complex see Mary Slusser, Kathmandu (Kathmandu, n.d.) p. 13-23 and SLUSSER 1:278. Slusser has made a surprising error in the identification of the torāṇa whose main figure she identifies as Mahāmāyūrī, one of the Pañcarakṣā deities. The figure is clearly male not female and the symbols he holds in his hands do not correspond to the iconography of Mahāmāyūrī. The vehicle of the figure is a peacock which is the vehicle of Amitābha. As a result of this error she persists in referring to this temple as the temple of Mahāmāyūrī. It is always hazardous to identify a Buddhist temple in the Valley by the torāṇa. Though theoretically the torāṇa portrays the main deity in the shrine, it is evident from the present survey that this rule of thumb will more often than not lead one astray. In most of the bāhā shrines the main deity is Sakya Muni Buddha showing the bhūmiṣpa-rṣa mudrā (or Akṣobhya) but the torāṇa seldom corresponds to the deity inside.

<sup>9</sup> Slusser, Kathmandu p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography (Calcutta, 1968), p. 248-9. The descriptions of Vajrayoginī, Ugra Tārā and Mahācīna Tārā found in Bhattacharyya's book are based mainly on the Sādhana-mālā, those in Malle-mann's book on the Sādhana-mālā and the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī. It may well be that there were other iconographic texts that the image makers were using which have been lost to us.

<sup>11</sup> Slusser, Kathmandu p. 17.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>15</sup>The dya-pālās serve in the temple eight days and then return home on the ninth day, a very strange arrangement as no Newar ever returns home on the ninth day after his departure. This is considered highly inauspicious.

<sup>16</sup>ABHILEKH p. 323; see also Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, 'Guṃvihāra.' Madhuparka IV:12, p. 22-25 and Gautamvajra Vajrācārya, 'Licchavikālkā Pāñčvaṭa Aprakāśit Abhilekh' Pūrṇimā 9:9, footnote.

<sup>17</sup>VRHAT SŪCĪ-BAUDDHA 3:16.

<sup>18</sup>Rājvamsī, Bhaktapur p. 76-7.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>21</sup>For more details on this shrine see Karunamaya p. 364-72.

<sup>22</sup>Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Īek Bahādur Śhreṣṭha, Dolakhako Aitihasik Rūprekhā (Kirtipur, 2031 B.S.), p. 94.

<sup>23</sup>For more details on this shrine and its festival see Karunamaya p. 393-96.

<sup>24</sup>Vajracarya and Shrestha, op. cit. p. 94.





## Appendix I

### Statistics

#### Number of Institutions Surveyed

##### 1. Patan

Patan City Proper	166	
Villages Near Patan: Kirtipur, Cobhar, Bungamati, Chapagaon, Duru Khya, Baregaon, Pharping	19	
TOTAL		185

##### 2. Kathmandu

Kathmandu City (including Cabahal and Swayambhu)	113	
Defunct Institutions	17	
TOTAL		130

##### 3. Bhaktapur

Villages near Bhaktapur: Thimi, Sankhu, Banepa, Panauti, Khampu, Nala, Dolakha	25	
TOTAL		48

Total Number of Institutions Surveyed

363

## Main Bāhās

(A main bāhā or bahī is one where Barechuyegu initiations are performed by right; but note that in some of the bahīs they are no longer performed.)

## Patan

The 'Fifteen' Bāhās	18
The semi-independent branches of Kwā Bāhā	6
The Bahīs	25
Other Bāhās	3
Bāhās and Bahīs in villages: Bungamati, Duru Khya, Chapagaon, Baregaon	5
TOTAL	57

## Kathmandu

The Ācārya Gūṭhī	18
The Sakya Bāhās	10
The Bahīs	16
Other Bāhās	3
TOTAL	47

## Bhaktapur

Bhaktaur Bāhās	9
Bhaktapur Bahīs	0
Village Bāhās	9
TOTAL	18

Total number of main bāhās and bahīs

## Initiated Vajracaryas and Sakyas in the Valley

	Vajracaryas	Sakyas	Total
<b>Patan</b>			
The 'Fifteen' Bāhās	2,172	4,060	
The Bahīs		612	
Other Bāhās	23	126	
TOTAL			6,993
Patan Villages	110	258	
TOTAL			368
<b>Kathmandu</b>			
The Ācārya Gūṭhī	2,101	1,064	
Sakya Bāhās		1,306	
The Bahīs		189	
Other Bāhās		196	
TOTAL			4,856
<b>Bhaktapur</b>			
Bhaktaur Proper	720	1,043	
Bhaktapur Villages	568	479	
TOTAL			2,810

Total initiated Sakyas and Vajracaryas in the Valley: 15,027

(The total of the communities attached to the bāhās and bahīs would include this number plus their wives, unmarried daughters and uninitiated sons. Only an approximate number can be given here, but every adult male is married and most would have at least one unmarried daughter or uninitiated son. If one thus multiplies the number of initiated by three the total community would be approximatedly 45,081.

Total Vajracaryas in the Valley: 5,694 (37.9% of Total)

Total Sakyas in the Valley: 9,333 (62.1% of Total)

Vajracaryas are 43.3% of the total in Kathmandu, 31.3% in Patan plus the surrounding villages, and 45.8% in Bhaktapur and the surrounding villages.

The membership of the bahī saṅghas make up only 5.4% of the total.

Note: as noted in the General Introduction these figures are as accurate as could be obtained. Most institutions have accurate and up-to-date lists of their membership. A few were able to give only round numbers.



### Kwāpādya:

With one exception the kwāpādya is always a non-tantric deity, usually an image of the Buddha. About two thirds of the kwāpādyas are images of the Buddha seated in vajrāsana and showing the earth-touching gesture. This corresponds to the form of the transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya and has been identified by this name throughout the text. The next most popular image found is the standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā often identified locally as Maitreya. Three of the other transcendent Buddhas are occasionally found: Amitābha (17), Vaiṛocana (5), and Amoghasiddhi (1). Ratnasambhava is not found at all. One institution (the Kumārī Bāhā in Kathmandu), however, has images of all five Transcendent Buddhas in the kwāpādya shrine. There are seven images that are definitely Maitreya. There are twenty images of Padmapāni Lokeśvara and two of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara. Mañjuśrī is found only once. The one exception to the non-tantric rule is the kwāpādya of Waṃ Bāhā in Bhaktapur which is an image of Mahāvairocana.

Figures for the entire Valley show that the favorite direction for the shrine of the kwāpādya, and hence the image itself, to face is north. Well over half of the shrines face north with east the next popular direction followed by west. In Patan, however, the number facing east and north are about equal. No shrine faces south as this is considered to be inauspicious.

### Toranas:

Theoretically every kwāpādya shrine has a torapa over the doorway. All of the main bāhās and nearly all of the main bahīs have a torapa, but many of the branch bāhās do not, with the result that some 36% of the total number of institutions do not have a torapa. In many cases those without torapas did have one but, it fell into disrepair and was not replaced or has been stolen. Images set into torapas are one of the most vulnerable items for theft. So many have been stolen from the various doorways at the shrine of Jana Bāhā Dya in Kathmandu that they have now enclosed the entire shrine in an ironwork grille.

Of the motifs found on the torapas the most popular (55%) is some form of the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, the most common being Akṣobhya flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara. Many have an image of Akṣobhya (Buddha showing the earth-touching gesture) as the main figure. Other popular motifs are the five Buddhas, Vajrasattva, and Mahāvairocana or Dharmadhātu Vāgiśvara. Another fairly common motif in Kathmandu is the Nāmasaṅgīti. This is not found on torapas in either Patan or Bhaktapur.

### Lineage Deities

The lineage deity (degu/digu dya) is one of the most important factors in tracing the migration of people and the relationship between groups of people. People move from one place to another, but usually retain the memory of where their lineage deity is and, if convenient, return to the original place each year for the worship of this deity. If it is not convenient to return to the original place each year, they 'bring' the deity with them and set it up some place near their new residence, but return occasionally (often once every twelve years) to the original site. The following list gives all of the lineage deities of the communities attached to the bāhās and bahīs in the Valley. As noted in the General Introduction, the name of the deity is always problematic, so the place is probably a better indication of relationship than the name. Hence I have listed the lineage deities by place. The place given is the original site of the lineage deity, which may now be regularly worshipped at another place. A few communities have forgotten the original site of their deity, hence some of the Yogambaras worshipped at various places will have come from Mheypī or Kwā Bāhā in Patan. With very few exceptions, all the families of a saṅgha have the same lineage deity. The exceptions are indicated below. Only main bāhās are listed as branch bāhās have the same lineage deity as the main bāhā.

## 1. Sankhu--'Vajrayoginī'

(The sangha at Sankhu worship the enshrined caitya as their lineage deity and they say that all the people who come there to worship their lineage deity worship either the enshrined caitya or the caitya along the stairs leading to the shrine. However, many people who worship their diety in another place say that their lineage diety is 'Vajrayoginī at Sankhu'.)

Guṃ Bāhā, Sankhu

Waṃ Bāhā [89], Patan (The Vajracaryas only)

Nhū (Jhwā) Bāhā [10], Kathmandu

Dhwākā [6], Kathmandu

Gaṃ Bāhā [7], Kathmandu

Makhañ Bāhā [42], Kathmandu

Ituṃ Bāhā [44], Kathmandu

So Bāhā [77], Kathmandu

Ko Hitī Bāhā [31], Kathmandu

Syaṅgu Bahī [94], Kathmandu

Na Bahī [59], Kathmandu

Nhāykañ Bahī [84], Kathmandu

Cwākañ Bahī [85], Kathmandu

Arakhu Bahī [41], Kathmandu

Nhū Bāhā, Banepa (Deity worshipped said to be Yogambara)

Nhū Bāhā, Panauti (Diety worshipped said to be Yogambara.)

## 2. Enshrined Caitya at Kwā Bāhā, Patan

(The deity worshipped by the people of Kwā Bāhā is clearly the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard, but most people from other places identify their lineage diety as 'Yogambara at Kwā Bāhā'.)

Kwā Bāhā [59], Patan

Atha Bāhā [44], Patan

Yathā Bāhā [50], Patan

(Cūkā Bāhā [102], Patan)

Kyapu Bāhā [174], Kirtipur

Dhauga Bahī [49], Patan

Ikhā Bāhā [180], Chapagaon

Laskadya Bāhā [1], Bhaktapur

Ni Bāhā [2], Bhaktapur

Pasu Bāhā [10], Bhaktapur (Sakyas only)

Waṃ Bāhā [12], Bhaktapur

Ta Bāhā [1], Thimi

Digu Bāhā [2], Thimi

Yachiñ Bāhā [3], Thimi

Jiswāñ Bāhā [7], Thimi

## 1. Gṛhyeśvarī at Pasupatinath

Maka Bahī [45], Patan

Takse Bāhā [15], Kathmandu

Mū Bāhā [46], Kathmandu

Tadhañ Bāhā [49], Kathmandu (Deity identified as Heruka)

Ināco Bāhā [6], Bhaktapur

Tadhicheñ Bāhā [15], Bhaktapur

Tekhāco Bāhā [16], Bhaktapur

4. Swayambhū Mahācaitya

Dhum̃ Bāhā [73], Patan  
 Dau Bāhā [39], Patan  
 Sikhamu Bāhā [55], Kathmandu  
 Musuñ Bāhā (1) [89], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)  
 Musuñ Bāhā (2) [90], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)  
 Mikhā Bāhā [74], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)  
 Tamu Bāhā [28], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to standing Buddha to the west of the stūpa).

5. Dumjā Mahādya

Bū Bāhā [31], Patan (Sakyas of Na Bāhā only)  
 Gubhā Bāhā [65], Kathmandu (Sakyas only)  
 Siggha Bāhā [8], Kathmandu  
 Nagha Bāhā [9], Kathmandu  
 Bikamā Bāhā [66], Kathmandu

6. Yogāmbara at Mheypi

Baidya Bāhā [58], Patan  
 Bhiñche Bāhā [125], Patan  
 Bare Nanī, Baregaon  
 Kwā Bāhā [1], Kathmandu  
 Buṅga Bāhā [175], Bungamati  
 Syaṅgu Bāhā [105], Swayambhu

7. Yogāmbara at various places:

--near Dhumvarahi  
     Michu Bāhā [57] Patan  
 --at Kani Bāhā in Patan  
     Uku Bāhā [140], Patan  
     Yachu Bāhā [114], Patan  
     Ubā Bahī [139], Patan  
 --at Sunaguthi (south of Patan)  
     Guji Bāhā [152], Patan  
     Duru Khya Bāhā [179], Duru Khya  
 --at Ikhācheñ Bāhā in Patan  
     Kyapu Bāhā [174], Kirtipur  
 --at Guji Bāhā, Patan  
     Thapā Bahī [155], Patan  
 --at Naha Bāhā, Patan  
     Naha Bāhā [164], Patan

8. Āju-Ajimā at Khusī Bahī

Sawal Bāhā [50], Kathmandu  
 Jana Bāhā [45], Kathmandu  
 Khusī Bahī [92], Kathmandu

9. Cakrasamvara at various places:

--at Āna Bāhā in Patan  
     Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62], Patan



- at Belakhu Bāhā in Patan
  - Ta Bāhā [99], Patan
- at Ibā Bahī, Patan
  - Ibā Bahī [97], Patan
- at Guita Bahī, Patan
  - Guita Bahī [122], Patan (The non-bahī saṅgha)
- at Duntu Bahī, Patan
  - Dunti Bahī [63], Patan
  - Pintu Bahī [64], Patan
- at Konti Bahī, Patan
  - Konti Bahī [68], Patan
- at Nhāykañ Bahī, Patan
  - Nyāykañ Bahī [29], Patan
  - Cithun (Kyapu) Bahī [168], Kirtipur
- at Kwecwangu Puco Bahī, Patan
  - Kwecwangu Puco Bahī [166], Patan
- at Buṅga Bahī, Bungamati
  - Bunga Bahī [177], Bungamati
- at Wā Bahī, Chapagaon
  - Wā Bahī [187], Chapagaon

10. Various deities at different places:

- Mahāmañjuśrī, behind the Swayambhū Mahācaitya
  - Mū Bāhā [18], Patan
- 'Mahādyā' near Koteswar
  - Wañ Bāhā [89], Patan
- 'Yogini' at Jyo Bāhā
  - Jyo Bāhā [92], Patan
- 'Ganesh' at shrine near Su Bāhā
  - Su Bāhā [118], Patan
- Matu Bhairava, Lagan Khel, Patan
  - Taṅga Bāhā [103], Patan
- Padmapāni Lokeśvara at Phandole, Patan
  - Ha Bāhā [24], Patan (Vajracarya lineages only)
- 'Vaisnavi', at Bakhan near Kirtipur
  - Bū Bāhā [31], Patan
- Padmapāni Lokeśvara at Si Bāhā
  - Si Bāhā [8], Patan
- Caitya at Guita Bahī Patan
  - Gustala Bahī [124], Patan
- Vajravarahi at I Bahī
  - I Bahī [78], Patan
- Vajravarahi at Vajravarahi shrine south of Chapagaon
  - Cikañ Bahī [83], Patan
  - Pasu Bāhā [10], Bhaktapur (Vajracaryas only)
- Vasundharā at Te Bāhā
  - Te Bāhā [23], Kathmandu
- Āju-Ajimā at Tadhāñ Bāhā
  - Jana Bāhā [45], Kathmandu (Sakya Lineages only)
- Enshrined caitya at Lagañ Bāhā
  - Lagañ Bāhā [80], Kathmandu
- Bisankhu Narayana, near Godavari
  - Gubhā Bāhā [65], Kathmandu (Vajracaryas only)
- Namo Buddha, beyond Panauti

Iku Bāhā [76], Kathmandu  
 'Dharmaketu' at Maru Bahī  
 Maru Bahī [35], Kathmandu  
 Padmapāni Lokesvara at Ca Bahī Stūpa  
 Thatu Cā Bahī [98], Kathmandu  
 Jambu Raja at Kothu Cā Bahī  
 Kotu Cā Bahī [98], Kathmandu  
 'Vajryogini' at a place called Bhoti Pukhu  
 Akhan Bāhā [3], Bhaktapur  
 'Dharmapala' at Kamal Pokhari east of Bhaktapur  
 Tom Bāhā [8], Bhaktapur  
 Dharmadhatu Vagisvara at Thatu Bahī, Bhaktapur  
 Tathu Bahī [17], Bhaktapur  
 'Phay-kwā-dya' at a place called Binha-ga west of Swayambhu  
 Asan Bāhā [17], Kathmandu  
 Mahābū Bāhā [21], Kathmandu

11. Unnamed deity at site of bāhā or bahī, unless otherwise indicated

Co Bāhā [167], Cobhar  
 Ha Bāhā [24], Patan (Sakya lineage only)  
 Hyana Bāhā [116], Patan (Worshipped at Bāl Kumārī Temple)  
 Yoku Bāhā [40], Patan (Worshipped at shrine on top of Nagarjuna hill northwest of Kathmandu.)  
 Bare Nanī [185], Bungamati (Worshipped at the edge of the village.)  
 Yātā Bāhā [86], Kathmandu  
 Makhañ Bahī [43], Kathmandu  
 Cā Bahī-Mañju Bāhā [102], Kathmandu  
 Pantiyā Bāhā, Panauti

### Early Dates

Following is a chronological list of the earliest confirmed dates from contemporary sources found for still existing vihāras. If the date is the date of foundation of the vihāra this is indicated by an asterisk (\*). In most cases the date given is not the foundation date, hence the vihāra is older than the date given. All we know is that it existed at the time it was mentioned. Only one existing foundation can be traced with any degree of certainty to the Licchavi period. The list goes from the earliest dates down to N.S. 600 (A.D.1480-81) almost at the end of the reign of Yakṣa Malla (who died in N.S.602). After this date there are references to almost all of the main bāhās and bahīs. Many of the branches were founded after this time.

A.D. 607-8 (Samvat 32) Guñ Bāhā, Sankhu

(All the following dates are Nepal Samvat which began in October of A.D.880)

N.S. 144 Guṭa Bahī [122], Patan  
 161 Thañ Bahī [96], Kathmandu  
 165 Tadhañ Bāhā [49], Kathmandu  
 182 Su Bāhā [118], Patan  
 191 Buṅga Bāhā [175], Bungamati  
 202 Kwā Bāhā [59], Patan  
 313 Iku Bāhā [76], Kathmandu  
 239 Uku Bāhā [140], Patan  
 245 Taṅga Bāhā [103], Patan

- 262 Ha Bāhā [24], Patan  
 265 Te Bāhā [23], Kathmandu  
 327\* Gañ Bāhā [7], Kathmandu  
 (327 Dhwākā Bāhā [6], Kathmandu -- by inference from Gam Baha)  
 361 Itum Bāhā [44], Kathmandu  
 372 Puco Bahī [165], Patan  
 373 Gujī Bāhā [152], Patan  
 457 Nhū Bāhā [48], Patan  
 470 Ibā Bahī [78], Patan  
 479 Pim Bāhā [19], Patan  
 492 Sikhamu Bāhā [55], Kathmandu  
 501-15 Lagañ Bāhā [80], Kathmandu (i.e. during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla)  
 502 Tārā Nanī (Itum Bāhā) [44c], Kathmandu  
 508\* Nhāykañ Bahī [84], Kathmandu  
 509 Si Bāhā [8], Patan  
 511 Pintu Bahī [64], Patan  
 511 Ubā Bahī [139], Patan  
 513\* Syaṅgu Bahī [94], Kathmandu  
 520 Nākhācūk [51], Patan  
 531 Dugañ Bahī [22], Kathmandu  
 536 Cikañ Bahī [83], Patan  
 538 Kinu Bahī [100], Patan  
 537\* Ibā Bahī [97], Patan  
 547 Ta Bāhā [99], Patan  
 547 Ū Bāhā [31], Patan  
 548 Mimnanī Bāhā [68], Kathmandu  
 549 Bīkamā Bāhā [66], Kathmandu  
 550 Bhinche Bāhā [125], Patan  
 553 Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62], Patan  
 561 Wañ Bāhā [89], Patan  
 567 Mū Bāhā [18], Patan  
 577 Nāg Bāhā (=Vitilan Vihāra) [56], Patan  
 590 Jana Bāhā [45], Kathmandu  
 594 Gubhā Bāhā (if = Wañ Bāhā) [66], Kathmandu  
 600 Musum Bāhā (1) [89], Kathmandu





# Patan

Code:

MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal Mandala

KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed., Kathmandu Valley

SKT=Sanskrit List obtained from Vajracarya of Patan

G&S=Niels Gutschow and Hemraj Shakya, 'The Monasteries (Bāhā and Bahī) of Patan,'

S=Hemrāj Śākya, Nepal Bauddha Vihāra wa Grantha Sūci

Note: MS, KTMV and G&S lists are accompanied with maps. The correlation is between my map and their maps, not between their list of names and my list of names. In some cases one or other author has a different name for a vihāra or has interchanged names:-

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	G&S	S
1	51	P/56	132	68	75
2	52	P/66	131	71	79
3	61	P/52	122	65	71
4	60	P/53	123	66	72
5	62	P/51	X	59	65
6	58	P/124	124	67a	73
7	59	X	125	67b	74
8	55	P/69	128	74	82
9	53	P/70	129	75	X
10	57?	P/68	130	73	81
11	X	X	X	X	X
12	63	P/48	X	X	83
13	64	P/49	52(?)	X	X
14	54	P/71	127	76	84
15	3	P/73	137	77	85
16	X	X	X	79	87
17	4	P/74	138	78	86
18	5	P/76	139	80	88
19	X	P/75	X	X	X
20	6	P/78	140	81	89
21	7	P/81	141	82	90
22	71	P/36	111	X	X
23	70	P/43	116	57	62
24	74	P/39	114	54	59
CKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	G&S	S

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	G&S	S
25	73	P/38	X	X	X
26	72	P/26	X	53	58
27	87	P/30	X	X	X
28	83	P/23	103	47	51
29	85	P/14	102	45	49
30	88	P/8	101	44	X
31	69	P/44	117	60	66
32	65	P/47	121	64	70
33	66	X	119	62	68
34	76	P/41	113	50	54
35	68	P/46	120	63	69
36	67	P/45	118	61	67
37	75	P/40	109	55	60
38	77	P/42	112	58	63
39	84	P/22	104	48	52
40	81	P/19	105	52	53
41	78	P/18	110	49	57
42	80	P/20	108	56	61
43	79	P/21	107	51	55
44	20	P/87	147	87	95
45	24	P/88	148	88	96
46	26	P/90	X	92	99
47	27	X	150	91	98
48	33	P/92	6	94	101
49	34	P/114	7	105	114
50	8	P/83	142	83	91
51	22	P/86	145	85	93
52	21	X	X	86	94
53	23	P/85	144	84	92
54	25	P/89	149	89	97
55	X	X	X	X	X
56	28	X	69	93	100,101,102
57	31	P/110	161	102	111
58	29	X	162	103	112
59	32	P/111	1	104	113
60	30	P/108	159	101	110
61	X	P/94	X	X	X
62	9	P/95	156	96	107
63	10	P/96	153	97	104
64	11	P/97	154	98	105
65	12	P/98	155	99	106
66	13	X	X	95	103
67	14	P/102	X	100	109
68	15	P/101	158	100b	108
69	16	X	X	106	X
70	36	P/144	10	109	119
71	38	X	39	107	117
72	X	X	X	X	X
73	37	P/146	11	110	120
74	NO#	X	X	153	X
75	19	P/154	13	111	122
76	19	P/154	14	112	123
77	19	P/154	15	113	124



LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	B&S	S
78	18	P/155	16	114	125
79	17	P/156	17	115	126
80	39	P/170	24	X	116
81	41	P/164	20	118	129
82	42	P/163	19	117	128
83	43	P/162	18	116	127
84	40	P/169	22	121	132
85	35	X	108	X	118
86	44	P/165	21	119	130
87	47	P/167	23	120	131
88	45	P/173	X	123	134
89	48	P/174	29	124	135
90	47	X	30	126	137
91	49	X	X	125	136
92	50	P/177	31	127	138
93	86	P/267	88	32	32
94	X	P/268	X	46	50
95	X	P/13	X	X	48
96	X	X	X	X	X
97	90	P/273	89	34	34
98	89	P/272	90	33	33
99	11	P/5	96	38	39
100	110	P/7	100	43	47
101	112	P/3	95	37	38
102	114	P/280	93	36	37
103	115	P/278	91	35	35
104	92	X	85	30	30
105	91	P/263	83	28	28
106	93	X	86	31	31
107	94	P/264	84	29	29
108	95	P/253	32	128	139
109	123	X	X	136	X
110	98	X	33	129	140
111	124	P/184	37	133	144
112	125	P/183	36	132	143
113	126	P/182	35	131	142
114	127	P/181	34	130	141
115	128	P/188	38	134	145
116	129	P/189	39	135	X
117	130	P/190	X	137	X
118	100	P/192	41	138	148
119	101	P/194	X	X	X
120	99	P/193	40	139	147
121	102	P/205	43	140	153
122	105	P/196	44	145	150
123	104	P/197	45	144	151
124	103	P/198	46	143	152
125	106	P/206	47	152	154
126	109	X	X	X	X
127	X	P/210	48	141	156
128	108	P/207	49	X	149(?)
129	107	P/208	42(?)	142	156
130	132	P/222	53	147	159

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	G&S	S
131	155	P/216	51	146	158
132	153	P/223	54	148	160
133	152	P/224	55	149	161
134	131	P/232	64	X	7
135	138	P/234	63	6	6
136	139	P/233	X	7	X
137	140	P/231	62	4	5
138	141	P/230	61	3	4
139	151	P/228	60	5	3
140	150	P/226	57	1	1
141	149	P/227	58	2	2
142	X	P/225	56	150	X
143	147	P/235	65	8	8
144	148	P/236	X	9	9
145	146	P/237	66	11	11
146	145	P/238	67	10	10
147	144	P/239	68	12	12
148	143	P/240	69	13	13
149	142	P/241	70	14	14
150	137	P/242	71	15	15
151	X	P/246	72	16	16
152	134	P/249	73	17	17
153	X	X	X	X	X
154	135	P/248	74	18	18
155	136	P/244	75	19	19
156	133	P/245	76	20	20
157	122	P/295	77	21	21
158	120	P/256	78	22	22
159	121	P/257	79	23	23
160	X	X	X	X	X
161	119	P/259	166	24	24
162	118	P/260	80	25	25
163	117	P/261	81	26	26
164	116	P/262	82	27	27
165	1	P/64	133	70	77
166	2	P/62	134	69	76
167	X	X	99	39	141
168	X	Ki/8	164	155	42
169	X	X	X	X	X
170	X	X	X	X	X
171	X	Ki/12	X	X	X
172	X	Ki/11	X	X	X
173	X	X	X	X	X
174	X	Ki/1	103	X	X
175	X	Bi/1	X	X	40, 45
176	X	Bi/4	X	X	46
177	X	Bi/3	165	42	44
178	X	X	X	156	X
179	X	X	X	X	X
180	X	Ca/3	X	40	X
181	X	Ca/4	98	X	43
182	X	Ba/1	X	156	165
183					

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SKT	G&S	S
184	X	V-MZ 22.1	X	X	X
185	X	X	X	X	X

## Kathmandu

## Codes:

KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed., Kathmandu ValleyS=Hemraj Sakya, Nepal Bauddha Vihara wa Grantha Suci

B=Official list for Baha Puja.

MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal MandalaRK=Ratnakaji Vajracarya and Bijayaratna Vajracarya, Nepa Deya Viharaya Taca

LOCKE	KTMV	S	B	MS	RK
1.	K/14	7	26	21	1/ page 1
2.	K/16	9	24	4	3/21
3.	K/17	8	25	3	2/21
4.	K/21	12	27	7	4/21
5.	K/22	X	X	6	5/21
6.	K/25	14	28	12	6/21
7.	K/27	13	29	11	7/21
8.	K/28	10	30	9	8/21
9.	K/30	11	31	10	9/21
10.	K/35	20	32	13	10/21
11.	K/39	18	33	14	4/21
12.	K/42	15	36	16	12/21
13.	K/43	22	34	17	13/21
14.	K/44	17	35	18	14/22
15.	K/47	27	37	19	1/23
16.	K/48	21	56	22	2/23
17.	K/49	29	57	21	2/24
18.	K/53	28	58	20	4/24
19.	K/56	30	39	X	X
20.	K/58	31	55	23	6/24
21.	K/59	32	54	X	7/24(?)
22.	K/62	39	46	44	38/26
22a.	X	113	39	X	39/26
23.	K/63	88	45	45	41/26
24.	K/65	89	X	X	41/26
25.	K/75	110	44	64	23/30
26.	K/76	56	43	93	16/29
27.	K/80	83	110	86	38/30
28.	K/81	X	X	78	X
29.	K/82	84	X	79	28/30
30.	K/84	80	111	77	X
31.	K/88	85	112	71	X
32.	K/87	X	X	X	X
33.	K/91	86	113	70	38/31



LOCKE	KTMV	S	B	MS	RS
34.	K/96	64	116	48	9/28
35.	K/99	42	117	46	5/27
36.	K/102	19	114	26	19/25
37.	K/104	37	X	29A	21/25
38.	K/105	23	120	29	20/25
39.	K/106	X	121	27	22/25
40.	K/107	X	X	28	23/25
41.	K/114	24	122	30	17/24
41a.	X	112	X	X	18/24
42.	K/119	37	67	32	25/25
43.	K/148	38	66	33	26/25
44.	K/122	25	123	31	11/24
44a.	K/120	X	X	X	5/24
44b.	K/121	X	X	X	14/224
44c.	K/123	X	124	X	12/24
44d.	K/124	X	X	X	13/124
45.	K/129	26	64	24	10/24
46.	K/136	36	49	35	29/25
47.	K/140	34	51	37	31/25
48.	K/141	35	52	38	32/125
49.	K/142	33	53	39	33/25
50.	K/143	40	48	41	35/26
51.	K/144	41	X	42	34/25
52.	K/145	117	47	43	37/21
53.	K/147	91	65	34	27/25
54.	K/185	43	70	47	3/27
55.	K/203	44	71	49	1/27
56.	K/204	45	72	50	2/27
57.	K/206	47	73	51	6/27
58.	K/209	49	74	52	7/27
59.	K/210	51	76	63	10/29
60.	K/211	52	X	X	11/29
61.	K/212	53	75	59	?
62.	K/221	65	83	53	10/29
63.	K/215	54?	77	58	X
64.	K/216	55?	78	57	7/29
65.	K/217	41	92	79	1/28
66.	K/219	58	81	55	4/28
67.	K/220	59	79	56	17/29
68.	K/218	61	80	61	3/28
69.	K/223	X	84?	60	8/29
70.	K/222	83	X	54	6/29
71.	K/224	61	85	68	13/29
72.	K/225	63	86	67	14/29
73.	K/231	X	88	73	12/28
74.	K/233	78	89	74	24/30
75.	K/234	79	90	75	22/29
76.	K/238	70	93	76	18/29
77.	K/236	73	94?	77	15/29
78.	K/239	69	X	X	X
79.	K/240	46	95	80	20/29
80.	K/243	74	98	82	25/30
81.	K/242	75	96	61	26/30

LOCKE	KTMV	S	B	MS	RK
82.	K/241	X	97	X	28/30?
83.	K/247	76	102	83	29/30
84.	K/245	95	100	84	31/30
85.	K/246	108	101	85	32/30
86.	K/248	77	103	90	30/30
87.	K/250	60	104	89	27/30
88.	K/251	46?	109	X	36/30
89.	K/254	82	106	88	39/31
90.	K/255	67	X	(88)	40/31
91.	K/256	68	107	87	(40)/31
92.	K/319	87	114	65	45/31
93.	K/320	5	18	#4 Map 7	12/19
94.	K/324	111	7	Figure 27 h	2/19
95.	K/335	4	15	X	8/19
96.	K/9,10	6	21	1	1/20
97.	MZ4.4	72	23	#5 Map 6	3/23
98.	MZ4.3	X	90	#3 Map 6	2/23
99.	K/294	16	40	5	3/23
100.	K/261	X	X	X	X
101.	X	44?	108	X	35/30?
102.	MZ4.1	90	X	Figure 29 a	1/22
103.	X	X	17?	X	9/19
104.	X	X	16	X	11/19
105.	K/322	1	11	X	3/19
106.	X	X	X	X	22/5
A.	(K/192)	X	X	X	4/27
B.	X	81	X	X	11/28
C.	X	X	X	X	36/26
D.	X	X	X	X	X
E.	X	X	X	X	X
F.	K/78	X	109	X	43/31
G.	(K/138)	92	50	X	30/25
H.	X	X	X	X	46/31
I.	X	48	X	X	X
J.	X	36	X	X	4/20
K.	X	X	X	X	2/20
L.	K/7	X	20	X	3/20
M.	X	98	X	X	5/23
N.	X	30	X	X	X
O.	X	93	X	X	24/25
P.	X	21?	X	X	X
Q.	K/287	X	42	X	40/26

## Bhaktapur

Code:

MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal Mandala.KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed, Kathmandu ValleySAMYAK=Samyakratna Upasaka [Vajracarya], Khwapade Bahabahiya Samksipta ParacayaS=Hemraj Sakya, Nepal Bauddha Vihara wa Grantha SuciRK=Ratnakaji Vajracarya & Bijayaratna Vajracarya, Nepal Deya Biharya Taca

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SAMYAK	S	RK
1	5	B/57	16	15	19
2	6	B/56	13	6	17
3	8	B/49	12	5	16
4	11	B/38	10	X	11
5	12	B/35	9	12	10
6	13	B/32	7	4	8
7	14	B/33	8	7	9
8	16	B/26	3	1	3
9	21	X	5	X	5
10	19	B/22	2	2	2
11	20	B/21	1	X	20
12	17	B/20	6	11	7
13	22	X	4	14	4(?)
14	X	X	X	16	18
15	10	B/40	11	3	12
16	3	B/58	X	13	15
17	1	B/61	14	9	14
18	2	B/59	15	8	13
19	23	X	X	X	X
20	15	X	X	10	X
21	24	X	X	18	X
22	7	X	X	X	X
23	X	X	X	X	6

## Thimi

1	X	Ti/12	X	X	1 p.59
2	X	Ti/6	X	X	2 p.60
3	X	X	X	X	3
4	X	X	X	X	4
5	X	X	X	X	5

LOCKE	MS	KTMV	SAMYAK	S	RK
6	X	X	X	X	6
7	X	Ti/8	X	X	7
8	X	X	X	X	8
9	X	X	X	X	9
Sankhu					
1	X	V-MZ 8	X	X	1
2	X	X	X	X	2
3	X	X	X	X	9
4	X	X	X	X	8
5	X	X	X	X	3
6	X	X	X	X	5
7	X	X	X	X	4
8	X	X	X	X	7
9	X	X	X	X	6
Banepa					
1	X	X	X	X	1 p. 60
2	X	X	X	X	2 p. 60
Panauti					
1	X	X	X	X	1 p. 61
2	X	X	X	X	2 P. 61
Khampu					
1	X	X	X	X	1 p. 60
Nala					
1	X	Ni/2	X	X	1 p. 60
Dolakha					
1	X	X	X	X	X



## Appendix III

### Defunct Viharas Known from Contemporary Sources

Contemporary sources--inscriptions, manuscript colophons, palm-leaf land deeds, copper plates, thyāsaphūs and chronicles--give the names of vihāras which no longer exist. Following is a list of such vihāras that have come to light from the Licchavi period down to N.S.700. N.S.700 was chosen as a cut-off date, because after that date there is a plethora of material which gives Newari names of many vihāras (bāhāra/bāhāla) which are simply residences of lay people, usually Shresthas (bhāro) of Patan, or the name of a section of the city which may or may not have had a vihāra at one time. To continue the list beyond N.S.700 would produce a very long list of highly suspect references. The earlier references are clearer and most often give a Sanskrit name which is a clear indication of a true vihāra (i.e. an institution to which is attached a community of Sakyas and Vajracaryas rather than a residence of lay people), or mention bhikṣus, śākyabhikṣus, or vajrācāryas who live in the vihāra. The list gives the name of the vihāra, the place (if known) and the source for the reference. In most cases secondary sources are indicated as these will be more readily accessible to the reader. For the scholar the secondary sources indicate the primary source.

#### Abbreviations:

ABHILEKH -- Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, Licchavikālkā Abhilekh.  
GV -- Gopālarājavamsāvalī  
HRS -- Hem Raj Sakya, Śivadeva Saṃskārita Śrī Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra Sthita Tālpatra Abhilekh  
KĀNITPUR ŚILĀLEKH -- Śahkarmān Rājvamsī, Kāntipur Śilālekh Sūcī  
PETECH -- Mediaeval History of Nepal  
PL -- Unpublished Palm-leaf land deeds  
REGMI -- Medieval Nepal  
VRHAT SŪCĪ-BAUDDHA -- Śrī Nepāla Rājkiya Vīrpustakālayasthapustakanāma vrhatsūcīpatra, Bauddhaviṣayakaḥ. Three Parts.

Licchavi Period ca A.D. 300-880

#### 1. Viharas known from Licchavi Inscriptions

Māna Vihāra -- Inscription at Svayambhu, no date, assigned to time of Manadeva (A.D.464-505). ABHILEKH p. 74.

Gum Vihāra (=the current Gum Baha Sankhu)

Māna Vihāra

Rāja Vihāra

Kharjurikā Vihāra

Madhyama Vihāra -- Inscription in Harigaun dated Samvat 32 (A.D.607-8) ABHILEKH p. 320-24.  
(The inscription also mentions a class of vihāras: samānya vihāra ['ordinary vihāras'] which seems to be opposed to those founded by a king.)

Śivadeva Vihāra (Probably located in Patan)

Mānadeva Vihāra

Kharjurikā Vihāra

Madhyama Vihāra

Abhayaruci Vihāra

Vārtakalyaṇagupta Vihāra

Caturbhāṭaṇasana Vihāra

Rāja Vihāra -- Inscription at Yāg Bāhāl in Patan dated Samvat 103 (A.D.678-9). ABHILEKH p. 496-8.

Śivadeva Vihāra

Kharjurikā Vihāra -- Inscription at Vajraghara, Paṣupatināth dated Samvat 103 (A.D.678-9). ABHILEKH p. 499-501.

Puṣpavātika Vihāra -- Inscription at Cyasal Tole in Patan dated Samvat 137 (A.D.712-3).

. . .jivavarma Vihāra

. . .vihāra -- Inscription at Naksal Narayancaur undated but assigned to the time of Jayadeva II (c A.D.712-32). ABHILEKH 563-9.

## 2. Vihāras referred to in the Gopālarājavamsāvalī during the Licchavi Period.

Guṃ Vihāra (Guṃ Bāhā, Sankhu) GV 20 b:5 (Time of Mānadeva I)

Sināgu Vihāra Caitya Bhaṭṭāraka (=Syaṅgu Vihāra, i.e. Swayambhu). GV 20 b:2-3.

Māna Vihāra GV 21 a:1.

Rājavihāra GV 21 a:3; 22 b:1 (time of Amsuvarma)

Phuto Vihāra GV 21 b:2 (Time of a Gunakāmadeva placed in the chronicle before Amsuvarma.

Depāla Vihāra GV 22b:3.

## Post Licchavi Period N.S.1-700 (A.D.880-1580-81)

N.S. 40	Mahāvatiḡgvala Vihāra	Patan	PETECH p. 32.
121	Vijaya Gupta Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 1.
121	Jayabhimāna Mahāvihāra	Patan	HRS p. 1.
128	Hlām (or Hlām) Vihāra (Also N.S. 135)	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 36. PETECH p. 137)
176	Vartta Kalyaṇaguptena Karite Sugatalaya (Also N.S. 252)	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 44. HRS p. 12.)
183	Mānadeva Mahāvihāra	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 48.
186	Tejamati Mahāvihāra	Patan	HRS p. 3.
188	Parinirvāṇa Mahāvihāra (Also N.S. 245 (Also N.S. 284	Patan	HRS p. 4. HRS p. 10.) Vihāra Sūcī) Buddha 1:45-6. HRS p. 19, 20, 22.)
	(Also N.S. 292, 293, 295		
192	Mahārāja Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 5.

192	Bhoginī Madhyama Mahāvihāra (Also N.S. 235)	Patan	HRS p. 5. HRS p. 6.
194	Hṛdayalakṣmī Harṣākara Gupta Mahāvihāra	Patan	HRS p. 5.
198	Rāghava Vihāra	Patan	PETECH p. 47.
202	Cakavati Mahāvihāra	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 47.
219	Yetho Vihāra (Also referred to under dates 425, 457)	Kathmandu	GV 31 a:5
224	Udaya Lakṣmī Harṣākara Gupta Mahāvihāra (Possibly the same as Hṛdayalakṣmī above) (Also N.S. 292)	Patan	HRS p. 6  HRS p. 19)
225	Kīrttipuṇya Mahāvihāra (May be either Lagañ Bāhā or Nhāykañ Bahī in Kathmandu)	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 52.
235	Sivadeva Saṃskārīta Śrī Maṇipura Jaiva Mahāvihāra (Also N.S. 304 (Also N.S. 331	Patan	HRS p. 7. HRS p. 23.) HRS p. 26)
235	Vandhava Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 7.
249	Mahendravarma . . . vihāra (Also N.S. 273	Patan	HRS p. 11. HRS p. 16.
250	Vṛ Vihāra	Patan	PETECH p. 57.
261	Busiñcheñ Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 13.
262	Manikr[ta]jaiva Mahāvihāra (Same as above under N.S.235?) (Also N.S. 272, 273	Patan	HRS p. 14  HRS p. 15, 17.)
262	Uttara Vihāra (The resident of this <u>vihāra</u> is one Śrī Jaya Palā Varma. There are numerous references throughout the early period to this name or Manigalottara Vihāra/Mahāvihāra). In the earlier references the inhabitants are always these Varmas or Pradhananga Mahapatras, never a Bhikṣu or Sakyabhikṣu. In later references it is clear that Manigalottara Vihāra is the name for the whole northern section of Patan and of itself has nothing to do with a <u>vihāra</u> .)	Patan	HRS p. 14.
262	Matigalaca Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 14.
282	Maṇidharajiva Mahāvihāre Piñhava Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 17
293	Citra Vihāra (Also N.S. 494, 496	Patan (?)	PETECH p. 68. PETECH p. 131)
306	Yitho Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 24
306	Dakṣiṇa Vihāra (What was said above about Uttara Vihāra applies also to Dakṣiṇa Vihāra which came to signify the whole southern section of Patan.)	Patan	HRS p. 24
306	Datho Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 24
309	Taliṅgeśvara Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 25
309	Livī Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 25
321	Padmapabhu Mahāvihāra	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 80.
330	Mānasīmha Mahāvihāra	Patan	HRS p. 25
330	Ka Vihāra (?)	Patan	HRS p. 26
331	Mānako Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 26
331	Niva Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 26.
331	Nyaipi Vihāra	Patan	HRS p. 27
403	Ko Vihāra (There are numerous references to Ko Vihāra from this date forward; it was situated in the northern section of Patan near I Bahī.)	Patan	REGMI 3:130
420	Khurī (or Bakhurī) Bahīri	Place Unknown	GV 41 a:1
444	Yodyam Bahīri	Place Unknown	GV 45 a:2
448	Pula Bahīri	Patan	GV 46 a:3
450	Majhim Bāhāra	Banepa	GV 46 b:3
457	Anata Vihāra	Place Unknown	REGMI 1:562
473	Yotho Bāhāra	Place Unknown	GV 53 b:1-2

476	Yokhāccha Vihāra (Also N.S. 491 (Also N.S. 499	Patan	PETECH p. 123 PETECH p. 130) PETECH p. 132)
494	Kāraṇḍa Vihāra (Also N.S. 533, 598, 604, 609	Patan	PETECH p. 131 PL
500	Yodyam Yantho Bahīrī	Place Unknown	GV 59 a:2
501	Cā Vihāra (Also N.S. 538	Ca Bahil (?)	PETECH p. 132 PETECH p. 164)
501	Mande Bāhāra	Place Unknown	GV 60 a:3
503	Yambatunum Vihāra	Bhakatpur (?)	GV 62 a:4
511	Jaitravara Mahāvihāra	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 153
512	Blūñ Vihāra	Place Unknown	PETECH p. 141
515	Puneśvara Vihāra	Patan	PETECH 142
515	Dhaniśva Vihāra	Patan	PL
515	Cakala Vihāra	Patan	PL
521	Yethañ Bahīrī	Place Unknown	PL
535	Yothā Vihāra (Also N.S. 538	Patan	PETECH p. 163 PETECH p. 164)
540	Yatradevī Mahāvihāra	Kathmandu	PETECH p. 164
548	Yo Vihāra	Place Unknown	REGMI 1:563
564	Nāgavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Kathmandu	PETECH p. 170
580	Yokhā Cheñ Vihāra (near Pim Bāhā; (Also N.S. 583, 596, 609, 668	Patan	PL PL
595	Ekata Vihāra	Patan	GV 56 a:4
631	Jayacandra Mahāvihāra	Kathmandu	REGMI 1:461
631	Caka (Cakra?) Vihāra	Kathmandu	REGMI 3:(98)
631	Sūryacandra Mahāvihāra	Kathmandu	REGMI 3(97)
636	Komatī Vihāra (Also N.S. 638	Patan	PL PL
665	Dhwākā Vahāra	Patan	PL
674	Racayata Mahāvihāra	Kathmandu	KANTUPUR SILALEKH p. 54
680	Valacheñ (=Calacheñ?) Vāhāra	Patan	REGMI 3:131
684	Manāsu Bāhāra	Kathmandu	REGMI 4:(20)



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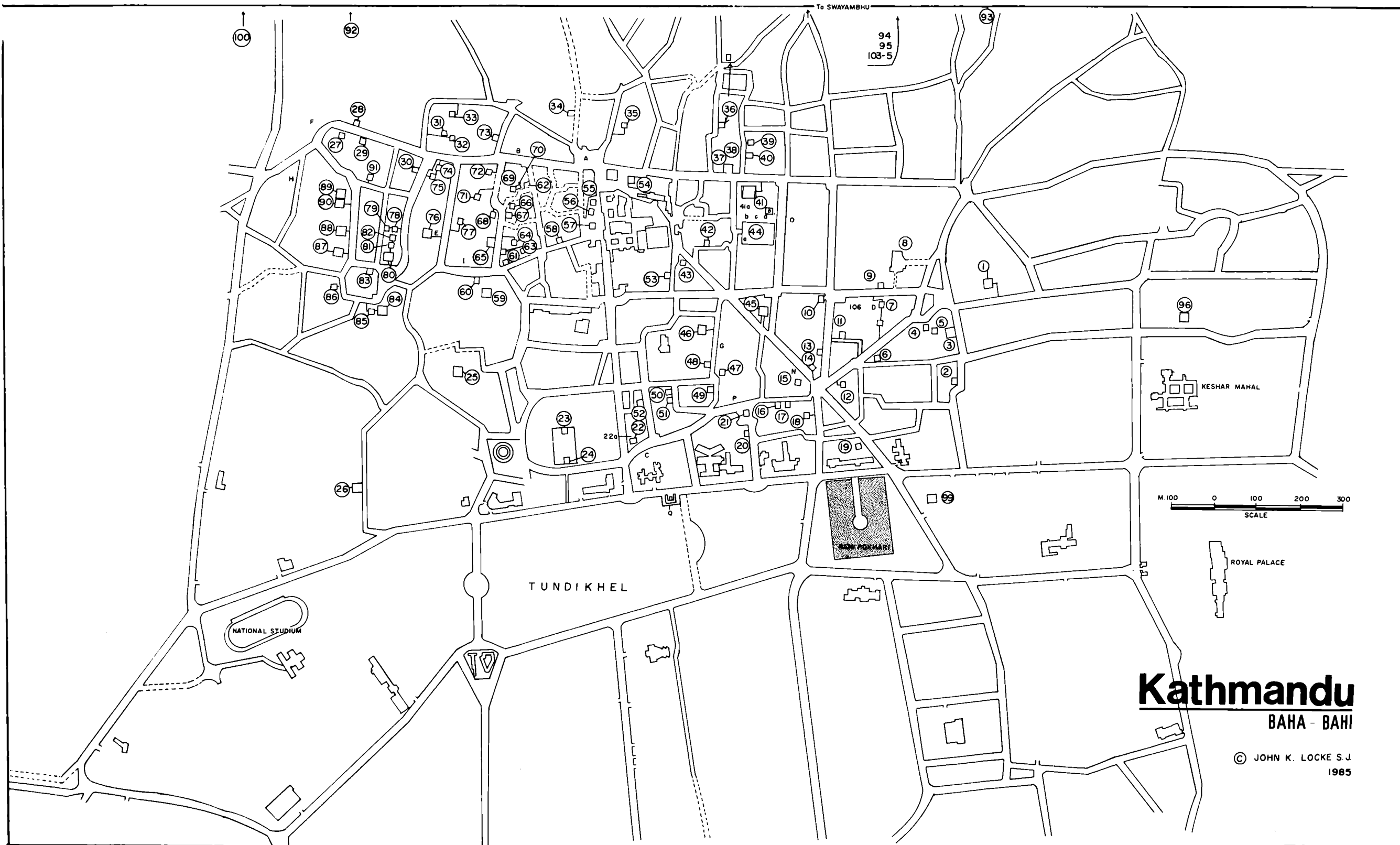


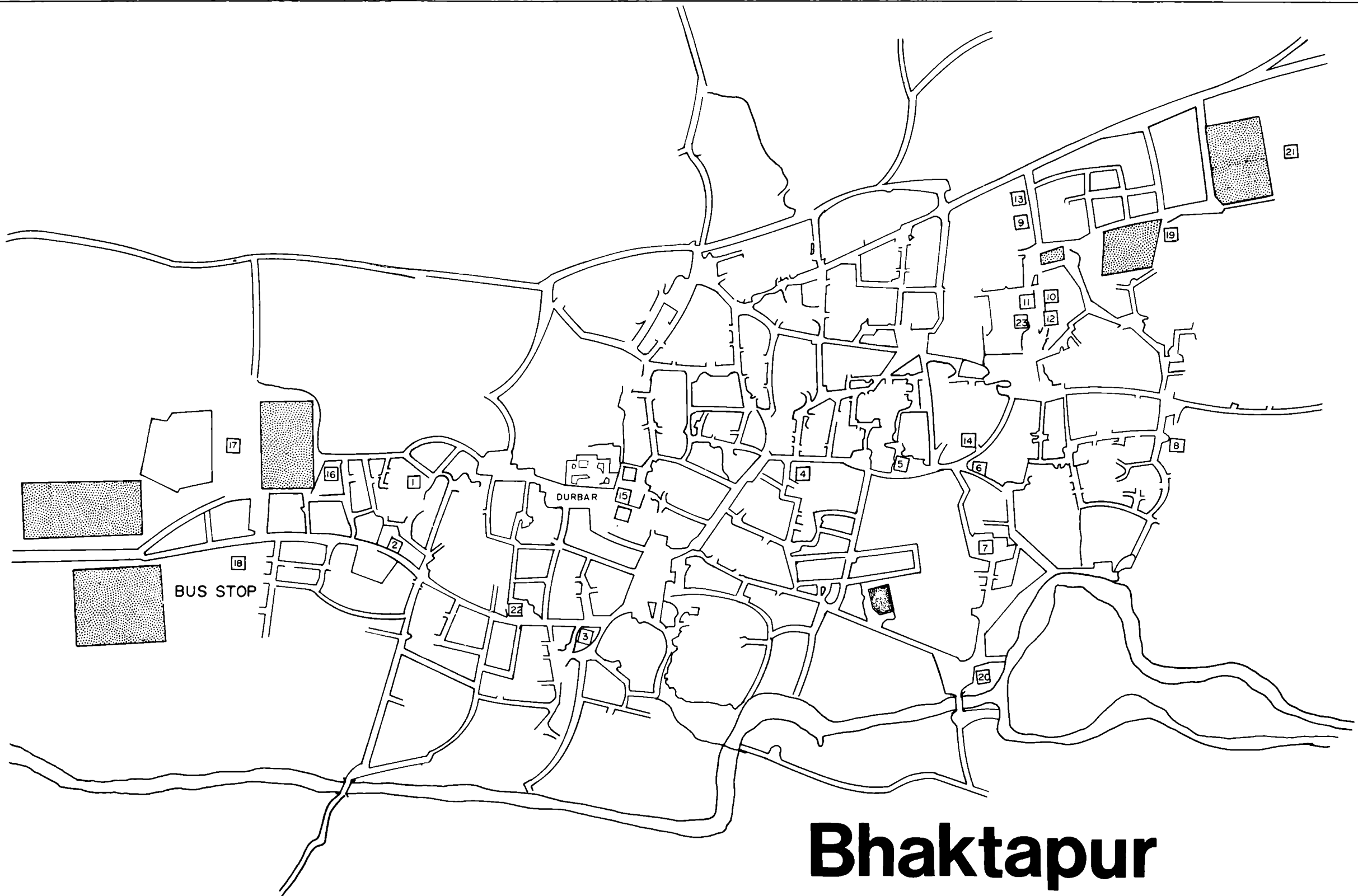


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